Encyclopaedia

of

Religion and Ethics
Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY

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VOLUME II

ARTHUR—BUNYAN

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PREFACE

Besides general books of reference, every one must now possess a work of reference covering the whole field of his own special studies with sufficient fullness. This Encyclopaedia will cover the field of Religion and Ethics, the most widely interesting and the most important of all departments of thought.

1. The articles are written by those who have made a special study of their subject, and are recognized as most competent to write upon it. Attention is given to grace of style, so that the articles may be read with pleasure as well as relied upon for accuracy and insight.

2. The articles are full enough to give the reader a good working acquaintance with their subject; and to each article is added a select bibliography for the use of those who wish to pursue the subject further.

3. The range of the Encyclopaedia is well defined. Religion and Ethics can no longer be studied separately with any profit. They are accordingly dealt with together; but each topic, whether religious or ethical, or both, will be found under its own appropriate title. The Encyclopaedia will contain an account of all beliefs and customs which belong to Religion or Ethics throughout the world. It will also contain articles on the religions themselves, or on the nations professing them. And when a belief or custom belongs to more religions than one, or is found in more than one place, it will often be described in a series of articles, each article being written by a scholar of the particular religion or country.

4. Much attention is given to social topics which have an ethical or religious aspect.

5. The Encyclopaedia includes some account of such persons and places as are important in the history of Religion and Ethics.
In issuing the second volume of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, the Editor desires to acknowledge with thankfulness the generous reception that has been given to the first volume.

The difficulties of the task have been recognized, but it has been acknowledged, and that most handsomely in the reviews of greatest weight, that these difficulties have been successfully overcome, and that (in the words of the Harvard Review) 'the Encyclopaedia will be indispensable to the student of any part of its wide field.'
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Canon of St. John’s Cathedral, Newfoundland; Examining Chaplain and Bishop’s Commissary.
Beothuks.

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Birth (Assyro-Babylonian).

POUSSIN (Louis de la Vallée), Docteur en philosophie et lettres (Liège), en langues orientales (Louvain).
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Atheism (Buddhist), Avalokitêsvâra, Bliest, Abode of the (Buddhist), Bodhi- sattva.

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Bogomils, Brownism.

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Atomic Theory (Modern).

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Asasticism (Roman).
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Blood, Body, Bones.

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Bunyan.

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Bible.

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Automatism.

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Boldness.

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Being.

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Atlantis.

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Bhrigu.

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Biology.

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Barter.

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Asoke, Benares.

Élève diplômé de l’École des Hautes Études; Professor of the University of Upsala; Member of the Chapter of Upsala; Prebendary of Holy Trinity in Upsala.
Asceticism (Persian).

SPENCE (LEWIS),
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Brazil.

STARBUCK (EDWIN DILLER), Ph.D.
Professor of Philosophy in the State University of Iowa; author of The Psychology of Religion.
Backsliding.

STEWART (HUGH FRASER), B.D.
Fellow, Dean, and Lecturer, St. John’s College, Cambridge.
Baptism by Blood.

STONE (DARWELL), M.A.
Berengar.

SUFFRIN (A. E.), M.A. (Oxon.).
Vicar of Waterloo, Hants.
Asceticism (Jewish).

SUTHERLAND (MAJOR W. D.),
Akola, Berar.
Birth (Hindu, popular).

TEMPLETON (THOMAS), M.A. (Edin.).
Minister of Panmure Street Congregational Church, Dundee.
Boys’ Brigades.
THOMAS (Northcote Whitridge).
Elève diplômé de l'École pratique des Hautes Études; Corresponding Member of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris; Member of Council of the Folklore Society; author of Thought Transference, Kinship Organization and Group Marriage in Australia.
Australia.

THOMSON (J. Arthur), M.A.
Atavism, Biogenesis.

THURSTON (Herbert), B.A., S.J.
Bulls and Briefs.

TOD (David Macrae), M.A., B.D. (Edin.).
Minister of St. James' Presbyterian Church, Huddersfield; formerly Cunningham Fellow, New College, Edinburgh.
Avarice.

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Atheism and Anti-theistic Theories.

Professor of Tibetan in University College, London; author of The Buddhism of Tibet, Lhasa and its Mysteries.
Atis, Bhutan (Buddhism in).

WALSH (W. Gilbert), M.A.
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Birth (Chinese).

WARRFIELD (Benjamin Breckinridge), D.D., LL.D.
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Augustine.

WEBSTER (Wentworth), M.A.
Late of Sare, par St. Jean de Luz, Basses-Pyrénées.
Basques.

WESTERMARCK (Edward Alexander), Ph.D.
Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London; Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Helsingfors, Finland; author of The History of Human Marriage, The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas.
Asylums.

WHITEHEAD (Benjamin), B.A.
Barrister-at-law; author of Church Law.
Brawling.

WILSON (George R.), M.D., M.R.C.P. (Edin.).
Late Medical Superintendent of Allanton House; author of Drunkenness, Vice, and Insanity.
Athletics.

WOOD (Herbert G.), M.A.
Fellow, and Lecturer in History, of Jesus College, Cambridge.
Baptism (Later Christian).

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

WORKMAN (Herbert B.), M.A., D.Lit.
Principal of Westminster Training College; Member of the Board of Studies in the Faculty of Philosophy, London University; author of The Dawn of the Reformation, The Letters of John Hus, Persecution in the Early Church.
Bernard of Clairvaux.

ZIMMERN (Heinrich), Ph.D.
Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Leipzig; author of Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen; joint-editor of Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, and of Hebritisches und Aramaisches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament.
Babylonians and Assyrians.

ZÖCKLER (Otto), Ph.D., Th.D.
Late Professor of Church History and Apologetics in the University of Greifswald; author of Kritische Geschichte der Askese.
Aseticism (Christian).
CROSS-REFERENCES

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

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# SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

## I. HEBREW

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<td>b, bh</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>g, gh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, dh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>v, w</td>
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<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>p, ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h or ch</td>
<td>q or k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y or j</td>
<td>s, sh</td>
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<tr>
<td>k, kh</td>
<td>t, th</td>
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### VOWELS

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<td>ay, í</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>é, í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>í</td>
<td>í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ó, ò</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ü</td>
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## II. ARABIC

### CONSONANTS

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<tr>
<td>t</td>
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<td>th</td>
<td>ظ</td>
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<td>sh</td>
<td>د</td>
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<td>y</td>
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Composite shevase: [simple sheva].
### II. ARABIC—continued

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<td>u</td>
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### III. PERSIAN AND HINDUSTANI

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1 The diacritical marks in this scheme are sometimes omitted in transliteration when absolute accuracy is not required, the pronunciation of g being the same as that of s, while z, z, z, are all pronounced alike.

### IV. SANSKRIT

#### CONSONANTS

- **Gutturals**—k, kh; g, gh; ñ (=ng in finger).
- **Palatals**—ch (=ch in church), chh; j, jh; ñ (=n in onion).
- **Cerebrals**—t, th; d, dh; ñ (a sound peculiar to India).
- **Dentals**—t, th; d, dh; n (=n in not).
- **Labials**—p, ph; b, bh; m.
- **Semi-vowels**—y; r; l; v.
- **Sibilants**—ś or sh; ś or sh; s.
- **Aspirate**—h.

- anunāsika (\(\sim\)); anusvāra, ṃ; visarga, b; avagraha (\(\acute{\text{\textcircled{\textbullet}}}\)).

#### VOWELS

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# LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

## I. General

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## II. Books of the Bible

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<tr>
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### III. For the Literature

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

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionssch.*
- Baldwin = *Dict. of Religion and Psychology*
- Barth = *Nominaleldierung in den sem. Sprachen*
- Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*
- Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arak. Litteratur*, vols. 1890-1902
- De la Saussaye = *Livre de la Religion desegyptiens*, 1905.
- Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., Edin. 1900].
- Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*, 3 vols. 1875-1878.
- Hamburger = *Rechtspolitische Fragen des Bibel und Talmud*, i. 1870 (1892), ii. 1885, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
- Holder = *Allerheiligen Sprachschaf*, 1891 ff.
- Howie·Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, 1904.
- Juvainville = *Cours de litté. Céltique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
- Lane = *An Arabic English Dictionary*, 1833 ff.
- Lepsius·Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Österreich*, 1849-1860.
- Lightenberg = *Enzy. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
- Muir = *Sanctrit Texts*, 1858-1872.

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

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### LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

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[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT², LOT⁸, etc.]
ARTHUR, ARTHURIAN CYCLE.—The Arthurian cycle is a body of legend that has grown up around the name of the British hero, Arthur. There appears to be no reason for doubting that Arthur was one of the leaders of the Britons against the English in the 6th cent. A.D., but nothing further concerning him can be stated with certainty. Among the Britons themselves legends appear to have readily attached themselves to his name, as they did to the names of other British heroes, while to the original Arthurian legend itself legends of other heroes became appended, so that in the Middle Ages the Arthurian cycle of romance had attained an extraordinary development. In France, especially, the cycle was the successor in popularity to that of Charlemagne, and, like other legends, either in France or in Britain, it was combined with certain legendary narratives of the Church to form the story of the finding of the Holy Grail, the Cup from which Christ drank at the Last Supper.

The name Arthur is Brythonic (the Celtic tongue of the Britons), a language which came later to be differentiated into Welsh, Breton, and Cornish. Though Brythonic in form, the name Arthur is probably borrowed from Latin, like many other Brythonic names, such as Urien (Urbigana), Weinn (Eugenius), Geraint (Gerainta), Padarn (Paternus), Ewryd (Ambrasius), Custennin (Constantinus), Bhulaw (Romanus), Anarawd (Honorus), Khyssut (Restitutus).* The Latin original of Arthur is Artorius, a name found in Greek letters in Clement of Alexandria, and at Khamsus in an inscription dedicated to the goddess Nerida by G. Artorius Tertullus. Another form of it is probably Artorius, found in Juvenal (Sat. iii. 29). The latter Latinized form Arturus or Arthurus and the Irish Artur are based on the British form, and of this the French form Artus and the Italian Artù are also corruptions. In Wales the name Arthur does not appear to have been common, but there is an example of it in the Book of Llath Date (Oxf. 1520, pp. 77 and 153) and also in one of the pedigrees, as of Arthur, father of Noc or Noû (also written Nongoy), a member of the royal line of Dyfed (Dumedia). In the Osney Charter of 1152 the name Gwyrfris Arturus (probably Geoffrey of Monmouth) occurs as that of one of the witnesses. The fact that the name Arthur is a genuine phonetic derivative of a real, though rare, Latin name is strong evidence of its authenticity, and the probability is that it was preserved, like other Welsh names of the Saxon period, in some genealogy or rudimentary chronicle, such as the nucleus of Nennius, which Prof. Zinner (in his Nennius Vindicateus) thinks was composed at Dumbarston or Carlisle.

Attempts have been made from the evidence of Arthurian place names to determine the region of

*In this art, the spelling of Celtic names follows that now generally adopted by Celtic scholars, except in a few cases, where the actual spelling of the medieval documents has been retained.

Britain with which Arthur was most closely associated; but, in spite of the researches of Mr. Stuart-Glennie (author of Arthurian Localities) and others, it cannot be said that these attempts have been successful, insomuch as the later popularity of Arthur led to the naming of many places after him. The oldest indications make it probable that, like other prominent post-Roman Britons, he came from the zone of the North. Certain ruling families of Wales, such as those of Coel, Cunedda Wledig, and Cynfarch, maintained even into mediaval times the tradition (supported by Nennius) that they were settlers in Wales from the North, and styled themselves in their pedigrees 'The Men of the North' (for the northern associations of the Arthurian and kindred legends see the writer's articles in the Celtic Review for Oct. 1907 and Jan. 1908 on 'Wales and the Ancient Britons of the North'). The northern zones in question appear to be two: (1) that of Caer Aldun (Dumbarston), and (2) that of Dineiddin (Edinburgh). In an early stratum of Arthurian legend Arthur seems to be closely associated with Caew or Brodyrn (Caw of Picthland), the father of Gildas and Aneirin (a Welsh poet), and of many of the saints of Anglesey. In the 22d cent. Life of Gildas, Arthur is represented as making war against Hueil, king of Scotland, one of the sons of this Caw. How early the name of Arthur came to be associated with the local legends of Wales it is hard to say, but it is significant that the name of one of Arthur's closest companions, from the very first appearance of the legend in the Welsh literature, is that of Cai (the Sir Kay of the Romances), whose name is found in that of Caer Gai, near Bala in North Wales, a place also known as Caer Gwyn, after the name of Cai's father Gwynor, an old Welsh poet which survives in the Red Book of Hergest mentions a hpywnon fodwydr ('the Spring of Bedivere'), but its locality is unknown. Through its entry into local legend in Wales and in other parts of the Brythonic world, the name of Arthur became attached to the characteristic stories of Celtic folklore, of which numerous examples are given by Professor Sir John Rhys in his Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx (1901), notably to those of the Other World, a type in which the folklore of Celtic countries abounds. It is not necessary to suppose that the names which that
of Arthur may have sup plant ed in suc h stories bore any res ondence to it in sound or deriv ation.

In dealing with the Arthurian cycle, it will be convenient to give its place, first, in the tradition found in Cymric literature; secondly, in the Chronicles; and, thirdly, in the Romances.

The Arthur in Cymric tradition.—The chief MSS in which fragments of this tradition are to be found are: (1) The Black Book of Carmarthen (verse, 12th cent.), (2) The Book of Anevin (verse, 13th cent.), (3) The Book of Taliesin (verse, early 14th cent.), (4) The White Book of Rhuddner (prose, 14th cent.), and (5) The Red Book of Hergest (prose and verse, late 14th and 15th cents.). The Triads of Arthur and his Men, which are found in a Hengwrt MS of the 13th cent., are also important, as showing with what other legendary cycles that of Arthur was then, and probably earlier, associated in Wales. A considerable amount of the matter contained in the MSS, especially in the case of the oldest poetry, is older than the period of the MSS themselves. The Cymric tradition has many affinities with that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but it is not possible to show clearly any direct influence of Geoffrey, and which show that, while Geoffrey in some points borrowed from it, he either neglected or was ignorant of certain other important portions of it.

Of those above named, the MS which gives the clearest indication of containing pre-Norman matter is the Book of Anevin (now in the Cardiff Free Library), since in one of its poems the scribe, in the course of copying a poem called Goruchan Maeldene, departed from his usual practice of changing the orthography into that of his own time, and copied that of his archetype practically unalmodied, thus showing that this archetype was written in a style of spelling in many points identiﬁed with that of the pre-Norman glosses of Wales. In this MS, the name in which the name of Arthur occurs in the words 'bel of arthur' ('even if he were Arthur'). The poem in question is practically identical in many of its lines with the Gododin, which forms the main portion of the MS, and thus suggests that the name of Arthur was held in high respect in the zone of poetry to which the Gododin belongs. This zone is essentially one composed in praise of the family of Cynfarh, to which Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, the chief hero of the Gododin, belonged, and also Urien Rheged, whose name occurs in the poem Trowes Ysaw. With this family was associated the poet Llywarch Hen, and Elphin, the friend of Taliesin, and other heroes, whose names with brief records of their memory are given in the Gododin in connexion with the battle of Castraeth (one of the famous battles of Welsh bardic tradition), in which they were said to have taken part. From all indications, the historical stock-in-trade of the Welsh bards seems to have contained short lists of famous battles, such as Cattaetha, Gwenysrad, Argoed, Llyr, Llwyd, and so on, which last were among the chief battles of the Arthurian tradition. In Welsh, as in other legend, the prominent heroes of one period tended to sink into the background of action in that of a later date, or else to survive as vaguer and less imposing figures, as it were, behind the scenes. Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, Caw of Pictland, and Brychan Brycheiniog are names of this type in Welsh medieval literature, while in the Cymric Arthurian tradition Arthur's warriors generally play a much more active part in the story than his own figure does. The fact has often been wrongly interpreted as implying that the legend of Arthur himself was not in any way developed in Wales (a view which, in face of the significant allusions to Arthur in Welsh literature, is quite untenable), while the truth seems to be that it was so long established in Wales that to it were attached other legends, whose heroes came to loom more largely in action than Arthur, their sovereign chief. In the stock-in-trade of the bard and storytellers of Wales, from whom the remnants of old Welsh poetry and Arthurian tradition were derived, Arthur held distinctly a place of honour, and the various portions in which this stock-in-trade of legend reveals itself bear witness to the same tale. This stock-in-trade, though the stories composing it were heterogeneous in origin and in local association, yet preserved a certain unity from its professional character, and portions of it can easily be detected in various parts of old Welsh literature. In the Triads, in the account of Arthur's Court found in Kulhuch and Olenen, in the Book of Anevin, in the Triads of Arthur's Court, in the Black Book of Carmarthen, in the Stanzas of the Graves, in the poetry of the Book of Taliesin, in the Llywarch Hen poems of the Black Book of Carmarthen and the Red Book of Hergest, certain associated groups of names come to view which form a body of legend which they were never meant to belong. It is signiﬁcant that in all these legendary clusters the name of Arthur appears. It is true that he is not once mentioned in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, in the Dream of Mazar, or in Lludd and Llewyn; but the reason is that, in the Mabinogi in its present relations, a chronological arrangement is implied which would make any reference to Arthur anachronistic in a story that was meant to be pre-Saxon. In the Book of Taliesin and in the lists of Arthur's men in Kulhuch and Olenen—the last altered of the Mabinogi stories—no such regard for chronology is shown, and in the latter Arthur is said to have been related to the 'Men of Caer Dathyl' on his mother's side. It is signiﬁcant that, even in Chrétien and the later romances, many of the names of those who are associated with Arthur are those of well-known heroes of the Cymric tradition. If this tradition was carried into Cornwall or Brittany, the extreme scantiness of the heroic literature of these provinces in medieval times makes it exceedingly difﬁcult to judge of the extent of the transference, and it may well be that it was only fractional in character, though Arthur himself may have attained a high degree of legendary popularity, as Alanus ab Insulis suggests when he bas, in the second half of the verse, "The more any man of Brittany who should deny Arthur's return would arouse the deep hatred of his hearers.

In the Stanzas of the Graves (given in the Black Book of Carmarthen), a series of verses kindred to the elegies of Llywarch Hen, the various heroes of the Cymric cycle are commemorated, and among them in one stanza are named March (the King Mark of the Tristan legend), Gwyfur (the rival of the fairy king Gwyn, son of Nudd), Goganth, the Red Sword, and Arthur. Each of the first three heroes is said to have a great birth, and Arthur is said to be 'anoth bai' ('the object for which the world searches'). The word 'anoth' meant 'difiicult,' as it still does in the Dimetian dialect of Welsh, and was used for the object of a difficult search, as in the Arthurian story of Kulhuch and Olenen. In the Black Book of Carmarthen, where these stanzas occur, there are other poems that contain direct or indirect allusions to Arthur. For example, in an elegy upon Geraint, son of Erbin (the Erec of Chrétien de Troyes), Arthur, for whom Geraint is called, at the battle of Llongborth, is called 'the emperor, the ruler of the soil.' The signiﬁcance of an allusion such as this, as indicating the place of Arthur in Welsh story, is clear. The site of Llongborth is unknown, but the men of Geraint are
said to have come from the region of Dyfnant (the Dumnion). Poem xxxi. in the same MS is clearly Arthurian; but it is important to observe that it is one of a group in which the story of Arthur is associated with a cluster of names from the bardic tradition. Poem xxxi., for example, though it does not name Arthur, the other characters, the Cantor, the Calad of Nemius, the mark of whose hoof, according to that chronicler, was left on a mountain near Builth when Arthur was hunting the Pencos Troit (i Twrch Trwyth). In Kulhwch and Olwen, Cavall is erroneously given as the name of the bardic tradition hero. To Cavall is also mentioned Owain Rychg, the Ywain of Chrétien. In the obviously Arthurian poem (No. xxxii.) there is a picture of Arthur and his men that is entirely distinct from those of Geoffrey and the Romances, and much more akin to that of the Welsh. Arthur and his men arrive at a fortress (for what purpose is not stated, but it may have been for the rescue of one of their lost companions). Among his men are Cei Wyn (Kel the Blessed); Bedwyr (Bedwrec), Mabon, son of Modron (Wlly Mw Mabon); son of Maello (Lightning); Manawynn, son of Llyr (Mannanan mac Lir of Irish legend, a hero of the Four Branches); Llacheu, Arthur's son (who is unknown to Geoffrey); and others. Some of the topographical allusions, such as to Trarach Tirlann, the Solway Firth, or the Caithness mountains, Yr Eiddin (the mountain of Edinburgh, possibly Arthur's Seat), are to the North. As in Kulhwch and Olwen, expeditions to the wild country of the North, geruith uffern ('the wild land of Hades'), as it is called, appear to serve as the theme of the Welsh Cynric Arthurian tradition; and for the men of North Wales, North Britain appears to have been the natural way of getting into the Other World by land, while the men of South Wales may have had their corresponding entrance into it in Cornwall. The poet in question, too, like the story of Kulhwch and Olwen and portions of the lives of the Welsh saints, describes Arthur and his men as being in conflict with certain pests, both animal and human, and, among the latter, with certain malignant hags or witches (the Llwynod Ymarch), and with the Boar of the boundary (the Boar of Annwn). All this is part of the usual repertoire of 12th-century folklore.

Poem xxxiii., though not referring to any exploits of Arthur, mentions his son Llacheu, 'the marvelous in song,' in words put into the mouth of a speaker who refers to certain other of the stock characters of the Welsh bardic tradition, such as Gwyn, son of Nadd; Creurdiad, daughter of Llad (the Cordelia of Geoffrey); Guendolen, son of Keidaw (the Gwendolwen of the Myrddin legend); Bran, son of Iwerdd (the latter possibly his mother's name); and Gwyddnewn Garanhir (a prominent character in a legend of involution). With this poem is closely linked poem xxxiv., which is also a version of the theme, while it also alludes to two of the chief characters of Math ab Mathonyw (Llew and Gwydion), whose names and legends were associated with the places Nant Llew (now Nantlle), Din Llew (now Dimle), and Bryn Gwydion in Carnarvonshire, and Moel Gwydion near Trawsfynydd in Merionethshire. Poem xxxiv., though referring to the idea of imprisonment and release in the Welsh Arthurian tradition, it may be stated that one of the Triads contains a supplementary statement referring to the former imprisonment of Arthur and his followers: 'The three noble prisoners of the Isle of Britain, Ulyr of imperfect speech, who was with Eowyscyrd in prison; Athelwulf, the second, Mabon, son of Modron, and the third, Gweir, son of Gwyrigoed, and one who was no better than all three was for three nights in the prison of Ogwen, and spent, and was for three nights in prison with Gwenn Benn Dragon, and was for three nights in the prison of magic (or fairyland) under the rule of the demon, and the sentence upon Arthur was from him, and the same youth released him from those three prisons, and that youth was Goren, son of Custennin (Constantine), his cousin, who was Gwydion.'
themselves, too, in the Welsh Arthurian story of 
Kulwch and Olwen, where Arthur and his 
warriors are represented as hunting the Twrch Trwyth (the 
Ore or Tore Thrith of Irish legend), a fabulous 
beast, to which there are obscure references in Old 
Welsh eulogies and triads. The Welsh tradition 
refers to Arthur's expedition to Annwn and to 
other pieces of legend connected with that sphere, 
yet, like the Four Branches of the Mohunagi, it is 
characterized by the minute localization of its 
topography, an indication of the close relation of the 
Arthurian legend to certain Welsh districts. In 
Kulwch and Olwen the narrative bears signs of 
having been connected originally with the North, 
but in its present form it is chiefly connected 
with Pembroke, Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, 
and Breconshire. It is pre-eminently a story that 
has grown by accretion. The Court of Arthur, 
as usual in the Welsh tradition, is located at 
Gelligwir in Cornwell (Cernwy). It is possible, 
however, that Cernyw is a later substitute for some 
Welsh locality. There is in the peninsula of Lleyn 
in Carnarvonshire a region called Gelligwir, but 
the writer has been unable to discover how old 
the name is. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant to mention that 
in this peninsula there is a name by which a Welsh 
Arthurian legend, such as Bodarnaweir (for Bod Gwennabwy), 
Dyfrs (for Rhedynfre), Cooan Arthur ('Arthur's goeit'), a 
fine mountain, and Annwn, the kingdom of the Dead, 
Gwernabwy, and Panfyl, or Panfil, of Cernwy ('Guinevere's Willow'). In the same district, too, is Castellmarch 
('Mark's Castle'); nor is the zone of Xant Gwetyn ('Verti-
gynt's field'), the site of the largest known hill-camp, 
Abererch, where Rhuddderch Hael was said to have been 
buried, far off.

Of the Welsh tradition there are certain indica-
tions, too, in the historical poets of Wales which 
suggest that it differed in some forms of it from 
Geoffrey's version. For example, in elegies and 
eulogies men are compared in compliment to Medrod (Mordred) of Powis, 
and Meilir says Gruffydd ab Cynan, who died in 1137, that he 
thrust in the fore-front of battle like Medrod'; 
and Gwalchmai, Meilir's son, in praising Madog 
ab Maredudd, prince of Powys, says that he had 
the strength of Arthur and the gentleness of Medrod. 
Gwynafarid Brycheinig, too, calls the 
Lord Rhys of South Wales the twin-brother of 
Medrod, prophesied by Myrddin (Merlin). One 
trio ('Foerster, MS. Arch.' p. 303a), which shows, 
it is true, signs of later modification, states that 
there was the Court three days and nights, 
Niosinaig, king of Denmark; Medrod, son of 
Hywel, king of Cynfrach; and Hywel, son of 
Euntary Llydaw. They were, the trio says, men of such 
gentleness, kindly, and fair words, that any one 
would be sorry to refuse them any request. Where the 
feud between Arthur and Medrod is mentioned, it is 
represented sometimes in a different light from the 
account of Geoffrey; nor is the sympathy of the 
tradition always with Arthur. For example, 
a blow given by Arthur to Medrod is called "an evil 
blow", the name given by Matholwch to 
Gwernabwy.

In a trio referring to the three costly campaigns of the 
Isle of Britain, Medrod is said to have gone to Gelligwir in 
Cornwall, to do battle for his food drink and sustenance, and to 
have dragged Gwennhwyfar from her queenly throne. Arthur 
in revenge is said to have gone to the Court of Medrod, and to 
have similarly consumed all the food and drink, and, further, to 
have left neither man nor beast alive in the Hundred. The 
story of the battle of Camlan, too, appears to have been 
differently treated in different forms of the tradition. 
One form sacrifices it to a blow given by Gwennhwyfar to 
Gwenhwyfaer as he was killed in a triumphant march through 
the straits of the Isle of Britain. Another trio speaks of this as 
one of the vain battles of the Isle of Britain, and attributes it to 
the rigid jealousy of Gwenhwyfar. Another version 
adds to the story of Kulwch and Olwen, Gwennhwyfar was Gwenhwyfar's sister. In the story of The Dream of Rhonabwy, the battle of 
Camlan is said to have been caused by the new God 
Idawc Ord Prydain in the negotiations between Arthur 
and his nephew Medrod. There is the fact that one of the 
trios says that there were three Gwennhwyfar: one suggests that 
there were not one but several Arthurian traditions. Though the Welsh 14th-
cent. poet Dafydd ab Gwlym mentions Melwas (in the Life 
of Gildas) apparently as the abductor of Gwennhwyfar, it cannot 
be stated with certainty that he was so known to the 
Welsh tradition. The name may, however, have been 
used in the story of T. idawc Ord Prydain in the Liber Landavennatis.

Possibly, in one form of the Welsh tradition 
Arthur and Medrod were killed at the same side 
at Camlan, for one of the triads says that one of the 
evil counsels of the Isle of Britain was Arthur's 
decision to divide his men three times with Medrod 
at Camlan. It is not impossible that this was 
the view of the writer of the Annedawl of the Annwn 
(537), who gives Camlan as the battle in 
which Arthur and Medrod fell together (cornwre). As 
illustrating further the Welsh tradition, it may be 
noted that Cynwddw Brecon, brother of Meilir, 
locates Arthur's Court at Celligwir, and that he has allusions 
to Gwalchmai, Dulais, son of Eurei, Cai and his father Cuny, 
Dulais, Myrddin, Eliwy, Lleuad, the hands of Mandrwy, 
the family of Gwynarc, the Twrch Trwyth, and the battles 
of Beddau and Cambria. Another poet, Bedwyr Farly, refers to 
Arthur as the slayer of a certain Brychuan, and to the valor 
of Gwalchmai as proverbial. All these allusions, though only of 
a passing character, suggest undoubted acquaintance with 
the legend, and the independence of the Welsh tradition from 
Geoffrey.

2. Arthur in the Chronicles. Under this head 
reference may be made first to the lives of some 
Welsh saints, which lead to the Chronicles proper. 
The Life of St. Gildas, written in 1160, according 
to one of the most distinguished of Arthurian scholars, 
M. Ferdinand Lot, represents Arthur as being 
in conflict with Huwil, king of Scotland, the 
son of Caw of Pietlia, and brother-in-law to the 
association of Arthur with the family of Caw 
suggests a stratum of legend of an early type, 
not unrepresented in the story of Kulwch and Olwen. 
The same Life also represents Melwas, a petty king 
of Somerset, as having carried Gwennhwyfar away 
from Arthur. In the Life of St. Gildas, Arthur 
and his companions, Cai and Bedwyr, are represented 
as haunting the borders of Breconshire and 
Monmouthshire.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the highest point 
of the Breconshire beacon was called in the time of Giraldo 
Cambrænsis (10th cent.), 'Arthur's Throne.' The association 
of Arthur in Nennius with Bithyn, in the same county, has already 
been mentioned, and there are similar associations in the story 
of Kulwch and Olwen. Agyn in the Life of St. Camlan 
('the saint of Llanchango in Cardiganshire'), there is a reference to 
Arthur as hunting a very powerful, huge, and terrible serpent, 
which had laid waste twelve parts of the land of Carrum—a 
description of Arthur's activities which is in thorough 
keeping with the Welsh tradition.

The Life of St. Illtud speaks of Arthur as the saint's 
cousin, to whom Illtud becomes a soldier, 
but the site of the Court of Arthur is not 
mentioned. Further, in the Life of St. Padarn 
there is a curious story told of Arthur, who is called a tyrannus, 
in which, owing to his cupidity, he is cursed by 
the saint and swallowed in the earth up to his chin. 
This story is probably connected with the place 
named Llys Arthur ('Arthur's Court'), in the parish 
of Llanbadarnfawr in North Cardiganshire. In the 
Chronicles proper Arthur first comes to view by name 
in Nennius (a composite work completed before the 
9th cent.), the nucleus of which was a Chronicle of North Britain, 
written probably at Dunblane or Carlisle. Gildas, 
though he does not name Arthur, mentions a battle of Badon 
(fought, according to the Annales Cambrie, in 516), which 
Nennius gives by name as one of the battles of 
Arthur. This story is frequently referred to by 
the Welsh poets as Gweth Padon ('the action of 
Badon'). In Nennius, Arthur is called Dux bel-
torum in the account of his battles, and miles 
elsewhere. The names are given of twelve of his 
battles, one of which was fought in 'the wood of 
Colunon' (Culario). Some of these names were 
also probably in the North. In the Chronicle 
called Annales Cambrie, there is a reference under 
A.D. 516 to Arthur's leadership of the Britons 
at the battle of Badon by carrying the cross on his 
shoulders for three nights. In Nennius's account of
in his letter to Warinus. Beneficit of Gloucester, too, gave a sketch of the Arthurian period in his Life of St. Dubricius. Afterwards came Thomas de Loches (about 1147) with a similar narrative in his Gesta Comitum Anglensanum. The chief successors of Geoffrey, however, were Geoffrey Chaucer (published 1387) and Wace in History of the Britons unfortunately has been lost, Wace (in poetry), the author of the Anglo-Norman Brut, and Layamon, the author of a Brut in English verse. Wace’s Brut is in the main a free paraphrase of Geoffrey’s History, but in style it is often more romantic. His descriptions of the battles, for example, are not unlike those given by the Arthurian poet Chrétien de Troyes. Wace shows more of the spirit of chivalry than Geoffrey, and he appears to know many more stories about Arthur than he relates. It is a problem for any student of Arthurian literature whether or not Geoffrey’s Brut was written while Geoffrey was still attached to the court of William of Newburgh, and also to Geoffrey’s Brut was the Gesta Regum Britanniarum and the Epitome Historia Britannicæ. In spite of its popularity, Geoffrey’s History was not allowed to escape criticism; it was violently denounced by William of Newburgh, and also by Gildas Cambrensis, who accepts, however, important sections of the Arthurian story. A similar attitude was adopted in the middle of the 14th century, by Raphael Higden. The longest account of the supposed discovery of Arthur’s tomb at Glastonbury is probably that of the Englishman, and merchant, John Leland, in his De Principis inquisitione (written about 1594). Of the later writers who followed Geoffrey, the most important is Holinshed (1577), from whose work the substance of Geoffrey became known to Shakespeare and other English poets.

3. The Arthurian cycle in the Romances.—The chief development of the Arthurian cycle combined with other cycles, both British and foreign, is found in the Romances, and the centre of this type of literary development was France. This development took place in the 12th century, and was largely determined by Geoffrey’s History and the paraphrases of his successors, but the romances contain features of the Arthurian legend which are clearly independent of the Chronicles. In France, the chief poetic exponents of the Arthurian legend were Marie de France, Chrétien de Troyes, and Robert de Boron. In Chrétien de Troyes, especially, there are so many proper names—as Uiriens (Urien), Yvain (Ywain), Erec (Greneit), Kans (Kei), Bedivere (Bedwyrt), Gawain (Gwaelmaid), Iler il Nut (Edern, son of Modred), Brane (Brad), Mordred (Modred), Bredrez (Caraedog Freichrâns), Gantevre (Gwenhwyfar), Tristan (Trystan), Melian (Melwas), Maehlos (Maelwas), Bilis (Belis), Brantiago (Brangwen), not to speak of others which are less obvious,—which are so clearly identical with well-known names of the Arthurian tradition, that the existence of some relation to this tradition, whether direct or indirect, is obvious. Though the legend of Arthur himself flourished in Brittany, it is very doubtful whether the heterogeneous yet professedly connected mass of legends which the romances in the provinces of Brittany, it undoubtedly did in Wales. In spite of the opinion of Prof. Zinner, it is perhaps simplest to accept the view that the Arthurian and other legends of the Welsh
Arthur, Arthurian Cycle

tradition made their way into French literature through the contact of the Normans in the 11th cent. with the men of Breconshire, Glamorgan, and Monmouth. These districts were rapidly Normanized, and intermarriages of Normans and Welsh dwellers were frequent. Gildas was in close touch with Glastonbury and with other important monasteries, and monasteries such as this and Fécamp played no small part in the dissemination and development of the Arthurian and other legends. As from the lays of Marie de France, on the other hand, certain terms, such as Lancelot (=Loïc, 'the nightingale'), as Prof. Zimmer points out, suggest Brittany as the source of their Arthurian matter. The degree of Chrétien's indebtedness not only for some of his proper names, but for his materials, to Celtic sources has been a subject of great controversy, Prof. Foerster, the chief editor of his works, going so far as to deny that Chrétien derived any of his materials from such sources. But it is hardly conceivable that he should have borrowed from these sources only if he had not also drawn from the same without a scrap of the legends connected with them. The task of discovering definite Celtic matter in his writings is, however, far from easy, owing to the elaborate transformation which such material as has survived has undergone and the fact that the courtly love-poetry of Chrétien and to his romantic conceptions generally. Still, it should be borne in mind that Welsh literature itself, as we see from the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, had already been developing by the 10th cent., and that the same was the case, as the traces of foreign influence on them show. At the same time, the Welsh tales, though in their present form based either on Chrétien himself (as Foerster thinks) or on his originals, largely preserve that narrative structure which had been shaped into conformity with a living Welsh Arthurian legend in a manner which adds considerably to their value and interest. The search for Celtic materials in Chrétien has been carried out with great diligence by Sir John Rhys, Mr. Alfred Nutt, M. Loth, Miss J. L. Weston, and a distinguished medievalist, M. Ferdinand Lot. The task of reducing the narratives of Chrétien to their simplest elements, and comparing them with the narrative types of Welsh and Irish legend is one of great difficulty. Apart from the work of the Celtic scholars, in their zeal for instituting such comparisons, have attempted to prove too much, without making sufficient allowance for the various literary influences to which Chrétien was accessible, or for his own imaginative power. The most fruitful line of investigation is the study of that Welsh group of legends from which Chrétien undoubtedly derived many of his proper names, and the classification of them into narrative types. Principally the following are the narratives that imply the wandering and return of Arthur's warriors, and in some cases their respite from prison by him and his men. Narratives of the relations, pacific and hostile, between Arthur and his men and the fairy dwellers in Amynyn are a promising field of research. But the modern versions of the Arthurian legends are now entirely abandone

Chrétiendev Troyes was initiated in Germany by Hartmann von Aue, who wrote his Erec before 1197 and his Iwein before 1204; and also by Wolfram von Eschenbach, who composed his Parzival between 1225 and 1215. The latter mentions, in the ordinary Mordred the Second (i.e. Merlin). The story of Merlins, the holy Grail, Tristan and Iseult, and Lancelot and Galahad. The story of Merlin occurs in two forms, the ordinary Merlinc (see above), and the wondrous Merlin (see Merlin). The story of Tristan and Iseult is one of the most beautiful and tragic in the whole of literature, and, except perhaps as an element in the Welsh bardic tradition, was originally quite distinct from the Arthurian legend. The story of Lancelot is of uncertain origin, and that of Galahad, apart from the mere name (the Gwalcved of the Welsh tradition), has no evident counterpart in Celtic legend. The story of Tristan was turned into German verse by Gottfried von Strassburg about 1216, who left it unfinished. The most important work in this series is the Rhinegold, published by Dümmler in 1856 and Heinrich von Freiberg (about 1270). In England the great collection of Arthurian romances was that of Sir Thomas Malory, printed by Caxton.

Within the limits of this article it is impossible to deal with all the possible various interrelations of these romances have raised, especially in the story of the Holy Grail. This story is essentially one where the legend of Arthur has been brought into connexion with the legends of the Church, notably such as were read from the Apocalypsean Gospels at Easter. The stories of Helen, the mother of Constantine, and of Charlemagne had been similarly enlivened. One of the most distinguished authors in the Grail legends, Mr. Alfred Nutt, conveniently divides them into two types, which he calls the 'Quest' and the 'Early History' versions respectively. These he enumerates as follows: Class I. (a) Conte del Graal, by Chrétiendev Troyes; (b) Conte del Graal, by the continuators of Chrétiendev Troyes—Gautier, Manessier, and Gerbert; (c) the Farseal of Wolfram von Eschenbach; (d) Peredur son of Ercwc; the Welsh version of Perceval; (e) Sir Percevulle, an English metrical romance founded in the Thornton MS., written shortly before the middle of the 15th cent. Class II. (a) Robert de Boron, Joseph de Arimathie, and the Perceval de Galis; (b) Quete del St. Graal; (c) Didot Perceval; (d) Perceval le Gallois, translated into English by Dr. Sebastian Evans under the title The High History of the Holy Grail. There is a Welsh medieval translation of the story of the Holy Grail entitled Y Saint Graal which has been published with an English translation in the Hengwrt MSS. In modern times the Arthurian legend is most familiar through Tennyson's Idylls of the King and through Wagner's Parsifal and Tristan. Even into Danish, German, Scandinavian, and navanian literature portions of the Arthurian cycle is penetrated.

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ARVAL BROTHERS.—The study of the Arval Brothers is peculiarly valuable to the historian of religion, because it gives a unique insight into the details of the activity of a Roman priesthood. It also illustrates in a pre-eminent degree the accidental character of our knowledge of ancient religion. Further, it emphasizes the activity of Augustus as a restorer of forms of ancient religion. And, lastly, it affords us additional proof of the supreme value of inscriptions.

In the matter of the appointment of priesthoods the Romans were extremely conservative. During the whole period of the Republic only two new priesthoods were formed—the Duoviri (later Decemviri, later Quindecemviri, sacri facundiae), in charge of the cults introduced by the Sibylline books; and the Treviri (later Septemviri epulones, merely sacristans to the Arvalis during the banquets. On the contrary, many of the older priesthoods declined, and were, if not entirely forgotten, so neglected that they are very seldom mentioned in the literature. Thus during the Republic we hear of a certain priesthood, the Sodales Titi, described by Plut., who, however, had been Arvals (Monumentum Ancyranum, i. 46) result merely in our possessing eight or nine inscriptions in which individuals are referred to as Sodales Titii.

Exception that the etymology of the word Fratres Arvalis is easier to understand than that of Sodales Titii, we should know scarcely more concerning them than concerning the Sodales Titii, were it not for the remarkable discovery of inscriptions. It is this discovery, however, that we are here to relate. What is known of the Fratres Arvalis apart from these inscriptions.

1. Literary sources.—The one and only reference to the Fratres Arvalis in the literature of the Republic is in Varro's Lingua Latina (v. 56), and reads as follows: "They are called Fratres Arvalis from ferre and arva. Some people derive the name (fratres) from fratria: fratria is a Greek word designating a section of the people, as it is seen even at Athens.

other words, Varro's interest is merely etymological, and his whole manner of treating the subject shows that the priesthood, though possibly in existence, was practically unknown.

Bergesii, Q.: (1881)“Brutus, the Roman hero, seen on the coins of D. Postumius Albinus Brutus f. and of L. Claudius Longus (Rabeeli, ii. 241ff., and 263) relate to the Arval Brothers; but this is by no means certain. (Cf. E. von Pauw-Wissowa, i.e. "Arvalis," ii. 1463.)

Had not Augustus included the priesthood of the Arvals another religious refaire, this might well have been our only reference to them. As it is, however, apart from the inscriptions, of which we shall speak in a moment, and which are themselves due to Augustus' influence, we have such a revival of interest, that a faint reflexion of it is seen even in the literature.

A famous jurist of Tiberius' reign, M. Aurelius Sabinus, seems to have dealt with the problem of the origin and the legend of the Arvals. We read in Gellius viii. 7: "But M. Aurelius Sabinus in the first book of his Memoriae tells us on the authority of certain historians, that A. Laurentia was the tutor of the Arvalis' nurse. This man, he says, lost one of her twelve sons by death. In his stead Romulus became a son to her, and called himself and her other sons the Arval Brothers. From this time the college of the Arval Brothers was twelve in number. The insignia of this priesthood were the crown of corn-ears and the white fillets."

A similar story is told in Silvy, I., viii. 5, and again in Fulgentius, Sermo vii. 9, in the first book of his Historiae divinae (c. L. P. L. A. Suessa) of the Augustan period. It is probable that M. Aurelius Sabinus was in some unaocountable way taken as genuine legend. This seems to have been done by Augustus' friend E. C. Hoffmann, "De Arvales, Bruder, Besessen 1858 (original and more condensed form in the Verhandlungen der Breitschau Phys. Ver. 1857, xi. 185). A similar story is in another E. B. (ad ex. 113)."

A similar one is told by E. von Pauw-Wissowa (ib. 1864) has pointed out that this legend of Romulus and the Arvals arose at the beginning of the Empire, when the Emperor, as a new Romulus, himself belonged to the priesthood.

One additional piece of information is given by Festus (ed. Müller, p. 5): "Ambaravales hostiae are sacrificial animals (hostiae) which were wont to be sacrificed on behalf of the fields by the twelve (duodecin, so Augustini; duobus, MS) brothers."

These are evidently the Arvals (cf. Macrobii, Sat. Conv. iii. 5. 7.)

With such a story beginning it might well seem foolish to expect that the discoveries of modern times would put us in the position of knowing more about the Arvals than about any other Roman priesthood. Yet such is the case, and it is entirely owing to the discovery of inscriptions.

2. Inscriptions.—These discoveries began in 1570 (on the date of a possibly Aldobrandini in Cod. Vatican. 5237, f. 158). In that year, while workmen were digging in a field five miles outside the Porta Portese on the Via Campana, near the Papal villa La Magliana, in the region which then as now was known as Area Latina ("Drown the donkey"), more precisely, in a vineyard then called Vigna Galletti (later Vigna Cecarelli, now Vigna Vignoli), the remains of a building were discovered. In the asp of this building were found nine (according to other authorities seven) statues of Emperors who had been members of the Arval priesthood. In each case the base with the inscription was preserved.

Flamiano Vacca (Memoria, ed. Nibby, Roma Antica, iv., No. 98; ed. Schreiber, Rerum Italicarum Scriptor. Lat. no. 99) says: "A good two miles outside the above-mentioned gate (Porta Portese), in a place which is called "Drown the donkey," towards the "Black Horse" inn, were found in the time of Gregory xiv. (1572-1576; 1570 seems correct) many columns in marble, and each one had his pedestal with an inscription; and also columns for a market. The bases of these columns were sawn up and used for the Cappella Gregoriana at the Peter's. Three of the columns were seen at the time. They were, however, of only fairly good workmanship." Baldare Sforza's husband, Silvestro or Sallustio, made a sketch of the ground-plan of this building at the time of its restoration. These are preserved in Florence (Diaptyghe et Architettura, No. 661), and are reproduced by Huelsen, Eph. Ephig. vili. Tab. II.
The statues have entirely disappeared, and all the inscriptions except one (CIL vi. 1012: to Marcus Aurelius, preserved in the Vatican, Giardino della Pigna; cf. Amelung, Veröffungen des vatikanischen Museums, pp. 109, 110) have been preserved in copies (CIL vi. 968, 1024, 1053, 1093). The seven emperors are: Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Gordian.

At the same time were found fragments of inscriptions containing the names of the priestesses of the priestesses of the grove, and the names of the priestesses of the temple, and of the temple. These fragments have been published in copies (CIL vi. 1866, 1868, 136, Tab. iv.). A third proof of age is the sacred grove which stands, the words of which have been preserved to us in the minutes of the year 218 (CIL vi. 23: vi. 2104: Buecheler, Carmina Epigraphica, No. 1 = Schneider, Exempla, No. 392, where other literature may be found). This discovery at the time was poorly understood by the people of the Augustan age.

The fact that the grove is sacred was noted in the list of old festivals in the so-called calendar of Numa, printed against its very great age. It was a movable feast, and hence could not be engraved on a permanent stone calendar. We cannot tell the exact nature of the Arvals' worship in this early period. In Augustus' restoration certain of the old festivals were retained, but it is impossible to say from what is new in his scheme. Hence it is better to leave the discussion of details until the Augustan age.

In general, however, we can think of the Arvals during the Kingdom and the early centuries of the Republic as performing their sacrifices to Mars and the Deus Dia, one of those numerous agricultural ceremonials of which the ritual of early Rome was so full. As we have seen above, the history of the priesthood during the Republic is absolutely unknown to us, but we are probably correct in thinking that in the priesthoods. Our first definite reference to the new life into which the Arvals entered with the coming of the Empire is found in the Monumentum Ancyranum (iv. 7), where Augustus, in reconstituting the priesthoods to which he belongs, mentions that of the Arval Brothers. This record, written at the close of Augustus' life, is therefore contemporaneous with what has hitherto been supposed to be the earliest datable fragment of the Arval inscriptions, from a.d. 14, the year which saw Augustus' reign end and that of Tiberius begin. On the other hand, together with the Arval inscriptions were found fragments of a list of consuls (Pistati Consulares, cf. CIL ii. 70 ff.). The fragments cover the years b.c. 2 to a.d. 37. It has been supposed, accordingly, that the restoration of the Arval priesthoods by Augustus in or before the year b.c. 2, and probably not earlier than b.c. 12, when on the death of Lepidus he became Pontifex Maximus. This office would unquestionably be the best strategical point for a revision of the priestly cult. It has been shown (by Hulin, Arch. Epir. Mitt. xvi. 1892, p. 23 ff.; for counter-arguments, which, however,
It is not convincing, cf. Mommsen, Eph. Epigr. viii. 305ff.) that one fragment at least (CIL vi. 32338) dates from the year B.C. 29. Accordingly, Augustus refused, and, as we have seen before, he became Pontifex Maximus. We have, however, other indications of Augustus's interest in religious restoration at the very beginning of his reign, notably the augurium solutio of B.C. 29 (aptly compared by Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Enc. ii. 1468; cf. Dio Cass. liii. 8. 2, on the building of temples in B.C. 28 (proves for this date especially Dio Cass. lii. 2, and Hor. Carm. iii. 6, collected by Mommsen, Rez Gestae, p. 86).

The college as re-organized seems to have contained 24 members. Apart from the own elective officers and these lads of noble families, the Arvals were assisted in their work by a number of slaves and freedmen. Some of these, the regular servi publici, were assigned to them by the Emperor. Besides these, each brother had his own servant (calator), whom they assisted in the old ritual, and more concerned with the adaptation of the priesthood to the purposes of the moment. All these new adaptations, including the beginnings made by Augustus, were attempts to connect the priesthood of the Arvals with what was becoming more and more the universal religion of the Empire, namely, Emperor-worship. Thus the greater number of the ceremonies performed by the Arvals were in the interest of the Emperor and of the Imperial household.

The cult acts of the Arvals fall therefore into two categories: (1) those acts which are connected with the old forms of the religion of the Kingdom and of the early Republic, and (2) those acts which are connected with the Emperor.

(1) Let us discuss, first, those acts which go back to the old cult. We have seen above, in our discussion of the early history of the cult, that it was originally one of the many agricultural worships characteristic of early Rome. We have left until now the discussion of details.

So much did the Emperor and his household monopolize the attention of the Arval Brothers that during the early part of the Empire, when the minutes are in general more concise, we have relatively few references to any of the really ancient ceremonies. As the minutes become more diffuse, however, the descriptions of the older rites are more dependable. And we may believe with Mommsen that when the Flavians have a full account of at least the May festival. Thanks to the conservative tendency of ritual performance, we are justified in considering that what we know of the ceremonies as conducted in the year 218 corresponds almost exactly with the ceremony as restored by Augustus.
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describing these ceremonies, therefore, we are at liberty to use them as though they were contemporaneous inscriptions covering more than two centuries.

The ancient ceremonies of which we find traces in the acts of the Arvals may be roughly divided into two classes: (a) those which relate to the great festival in May, and (b) certain piaule, or pro-pitiatory ceremonies, carried out under special circumstances.

(a) The festival in May.—As has been said above, the May festival belonged to the category of movable feasts, the so-called Feriae Indiciae. The days on which it was to be celebrated had to be formally announced at the beginning of the year, and we have therefore no known record of the date. It must in the nature of things go back to the earliest days of the priesthood, and may well have been mentioned in all the minutes from the time of Augustus. The first indicetio actually preserved is of the year a.d. 21 (CIL vi. 32340). As an illustration of the process may be quoted the acta of the year 105 (CIL vi. 2057, l. 11):

‘Under the same consul on the seventh day before the Ides of January, in the vestibule of the temple of Concord, the Arval Brothers, Marcus Valerius Trabelius Decianus, the magister, having written the name of the new year, opened the doors to the open air and facing the east, together with his colleagues set the date for the festival of the Dea Dia, thus for this year: So many days, and the names of the magistrates, Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, and for his whole household, for the Roman people, for the Quindecim and for the Arval Brothers, the festival of the Dea Dia shall take place this year on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of June (May 19) at home, and on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of June (May 16) in the grove and at home, and on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of June (May 20) as the festival of the temple of Concord.’

Though the festival was indicated every year, there arose by degrees a certain regularity in the dates chosen. For the earlier period before Vespasian more or less irregularity prevailed, but from Vespasian onward, with the exception of the year 90, the dates chosen are the 17th, 19th, and 20th of May (in the years of the city which were even in number according to Varro’s reckoning), and the 27th, 29th, and 30th of May (in the years of the city which were uneven in number according to Varro’s reckoning).

The festival itself accordingly occupied three days, but extended over a period of four days, because the first and second day were separated by an interval of a day, the familiar dies postridiu-

anceus. Of these three days the second was the most important, and on this day solemn sacrifices were held in the grove, whereas on the entire first and third days the celebration was held in Rome.

Regarding the localities in which these ceremonies took place the following seems to have been the state of affairs:—In Rome itself the Arvals had no official meeting-place of their own. In the minutes of the earlier years we find them meeting in the year 14 in the Regia, in 58 in the temple of Jupiter Stator, in 59 in the Pantheon, in 63 in the temple of Concord, and from 69 onward they were before the temple of Concord, though naturally when ceremonies were held in honour of the various deities referred to in the acta they went to the temple of the particular Emperor. In the grove itself there were no regular buildings, but buildings had been made there. First, there was the temple of the Dea Dia, which was on or near the hill near the Roman Forum. When we speak of the grove in the Renaissance sketches seem to represent it. Probably in this temple the marble tablets containing the acts were exposed. As we have seen above, the temple was not near the foot of the hill but a building referred to as the Tetraestylum. As its name implies, it was rectangular, and it is therefore probable the temple stood a year to the same year as the Arval and Flavian Alpsins a fanam . . . and then they wished the customary good wishes, and went down out of the grove; and, taking off their prayer-books and the other things they had, and banqueting in the Tetraestylum. And the platters with the magnificent earthenware and other vessels with the wine; sets of each of the priests were carried into the Tetraestylum like a solemn circus procession. And after the banquet each of those present received the sporta (the ‘sporta’ and) their own. Then the AEnius Atilianus, the vicemagister, put on a tunic with a broad border and the purple mantle, and upon his head a wreath of roses, and he took his place above in the Carceres and

of certainty on account of the other various descriptions in other years of the minutes):

‘Under the same consul on the sixth day before the Kalends of June (May 23), in the great house of AEnius Atilianus, the vice-magister, officiating, the Arval Brothers made sacrifice at dawn with incense and wine, and they put on the white garments for UPPER and down into their hands the grove of the toga precepts, and also the bread crowned with laurel, and they anchored the Dea Dia with oil, and the Arval Brothers put on, in chairs, and, having washed their hands, and washed their hands, they put on the white garments for upper and lower, and placed them on dining chairs. And afterwards the toga precepts, the father and mother of each of whom were living, sons of senators, four in number, sat in the chairs and were served. And (for that purpose) the Arval Brothers reclined on couches ornamented with fluted valences, and made sacrifice with incense and wine; and the sacrifice was thinned with three on either side of the table and wrapped them in the napkins (to take home).

Likewise the second course, the dessert, was served, and were given to the other priests whose names are written above. Then, having distributed the roses, they gave the usual salutations of fare-

well.’

Thereupon follows immediately the account of the second day:—Likewise on the fourth day before the Kalends of June (May 29), in the great house of the Arval AEnius Alfenius, the vice-magister, officiating, at the altar two young sons, an offering of incense, and a sacrifice, and expiation for the past and future, and after the sacrifice were done, and then he sacrificed a heifer in honour of the Dea Dia, and going to the Tetraestylum he sat in his chair. Then returned to the altar, he himself sacrificed an ox, and carried it in the circle, in a silver brazer ornamented with a piece of turf, he offered the ox of the altar, and then he returned to the Tetraestylum and once again honored the sacrifice, and thereupon he took off his pretrea and returned to his tent. Moreover, in the afternoon there were sacrifices on a table that was destined for the Tetraestylum and on the benches and entered in the official records that they were made and come together with the doors of the temple and the table and the altar, upon the young sons which had been sacrificed for expiation, and afterwards consumed the blood. Then wearing the pre-
trea, with covered head and crowned with laurel, he went up into the grove, and AEnius Atilianus, the vice-

magister, officiating, they sacrificed a fattened lamb, and I examined the victims and saw that they were well, and when the sacrifice had been completed, they all made offering of incense and wine. That afternoon they went to their seats and marked the time, danced the step, singing thus: “Enos Lasa evate, enos Lase evate, noevue Marmarni surncires in pleines, noevue Marmarni surncires in pleines! satitur fu, fere Mars! limes sal, sta berber! satitur fu, fere Mars! limes sal, sta berber! fere Mars! limes sal, sta berber! fere Mars! limes sal, sta berber! fere Mars!”

And the third day, that a given sign was to be held among the priestesses, and the other priestesses, and the poets, and the magistrates, and the others. And after the third day, they wished the customary good wishes, and went down out of the grove; and, taking off their prayer-books and the other things they had, and banqueting in the Tetraestylum like a solemn circus procession. And after the banquet each of those present received the sporta (the ‘sporta’ and) their own. Then the AEnius Atilianus, the vicemagister, put on a tunic with a broad border and the purple mantle, and upon his head a wreath of roses, and he took his place above in the Carceres and

2194. It reads as follows (filling out the lacune, a process which can be accomplished with a high degree
gave the signal to the four-horse chariots and to the two-horse chariots, and to the vaulters ... and when the circus performances finished, Diocletian rode to Rome into the house of the magistrate, and put on white dining garments, and, reclining upon couches with fatted banquets there and interceding with incense and wine; and there ministered unto them the sons of senators, the boys above mentioned, whose fathers and mothers were slain. And when the sacrifice was finished, they received perfumes and wreaths, and again they consecrated perfumes and wrapped them in napkins, and each one received a Phialæ (Phialæ: new dishes) and carried on their head the dessert, and then they took the roses and wished the customary good wishes.

Easily comes the account of the third day. On the second day before the Kalends of June (May 30), in the house of the magistrate, in ancient assemblies, the sacred assemblies took place to the Dea Dia. At the supper there were present (a list of names follows), and reclining upon couches with fatted banquets there and interceding with incense and wine, ministered to them those same sons of senators above mentioned, those boys whose fathers and mothers were slain; and these, bidden by the guests and the slaves of the State, carried the sacrificial grain-stalks to the altar. Then, lighting the lamps, they took the Tuscan wine-jars and sent them home by their private servants. Then they divided the second course, the dessert, and received wreaths and perfumes and sportulae (each 100 denarii). In this year they feasted for a common meal on each day, the sixth, the fourth, and the third day before the Kalends of June, and there feasted also the boys, the sons of senators, four in number, and they (too) received each day a sportula. And they wished the customary good wishes.

In spite of the detailed character of our information, the question still remains open as to the precise meaning of these ceremonies. The one thing which binds the three days together is the presence of the grain-stalks, which the Brothers handled at dawn on the first day, which were passed from hand to hand at the solemn sacrifice of the second day, and applied to the altar on the third day. The presence of these grain-stalks, the very name itself (Arved = 'land-brother'), the crowns of ears of wheat, their religious year from Saturnalia ('seed-festival') to Saturnalia, and the time of the festival in May at the close of the long series of agricultural festivals—all proclaim the character of their worship as intimately connected with agriculture.

Riddles in abundance remain, however. One is the identity of the chief goddess, the Dea Dia. This is, of course, not a proper name, but is merely one of those adjectival descriptions so common in early times (cf. Bona Dea, Di Mnes, Dea Tacta), which were employed because of the reverent fear of mentioning the real name (that this fear was especially felt regarding agricultural deities is clear from Pliny, bn. xvi. 50, and Eutychus, Ann. Conv. i. 16. 8). This goddess can scarcely be other than Tellus or the old Italic Ceres. Another difficulty is the relation of this May festival to the Arborvalia. This has been the subject of a long discussion (full literature on both sides is given in Pauly-Weihsowa, ii. 1475 ff.). The truth seems to be that the Arborval festival, while not identical with the Arborvalia in a whole, was closely connected with it. That this connexion was very clear in the minds of later Roman writers is evident from Festus, p. 6 (quoted above, p. 7).

(a) Expatriatory ceremonies. A part from this great annual festival in May, the only traces of ancient ritual which remain are those of certain expatriatory ceremonies (picaenodio). Two of these ceremonies—that connected with bringing instruments of iron into the grove, and that connected with taking them out again—have already been referred to. Other ceremonies are connected with the trees in the grove. We have a series of minor expiatory acts on account of broken branches or trees destroyed by old age or snow-storms. There are also certain marks or expiatory pietae of more serioyous importance—for example, the growing of a fig tree on the roof of the temple, or a tree in the grove being struck by lightning. An event of the latter character occurred in the year B.C. 249, and on that occasion the temple area was erected and many victims were sacrificed. Certain victims went to Dea Dia, to Janus, to Jupiter, to Mars, to the Juno of the Dea Dia, to the Virgines Dia, to the Famulæ Dia, to the Larès, to the mother of the Larès, to Pom, to Flora, to Nona, to Sumnus, to Mother Vesta, to the Vesta of the gods and goddesses, to Adelinda and Coimpenda, to the Genius of the emperor, and to the XX Divi.

(2) The other and more frequently recurring function of the Arborvala was its annual use in connexion with the Imperial household. They made sacrifices on birthdays, anniversaries of consecrations, on the occasion of accession to the throne, and on the giving of the title of pater patriae or of the office of pontifex maximus, etc. Extraordinary sacrifices were at times made on special occasions in the life of the Emperor—for example, when conspiracy was overthrown, when great military victories were won, when an Emperor was saved from shipwreck, etc. Another feature of their work was the making of regular annual vows (vota) on behalf of the safety of the Emperor and of the members of the Imperial household.

We have seen that the inscriptions begin with Augustus and continue down into the reign of Gordian. During this time the priesthood was in the main prosperous. There is, however, a slight indication that even before the close of this period the tide of prosperity had turned. It lies in the fact that the latest datable inscription (that of the year 241) gives the sportula as twenty-five denarius instead of the one hundred denarius always mentioned in the inscriptions. The altar of the State was therefore being reduced. We may suppose that this reduction was at least continued, if not increased, during the subsequent reign of Philip, who showed decided tendencies towards Christianity (cf. Ersi, Ann. 185, 72 E.).

Under Gratian (382, cf. Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 20) the Arval's wealth went into the public treasury, but the geographical location of the temple and the grove outside the city of Rome, and possibly also the connexion with a circus for public amusements, would tend to preserve it (Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 3). In any case it was preserved as a matter of fact. The proofs for this are sufficient, though in the main negative. Before the time of Constantine the catacombs of St. Gensere was built in the immediate neighbourhood of the Arval grove, but no materials from this period are known (cf. de Rossi, Roma Sottosuore, iii. 689 ff.). The same respect for the grove was shown when Pope Damasus (366–384) built the oratory of the Martyrs Simplexus Faustinus and Viatrice. The first description of the marble plates occurred in the building of a Christian cemetery in the 5th or 6th century (Henzen, Acta, p. xxv).

Litteratur.—The best general discussion: G. Wiusowa, s. n. "Arvales" in Pauli-Weihsowa, ii. (Stielgert, 1890) 1469–1495. The inscriptions themselves are available in Ueberlieferung, parts i and 4. With these inscriptions may profitably be read Henzen's splendid Commentary, Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt, Berlin, 1874; and Huelken's Commentary in Ephemeris Epigraphicas, viii. G. Gatti's article "Arvales" in de Ruggiero's Dizionario Epigrafico, i. 682–716, may also be consulted.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

ARYAN RELIGION.

[O. Schrader]
ARYAN RELIGION

Mythology (collected in 2 vols., 1897), Lectures on the Science of Language (1851–64), along with the "Essays," Chips from a German Workshop (1867–75), Origin and Growth of Religion (1878), and Biographies of Germans (1888), etc., are well known throughout the whole learned world—went even further than A. Kuhn in the naturalistic explanation of mythical names. As specially characteristic of the views of both scholars, the fact may be mentioned that they both discovered old Aryan myths, but tried also to deduce their origin from the character of human speech, its capacity for poetic interpretation, its polyponymy and homonymy, etc. Such is, in a very condensed form, the conception of Aryan religion held by Kuhn and Müller, for the full characterization of which we should have to note also the meager attention given in the works of both scholars to the important sphere of religious ceremonies or worship. This conception continued to be the prevailing one down to the eighties of last century, although from an early period currents were perceptible which, issuing from various departments of science, seemed to threaten the foundations of the Kuhn-Müller theory.

While this theory, in its re-construction of the Aryan religion, started mainly from the oldest literary remains of the Aryan races, first of all the Veda, and then the Avesta, Homer, and the Edda, on the other hand, the science which has become known under the title of 'Folklore,' and which has as its aim the collecting of the legends, fairy tales, customs, and habits still prevalent among the people, directed attention to the forms of the so-called lower mythology, and sought to prove that the very oldest material is to be found in analogies, such as those of the Gods of the Germanic races and the modern German gods, in common ideas among mankind, it was held to be demonstrable that many exalted divine and heroic figures originated in these circles. The most successful representative of this view was W. Mannhardt, in his two chief works, Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarn (Berlin, 1875, 2nd ed. 1904) and Antike Wald- und Feldkulte, aus norddeutscher Überlieferung erläutert (Berlin, 1877, 2nd ed. 1905). Then, in addition to this, the study of ethnology began to strain the universal comparative history of religion, pointed to a series of apparently primitive universal religious ideas among mankind, of which at least traces were found also among the Aryan races, and which did not seem to fit well into the system conceived by Kuhn and Müller. The ancestor theory, especially, according to which all religions spring from the worship of the dead, was placed in the foreground from the anthropological side, and was applied to the Aryan races by J. Lippert in Die Religionen der europäischen Kulturvölker, der Litauer, Slaven, Germanen, Griechen und Römer in ihrem geschichtlichen Ursprung (Berlin, 1881); and in England, by H. Spencer, Principles of Sociology (1876–90), followed by Grant Allen, Evolution of the Idea of God (1887).

Similarly Elwin Hugo Meyer, in his Indogermanische Mythen (Berlin, 1883, 1887), distinguished three chief periods in the formation of myths: belief in souls, in spirits, and in gods, the first of which he designated pre-Aryan, the second Aryan, and the third post-Aryan.

Moreover, even the opinion that the poems of the Rigveda (from which, as we saw, the adherents of the Kuhn-Müller theory started, especially with regard to their interpretation of myths) introduce its directly to the domain of native nature-poetry began to waver, and there were many acute interpreters who claimed to discover, in the very
old parts of the Veda, traces of decay and of priestly refinement. This objection to the Kuhn-Müller explanation of myths has been urged with special force by O. Gruppe in his book, Der griechische Kulte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orient. Religionen, i. (Leipzig, 1887); and in England by A. Lang, Cutlier Myth, Myth, Ritual, and Religion (1889), and Modern Mythology (1897). Gruppe points out that a great many of the mythical figures of the Rigveda are explicable not by natural phenomena and occurrences, but by certain priestly manipulations of the language, and he concludes that himself believes the Aryans of primitive times to have been completely devoid of religion, and ascribes the uniformity of their myths and worship, almost in the same way as Creuzer, to the enormous number of religious formulas that by borrowed from India and Egypt and transferred to Greece, India, and Middle and North Europe.

Finally, at the end of the seventies, Comparative Philology, whose daughter the comparative mythology of the Aryan people might well be considered to have had great influence upon a new phase of its development, inasmuch as from that time onwards the demand for a regular system in the correspondence of sounds as the result of etymological comparisons of words and forms was more emphatically insisted on. Naturally, the claim was made that the more spacious identifications proposed by students of the history of religions; and it became evident that the great majority of these identifications, and among them many which had hitherto been regarded as the marks of etymology, were phonetically untenable: e.g., Skr. gandharvā = Gri. στέφανος ('Gandharvans and Kenenarians'); Skr. marutās = the Maruts = Lat. Mars; Skr. vāra = Gri. Oīsphoros; Skr. Mānu = Gri. Muros; and many others (see A. A. Maclollan, 'Volks Mythen und das Alterthum,' Leipzig, 1897).

Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that doubt of the correctness of the Kuhn-Müller interpretation of mythology increased year by year, and that finally people actually arrived at the view that it was impossible to ascertain with certainty anything whatever about the oldest religious ideas and customs of the Aryans (cf. e.g. E. Zupitza, in the Ztschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde, 1901, p. 240; A. Lang, Cutlier Myth, 1884, Mythology, 1897). But this was the same as saying that all our knowledge of the Aryan religion was based on the work of the nineteenth century, and that the history of the Aryan religion was a history of the investigations of the last century.

Method. In a thoughtful address, entitled Die Aufgabe der theologischen Fakultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1901), A. Harner says:

"In the first place, it needs but little consideration to recognize that the attempts of single researchers to mean to separate from the study of the history of the people concerned. . . . To try to study the religion alone is a more than sufficient. If we can only trace the roots of the blossom instead of the whole plant.

On account of this indissoluble connexion between the history, or, more accurately, the history of the culture, of a race and its religion, which will often meet us in the following discussion, it goes without saying that the materials which furnish us with a knowledge of the culture of the primitive Aryans are in reality the same as those which make possible for us an acquaintance with their religious ideas. As the present writer has recently treated the former in detail in the preface to his Reallex. der indog. Altertumsw. (Strassburg, 1901) and in the 3rd ed. of his work Sprachvergleichung und. Urzüge (I. Teil: 'Geschichte und Methodik der. linguisch-historischen Forschung,' Jenia, 1896), it is only necessary for him to characterize it shortly here in its special application to the history of religion.

The materials which are at our disposal for the investigation of pre-historic periods of culture are derived partly from language, partly from things. With regard to the former, we must first of all, with very strict regard to phonetic laws, compare the pre-historic equivalents discovered in the history of religion. For example, there exists beyond all doubt an equivalence of this kind in the group of words: Skr. devi = Lat. dea; Lat. saepe, dea, Old Norse tiara, 'God'; and Max Müller is certainly right when, at different times, he has reckoned the establishment of an etymology of this kind among the most important achievements of the mental history of mankind. In this search for the primitive equivalents of the words, we naturally exclude that is confined to particular languages of the Aryan group, which we, know, were united to each other more closely than to the other languages. This holds, e.g., of the very considerable number of etymological correspondences like Skr. सौन = Avesta hawam for the soma plant, which played so important a rôle in the cultus of both peoples; Skr. mitra = Avesta mitra for the sun-god Mitra; Skr. होता = Avesta xotar for a certain class of priests, etc. The attempt to find the name of an expression for a certain idea to the non-existence of that idea itself, are, on the whole, dangerous, as negative deductions are. But it is otherwise when provisionally related expressions are wanting for a whole class of ideas. When, e.g., all attempts have failed to prove that real god-names existed in the earliest times, or when there is no etymological agreement to be found between two languages for the idea of the temple, these facts will require due consideration in deciding the question whether there really were god-names and temples in the primitive Aryan period.

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the only way in which philology can be of service to the history of religion is by placing at its disposal the primitive etymological equivalents in the sphere of myth. As the present writer has recently said in saying that the history of religion is reflected in the history of language, and that only he who knows the latter is in a position to seek to decipher the former. In fact, the whole formation of religious ideas can be understood only by the aid of philology. When we can recognize the god-names of the separate Aryan races, if, as we have just seen, they cannot be recognized in the vocabulary of the primitive language? What religious thought called them
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into being in each separate case; and how did this, their fundamental idea, afterwards grow deeper and wider? The only answer, if it must be, is, probably, the admission that it was historically attested in the various Aryan races; but the chief task in this field of investigation must always be the comparison of the religious notions and practices of the ancient peoples, and the attempt to select from the crowd of their heterogeneous phenomena what is common and original. And there can be no doubt concerning the path to be pursued, provided that the analogy between the Aryan and the Semitic religions is recognized, and the attempt to sift the material, and to form a conclusion concerning the extent of the religious ideas, is made. The ancient Aryan religion, as it is known to us, is not in the least a collection of meaningless fragments; it is a system of religions ideas, and is to be treated as such. It is known to us from the works of the ancient authors, and from the monuments of the ancient peoples. It is known to us from the monuments of the ancient peoples.

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Now, even although the aid which is given to religious history by philology is great and many-sided, yet it is a great mistake to believe, as was formerly done, that the religion of the primitive Aryans, like their culture generally, could be deduced simply from etymological research. It is true that the above-mentioned equation, Skr. deus = Lat. deus, shows us clearly that there were divine beings even in primitive times; but we cannot expect from philology any information regarding the religious ideas of the ancient peoples. In this, as in all other questions, therefore, the comparison of things and the investigation of things must accompany the comparison of words.

This brings us, in the first place, to Pre-history or Pre-historic Archeology, a science which, in general, is based in no small degree on certain religious conceptions and customs of prehistoric man. For we owe the majority of prehistoric relics, as is well known, to the ancient wide-spread practice of the worship of the dead and the souls, how and where the dead were buried, what was placed beside them in the way of food and drink, what weapons and implements were laid in the grave or on the funeral pyre, and why the corpse was buried in this or that position, turned in this or that direction, are naturally connected most closely with problems of the history of religion. But discoveries of another kind—such as sacrificial stones, idols, amulets, bronze kettles, bronze chariots, no doubt serving a religious purpose (one well-known instance is the chariot of blown and carved stone found at Trundholm as recently as 1904, cf. S. Muller, Urgeschichte Europas, Strassburg, 1904, p. 116), and many others—possess great significance in religious history, even if at first they raise more problems than they enable us to solve.
the breath of life in men and animals;" anima (cf., in phonetic connexion, Skr. ast = Lat. ensis = 'swoot'), and once more with Skr. átura, Avesta ahura (Ahura-mazda) = 'god,' 'lord.'

The facts referred to find their explanation in a series of other related phenomena. As is the case with all the other souls, we have in the Aryan languages as breath, wind, vapour or smoke. A primitive Aryan expression for this survives in the equation Skr. átman = O.H.G. átum = 'breath,' 'soul' (Ir. athach = 'breath'), while the closely related equation of Gr. μῦρος (cf. also Lat. Minerva from *Monevea) seems to me not to be such too much the physical substratum of the soul as its spiritual power (cf. Gr. μεωμα = 'I strive').

The heart of man appears to be regarded as the real seat of the soul, a fact which seems to follow, on the one hand, from the Gr. ψευδα, primitive spiritual beings (cf. below, pp. 27, 52), and their identity with ἐστὶ 'heart,' and, on the other hand, from the circumstance that the Indian mánas also has its abode in the heart, as being the size of the thumb (cf. Oldenburger, Die Religion des Veda, p. 528). The heart is also viewed as the starting-point of numerous spiritual functions and emotions: Lat. cœr 'mad,' recordari 'to remember,' Old Slav. срддити 'to be angry,' Bulg. срдце 'courageous' (Lat. cor, Old Slav. срддье 'heart'), etc. From the notion of the physical heart has been developed further, for the notion of the soul: Lat. animas 'soul,' anima 'breath'; Gr. ανεμος 'wind' (Skr. anīti = 'he breathes'); Gr. φύσι = ψυχα 'breath'; Gr. ψαύσι (Π. vili. 131 identical with ψευδα) Skr. ṇתmā, Latin fānum 'smoke,' etc.

This breath or soul, then, is enclosed in the body of man, which, however, it leaves on the advent of death, also temporarily in the phenomena of sleep and dreams, in order to lead an independent existence. From the spiritual beings formed in this way there have been derived a vast host of spirits conceived as partly harmful and partly helpful, for which there exist in the Aryan languages a vast number of cognate expressions.

Some of these are: Skr. आदि, Avesta ādya = Old Nor. árdrug, Old Saxon άδηρ, O.H.G. ābruc (cf. also A.S. ārde, 'larva mortalis,' and perhaps Old Nor. dærgr, M.H.G. tweer 'dwarf') 'ghost,' 'goblin,' 'soul,' 'breath,' 'scream'; Gr. ἀνάμνησις 'injury'; Skr. रोह, Vedic expression for three clever elfish beings (Rohini, Ztschr. V. d. Ind. u. Ihrer Völkern, 32), = Old Nor. dír, A.S. elf, M.H.G. dp, 'fairy,' 'ghostly being,' 'demon,' 'nightmare' (cf. W. Grimm, Kleine Schriften, i. 405, B. and also Schrader, Rasselsohn, art. Zweige und Rassen); common Teutonic M.H.G. mor ml., Old Nor. morr, A.S. mere, M.H.G. mor, 'oppress, hinder.' Old Eng. dēmon = Old Eng. st. morr 'witch,' 'demon,' 'goblin,' Ir. mor-fédirin, G. lansia = 'demon-reign, a demon,' Old Nor. mor, A.S. morr 'the dead' (esp. on the battlefield!)-Lat. morire, moris, mori 'to die,' in the sense of most terrors, as the habitation of unclean spirits in general; Goth. habus 'man,' Old Nor. hús 'soul'; = Old Eng. morne 'corporeal form of spirits which enter the human body in many forms, = 'ghost, goblin,' etc. Perhaps equivalent = Lat. coeptis 'dwarf-spirit,' 'hellish spirit,' etc.

To this class of beings, which will engage our attention, in the discussion of the conception of fate (below, p. 52), belong originally the two series of words which were discussed above, namely, Gr. ἄγγελος and Goth. ansas; but these words took on a higher meaning under the influence of the worship devoted to the souls of the dead, and ultimately became associated with those divine beings for whom the Latin Jupiter was the characteristic term.

The word dēna, as we have shown above, corresponds to the Skr. dēna, Ir. diā, Lith. dūmės, Old Nor. tāvör, and along with these goes back to an Aryan root *dēvo-*, which, in consequence of its close connexion with Aryan *dīya-*, Skr. dīṣya 'sky,' Gr. Zeus, Lat. Jupiter, appears to have had some such meaning as 'the heavenly.' Now, since the Aryan *dīya-*, as the use not only of the Indian dīṣya, but also of the Gr. Zeus and Lat. Jupiter proves, originally denoted merely the invisible sky and earth, as a god, Zeus stands in post-Aryan times from *dīya-* must have signified.

A later formation from Skr. dīṣya, diva = Gr. Zeus, Dēna is Skr. divāṇ = Gr. θεος from 'theos—heavenly.'
When, on the other hand, cremation is proved by the Avesta, as existing among non-Zoroastrian tribes, or when the followers of Zarathustra, as well as the Persian Magi, previously to burying their dead, exposed them to be devoured by dogs, birds and beasts of prey, we must in both cases undoubtedly detect the introduction of ancient customs, the last-mentioned of which seems to have originated among the wild mountain tribes of the Oræite in Baluchistan (cf. Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 105: τὸ γὰρ τελευταίαν παρὰ αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα φεύγων αἱ συνεγείρει γυμνόι, Μέγας ἔχεται. εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφαγῆς τῶν θεών ἀποστημένων τὰ μνῆμα περικειμένων τὸ νεκρὸν κάρον περιφράσσεται, τὸ δὲ σώμα τοῦ τελευταίου καταλείπετοι βοράν τοῖς θηρίοις). Similar conditions confront us among the European Aryans, especially among the Greeks. In the shaft-graves, and in the beehive and chamber tombs of the Mycenaean period, the dead were entombed unburned in a partly mummified state (cf. Tsountas-Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, chs. v. vi.). And even if, in the face of these discoveries, we must take account of the possibility of a non-Greek population in Mycenae Grecia, the case is different with the great Athenian cemetery which has been open to view in the N. W. of the town since the year 1891 (cf. A. Brückner and E. Pernice, *Ein attischer Friedhof* in *Mitteil. d. kais. deutschen arch. Institutes*, Athen. Abt. xviii.). Among the nineteen *dypon-graves* of the gods of the north, in this burying-place, only one contained an urn with burnt bones; and this state of affairs agrees with the assurances of Greek local antiquaries, who claim to have seen no *προστατικός τάφος* with a burnt body. So, when burning and burning are met with in the Greece of antiquity alongside of each other, there can be no doubt that the former custom must be regarded as the more primitive, and that the Homeric world with its practice of body-burning represents an innovation contrary to the primitive Greek custom and burial which is preserved in the mother-country. 

The *Roman* tradition corresponds to the conditions actually found among the Greeks. According to Pliny, burial preceded cremation in Rome also (cf. H. N. vii. 187): *Eum cremare et sepelire nolit: non fuit veteris institutum; terra cumbens...et tamen multis familiae priscos servaverit ritus, sicut in Cornelia nemo ante Sulpian dictorem indigerit cremation.*

*An* old royal custom referring to the so-called *Cesarian operation* (cf. M. Voigt, *Über die leges regis* in *ASG*, vii.: *negat lex regia multiem, quæ praemun mortua sit, kumari, antiquam partem ei excitat*). It appears to be a curiosity that the Romans practiced burial only, but the legislation of the Twelve Tables already sanctions both methods of disposal of the dead.

* Cf. Tab. x. (ed. Scholl): *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito nure write*; 8, 9: *nec vero aures addito cali asero dente luncl escent, aut in cum illo sepulcit uterque, se frando este.*

The excavations also indicate that burial was succeeded by cremation on ancient Latin soil. Thus in the lowest layer of the burning-place from which the beehive tombs of the Porta Ercolina contain rock-hewn burial chambers with unburned bodies; while in the second layer of soil in this cemetery, as well as in the necropolis of Alba Longa and among the most recent excavations of Professor Boni in the Forum Romanum, urns of ashes have been brought to light which point, no doubt, to a higher antiquity for cremation in Rome than might be expected from the historical tradition quoted. We have to rely solely on excavations with regard to the northern part of Italy. Here, in the famous burning-places belonging to the elder Iron Age, of Bologna, Villanova, and Marzobotto, the graves of bodies buried and burned almost contemporaneously lie close together. The latter class are assigned by *Mont-
The question simply is, At what time did the Teutons and Celts begin to cremate the dead? The final answer to this can be given only by pre-historic archæology, for want of older written evidences. This shows that in the lands occupied by the Celts and Teutons during the Neolithic Age, the corpses were interred unburned in dolmens, upright graves, and stone chests, and that it was only after the use of bronze had become more firmly established in Europe that cremation gradually came in. It further encourages more and more the opinion (cf. Montelius, AD xvi. 151 ff.) that the change of custom from burning to burial in the countries mentioned, without any real change in the population, so that in this way we should have to conclude that, for both Celts and Teutons, burial and not cremation was the oldest method of disposing of the dead, although history gives evidence only of cremation as a custom, and the older burial and Norway burial once more appears decisively during the younger Iron Age alongside of cremation, and we may doubt whether the former mode of disposing of the dead was at any time quite extinct. No one who considers the facts and conditions here described from a sufficient point of view will doubt, that, so far as the Aryan races are concerned, there is a not inconsiderable probability for the priority of burial over cremation, and that this flow is confirmed by a consideration of the language.

If it really happened, as J. Grimm (op. cit.) assumed, that cremation existed before burial, we should naturally expect this fact to be indicated somehow in the Scandinavian age myths, which contain, e.g., expressions for 'to dispose of the dead' should exhibit an original sense 'to burn.' But this is not at all the case; and even the Gr. ἐστωβείν, which means in historical usage 'to bury' and 'to burn,' can by no means, in spite of J. Grimm's contention, be connected with Skr. sopari, Lat. sepulcrum, Gr. ἐπόρροια, 'ashes,' but must very likely be connected with O.H.G. tunc, 'pit,' or with Armen. dawnan 'grave.' On the other hand, there is a widespread pre-historic designation of burial in the series: Old Fr. kapota, enkapde, 'to bury,' Lith. kapūs, 'ash,' Old Srv. kapatī, 'to how,' and the same change of meaning occurs in the equally primitive equation: O.H.G. grabō—Old Srv. grāba, 'grave,' 'cemetery' (Goth. graban, 'to dig'). This is the pre-historic designation of the grave also in the probable equation, Lat. orsus ('areus'), under world = Goth. arihazk, 'sepulchral cave' (cf. Bezzenerger, Betragge, xxvi. 166); while the Lat. sepulcrum, the oldest meaning of which was unburnt disposal, often serves as the passages of the Twelve Tables quoted above, through its connexion with the Skr. sopari, 'to serve,' 'to homage,' 'honour,' plainly expresses the ancient ritual significance of this mode of disposing of the dead (cf. also W. Schulze, in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xii. 393).
We are thus justified in assuming that the Aryans, alike in the land of their origin and after their arrival in what afterwards became their home, interred their dead unburned in carefully prepared graves. In some instances, the body buried must have been simply the desire to protect the body of the deceased, whether with the pious intention of warding off enemies and wild animals from it, or because, believing that the soul of the dead hovered around the corpse and is bound to its existence, they thought to secure the interests of the deceased by procuring for him the longest possible existence, and at the same time to serve the interests of the survivors—for they were afraid of ghosts—by confining the spirits of the dead rigidly to the grave. Or it may be that all these reasons worked together.

This intention of guarding the body of the dead person is exhibited on the grandest scale in those colossal tombs, known as dolmens, vaults, cairns, etc., which are scattered over Europe in the North, West, and South, and which also recur in North Africa, Palestine, and India; but the questions to which these buildings give rise rise from the side of the history of culture and ethnography (cf. S. Müller, Nord. Altertumskunde, i. Hoech, Ueber die Jahrh. künstl. Grabmäler, in 241 Zinek, Det nordøvpr., dysser territor, stengrae og dysserae udbrudelse i Europa; M. Much, Heimat der Indogermanen, Abschnitt v., 'Die grossen Steinräuber') are as yet so far from being settled that we cannot enter upon them here. At bottom, however, the same endeavour to protect and preserve the human corpse is expressed in the later but still pagan invention of the coffin. It is unknown during the whole of the Stone Age, and in Greece also, during the Mycenaean period of the Bronze Age. In Sparta, as late as the time of Lycurgus, the dead were, without any such covering, laid upon palm branches and leaves of the olive tree. Afterwards, as in the old Athenian cemetery (cf. above, p. 10), the bodies were enclosed in large vessels (stibi), and then the clay and wooden coffin and the stone sarcophagus gradually found their way into the South, borrowed perhaps from foreign countries. In the forest land of N. Europe there appeared for the first time, in the earlier Bronze Age, the so-called `tree of the dead', i.e. a hollowed-out tree trunk, with the body placed within it for the protection of the body. Any one who desires to convince himself of the preserving power of this manner of interment has only to examine, in the Copenhagen National Museum, the tree-coffin with the body of the Danish cairn. In ancient Russia, and in dialects even at the present day, the coffin bears the very name blada, bolada, i.e. `tree-trunk' (cf. N. Germ. Bodenstock). The Slavonians, even at the beginning of the 13th century, felled a hollow tree for the purposes of burial, shaped it, and pushed the dead body inside. The secreries of the province of Czernigovski are still said invariably to manufacture their coffins out of a complete tree-trunk. Moreover, coffins have long been found in Russia which were enveloped only in bark (cf. Pt.1jarezenski, op. cit. p. 222f.). This northern `tree of the dead', whose wide-spread use is a proof of the fact that the burial of the dead had never quite been given up, was afterwards superseded by the Christian coffin constructed from boards, which spread over Europe along with the diffusion of the new beliefs.

Elloquent witness is borne to this by numerous names of the coffin in the Teutonic languages—names which were borrowed from the Latin (O. Germ. dolma, Gr. dolma, from Turk. dolman, A.S. esto, eft, `coffin,' eftoma, `to coffin,' Old Nor. hok-estna from Late. esto, M.H. esto, nêska from Late. area, O.H. germ. arche, A.S. arce, `arch'.)

Thus all along, from the earliest to the most recent times, we see connected with the disposal of the dead by burial the endeavour to protect and preserve the corpse.

Now, in the most direct opposition to this series of ideas connected with the custom of cremation, which, as we have seen, emerges in pre-historic times among all the Aryan races, and subsists, alongside of burial, down even to the introduction of Christianity. While those who bury a body aim at protecting it by durable grave-constructions, we now find men resorting to fire as the most drastic means of destroying it. It is in reality a revolution which can be explained only by a complete change in the ideas about life after death, and which in recent years several famous scholars have declared to be the first. The first place here is due to Erwin Rohde and his book Psycho 2 (cf. 27.f.). According to his view, cremation is meant to effect the speedy and complete separation of the soul from the body, and this from an affectionate as well as a practical motive. If the body is burnt, the soul is bound to it; it enjoys no rest itself and allows none to the survivors, whom it terrifies by manifold appearances.

Nothing can destroy the visible counterpart of the soul more quickly than fire, when it is kindled, and the most precious belongings of the dead man are consumed in it, no bond can be formed between the soul and the body. In this relation to the latter, the body, they serve the interests of the dead, who no longer roam about restlessly, and still more those of the living, whom the souls banished to the depths of the earth can never meet again.

In essential agreement with Rohde, but independently of him, S. Müller, in his Nord. Altertumskunde (i. 393 ff.), is convinced that the main purpose of cremation is the release of the soul in order that it may find peace in the other life, while R. Much, in a comprehensive discussion of Müller's book (Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum, xviii. 315 ff.), lays greater emphasis on the release of the survivors of the dead person from the fear of him than on the release of his soul.

The thought of the dead person, if it was a case of burial, would involve the idea of the preserved but disfigured body, decomposed or already changed to a skeleton... But if the dead person had been burned, what was left of him was offered as new food for the imagination... The part which the dead under such circumstances played in the dreams, hallucinations, and imaginations of the survivors was undoubtedly a smaller and also a more fraction over; in other words, his soul entered more easily into the peace of a home of souls, or else followed its destined way at liberty within living and active nature.

In confirmation of his view, Much appeals to the custom, which long persisted, of burning what were supposed to be vampires, witches, sorcerers, and the like, for no other reason than to prevent their return.

In opposition to the opinion (which, by the way, is generally prevalent) of these three scholars, that the 'dogma' of cremation spread into Europe and Asia by passing from race to race, W. Ridgeway, in his work mentioned above, The Early Life of Greece, defends the view that cremation was brought by the conquering expeditions of a N. European Celtic race to Italy and Greece as well as to Iran and India. He holds that, at the same time and in the same way as the custom of burning the body, the belief had spread that an entrance into a world of the best was secured only by those who were burned by fire, but that cremation itself is rooted, in the last resort, in the conviction that it is only by fire that man can be freed from the pollution which death brings with it.

Setting aside this attempt of Ridgeway (which appears to have little foundation) to explain the spread of cremation among the Aryan races by migration of races instead of by 'waves of culture,' the more recent criticism of the general theories of the discussions of all four scholars important points of view have been suggested for the under-
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standing of the question with which we are here engaged, although naturally the hardest to be finally settled, is more or less credible conjectures on the subject. There is no doubt that the thought which in stages of primitive culture is expressed most frequently and plainly, as we shall see in the section on 'Deeds of the Dead' (p. 259), is the one that for us makes the entrance into a paradise beyond. But it cannot yet be decided whether cremation first originated from an Aryan race and spread 'wave-like' in different directions, or took rise outside the circle of Aryan life. The greater part of the material among the primitive Sumerian population of Babylonia, where, in the year 1887, huge burning-grounds of burned bodies, were brought to light in the two ruined sites of Sarghal and El Hibba (cf. R. Koldewey, in ZA ii. 453 ff.).

2. Attentions paid to the dead at the time of the disposal of the corpse, especially the gifts to the dead. — Whether, in primitive times, the body of the dead was buried or burned, the disposal of it must have been accompanied even then by a long series of solemn customs, which can still be ascertained by a careful comparison of the burial-rites handed down from the separate Aryan races. Unfortunately, such a comparison has not as yet been undertaken, and cannot be attempted in an exhaustive way here. To show, however, that nothing is lacking in the ancient region in this connexion, are two at least of the chief Aryan races, namely, the Greeks and the Lithuanian Slaves will be compared.

For the former we shall start from the description of the Greeks, taken from Polybius' Popular History (B. 21, 8ff.); for the latter we shall take special account of the above-mentioned (p. 175) work of Kotlowiczski (K.: cf. also Jomard, Musee des Sciences de Sacrifices, ii. 254ff.; Becker, Dorusormon, Liviana, aliarmare vicinarum gentium (Scriptores Rerum Livoniae, ii. 369 ff.); and F. V. Sejn (Sej.), A Study for Knowledge of the Life and Language of the Russian Population of the North-West' (White Russia), i. 2, 2nd ed., 'Burnal and Memorial Customs, Warnings over the Corpse, and Lamentations for the Dead,' in Trauds of the Depart- ment for the Russian Language, and Lit. of the St. Petersburg Acad. [Russ.] iii, No. 3, St. Petersburg, 1890, and the same author's work (K.), The Great Russians in his Songs, Usages, Customs, Superstitions, Tales, Legends, etc. [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1908, 1909, 2nd ed. pp. 777 ff. Thereafter the important subject of gifts to the dead will be discussed with regard to all the Aryan races.

(a) ANCIENT GREEK AND LITHUANIAN SLAV RITES OF THE DEAD.

(i) State of the corpse (προθάλαμος). — After the eyes and the mouth have been closed by the hand of the nearest relative, the corpse is washed and anointed by the women of the family, clothed in clean garments, and laid on the dead in the house for solemn lying in state' (R.).

In function he served several as a matrimonial, defunctorum cadaveria vestibus et calosis inductur, et erecta locandor super salum, cui ambulatorum iliorum propinquii perpetuo acc laurantur' (Mo. p. 291). On the appearance of the master of the house, the wife, and the persons intimately connected with the dead man, the lying in state takes place in the 'corner' (Ευθης), which in this case does not mean the corner under the sacred images, but the bench opposite the entrance door. Among other wishes connected with a 'decent' death, an, e.g., that in the hour of death all the relatives may be present, that the son may close the eyes, the daughter sing the song of the Russian peasant for the dead, and lie on his own 'bend' after his death; he has not died 'decently' if he has lain in the 'corner' in a stranger's house. 'They clothe the dead man in a clean garment, and lay him in the house, and in new clothes, which are replaced by boots only in wealthy families.' It is the bounden duty of the dead man's nearest relatives to close the palaestrae towards the sacred images (διαφορετικά) so that they are required to avoid most strictly any possible injury to his body, and even to the soles of their feet. 'It is the bounden duty of the dead man's nearest relatives to close the palaestrae towards the sacred images (διαφορετικά);' and so: 'They lay the dead body in the same dress, which was worn when they went to the place of worship; and in Homer (H. xix. 212) the dead person rests aná προθάλαμον τετράκινον.

A difference from the Greek custom is shown in the fact that among the Slavs the washing of the dead body, which, moreover, is regarded as a religious ceremony, is commonly performed not usually performed by relatives, but by strangers; in the case of men it is done by men, in the case of women by women, or sometimes in the case of both by old women.

(ii) The lamentation for the dead (διορκέσται). — The lamentation for the dead took place over the corpse lying on its bier, and the purpose of the lying in state was to give opportunity for this (R.). The spontaneous passionateness of this lamentation in the earliest times is attested not only in the description of the poet, but also in the meandering and the behaviour of the lawyers, especially Solon (Plutarch, Solon, 21), which were directed towards putting a check upon it. Solon will have only the women nearest of kin (cf. below, § 3) to take part in the lamentation, all the grief, scratching of the cheeks, and beating of the breast and the head are forbidden, as well as the singing of set forms (θρησκεύς πενθομά). Homer (H. xxiv. 707 ff.) gives a graphic account of what once prevailed: Priam carries the body of Hector to Troy. The whole town is assembled there before the corpse, and the lamentations the people surrounding Priam's chariot; wife and mother tear their hair at the sight of their beloved dead one. Priam now exerts himself: 'Give me place for the mules to pass through; hereafter ye shall have your fill of waiting when I have brought him into his house. There the body of Hector is laid on a splendid couch, professional singers strike up a melancholy air, accompanied by the woful cries of the women; then Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen step forward to the bier to utter their mourning songs which are doubtless meant by the θρησκεύς πενθομά of Solon's odic.

We meet with all these customs in everyday use in the Litho-Slavic world, sometimes even at the very threshold of the present day. From the laying of the dead body on the 'bench,' from the very moment of death, indeed, the lamentations of female relatives or neighbours continue throughout all the phases of the burial—often it is impossible to say whether more as a conventional necessity or as an expression of deep anguish. Moreover, they are repeated at the anniversary festivals of the dead, which will be spoken of below. The Arab Ibn Dushtah (K. p. 217) was acquainted with the fierceness of these outbursts of grief when he relates that the women incarceratę their hands and faces with knives when a member of the family died. And Sojn states of the White Russians of the present day (S. p. 535):

'The room of the peasants' house, in which the dead body was re-echoes with the weeping and mourning of relatives, neighbours, and acquaintances. In such a case the women naturally distinguish themselves by special ecstasies of feeling, their wailing and moaning and their despair at times reaching such a pitch that, on looking at them, one involuntarily begins to be apprehensive not only for the health, but even for the life of some of them.' Again, referring to the Great Russians, he says:

 Cf. e.g. H. xvii. 228, (the son of Nestor announces the death of Patroclus to Achilles):

εἰς δόξαν τὸν (Achilles) δ' ἄγος καρδιάς ξηλώλον μελανίναν. οἵτως δὲ χριστὶ ἐλικὸν κύκλως ἀνέτασεν. χιτονὶ καὶ κέλαλις, χριστὶ καὶ θόλοι οἰκίζοντος ἰδίων μελανίνας. "Χελώνη δὲ οὐκ ἔχει ἐκείνῃ τῇ λίρᾳ τῇ νησίῳ δὲ, "οὐκ ἔχει καὶ τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῇ θάλασσῇ ἐκείνῃ, ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἀνθρώπων ὠφελείᾳ, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐχεῖ καὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῇ θάλασσῇ." "Χριστὶ καὶ θόλοι, χριστὶ καὶ θόλοι τῆς πετροφόρους ἔκκλησιον, κάθεν δ' ὅσῃ γείτον ἐκείνος." 1

1 Cf. H. xii. 230, (Homer, in his anger):

Βράζει δ' ὁ ποιητής, ἱερὰ καρδιάς ἀνέτασεν. "Οὐκ ἐκ δὴ Πατρόκλου ἂν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχει οὐδὲν διάξωσεν θηράων ὄμης, ἢ γιγαντίας ἀνίψατο στέφει τ' ὡς ἀπειλήλει ἐκείνῃ καὶ προσέρχειται.

2 A. K. 515, 518.
When the women strike up their mourning songs at the funeral pyre, the widows and widowers offer to accompany their great grief, i.e. she falls on the grave of her husband, and lies there perfectly motionless. Then the women who are prepared to go to the grave sit down on the grave again, and continues her song of lamentation. Sometimes these occur several times in succession. Often they will be repeated, as it does not grieve the reveled one, and they praise her for "knowing how to weep." It is worthy of note that these Russian lamentations often assume an epic, and even a dramatic, character. They are not far as occasionally is in a sketch of the life of the deceased is given in them (cf. S. I. p. 546), dramatic in so far as the mourners are in the habit of turning to the dead person with questions as if he were alive.

The ancient custom of the funeral dirge, the lamentanza funebre, que in lingua Rutenica sic sonant: . . . io est, mihi mihi quae mortuus es? Num tibi decret exae aut partum? Nunc modo lamentante enumerare omnem ossa iberna illius, borus mortem depulare; nape, uxores, liberos, ores, boves, equos, amantes, gallinae, etc. Ad quos singula respondentes occupant habitum: ove ergo mortuo es quia habebat? S. I. p. 529: 'Those who visit the dead man take pains to express their genuine grief, and in doing so they recite different circumstances in their lives which have such and such a connexion with his life. The women express this in a flowing, tearful, but the men in a more short and direct way, during which the speaker often turns to the dead man with questions, just as if he were still alive, and several times during the course of the dirge, the women depile the corpse to the dead body, live as long as he is alive, can nevertheless hear and understand quite well, only he is unable to express his thoughts and feelings nicely.

The cases are, however, not always as the mourners are sometimes actually for the sake of the deceased. The only cases were the men and women really die, through which only the women can take part in funeral dirges. Copious collections of these dirges, arranged according to the relationship of the mourner (widow, mother, sister, daughter, daughter-in-law, etc.), are to be found in the Roman's works. On women, see the whole marked by great monotonity, these songs not infrequently exhibit in details genuine poetical feeling, and quite recall the mourning songs which the Trojan women poured forth over the body of Hector. The dirges of Melnikow (In the Forests, ii. 307, Russ. ed.)

(7) The funeral procession (exopod).—'The lying in state seems to have lasted, as a rule, only one day or one night. In the Roman's work, on one of the Tschechiens who was buried as a mere citizen, the body was carried out of the house along with the couch on which it had lain. . . . The solemn and magnificent forms which this part of the cult of the dead assumed, in the time of the ancient aristocracy, may be seen from the portrayal (if it corresponds at all to the reality) of a funeral procession on one of the very ancient "dyplonvans." Here the body lies on an elevated bier in a carriage drawn by two horses; there are men with swords at the side, and a whole crowd of women following, waving and beating their hands." (R. I.)

"Cum ad sepulcrum effetum cadaver, plerique in eaque funis prosequantur, et currum obsequiantur, quo cadaver vehitur; eademque doceantur, et numerosas auram, vocemque derivative vocant, " augurium vozes dominos." (M. p. 330). 'They always drive the dead body to the cemetery, and that on sledges even in summer; it is adorned by the deceased and the mourners carry it and the deceased" (S. I. p. 778). "In old Russian the phrase "to sit on the saddle" means to approach the dead "hinter des Leichen. And the same is called "Sledge, Boat, and Horse as Requisites of Burial Ritual." (Russ.) in the Montgomery, xi, 165.) "It is also well known of a notice of a rule, the heart of the dead man's favourite horse to his carriage. "In my parish they convey the dead to the cemetery in no other way than on a wagon drawn by two horses." (M. p. 330). 'The burial lays the body into the grave by the dead 'and not.12:14. Although many people have some doubts as to the correctness of laying in the grave along with the dead person the favourite objects of his past life. The following is a selection from the great mass of testimonies:

"Post hactenus quaeruntur nulla certe ni omnem sacrum multae fulurcola eum acere: vir lineamentum, idque eiusmodi coact colisc. . . . Qui funus mortis facrum, nummis proiectum in quendam deditum latum, in quod mortuum, et advocatus, solstitia, quod quoque non, et anemone cerevisiae piam cap ad caput in sepulcri illati, ne anima vel salis vel curiat." (M. L.), "The Scythians also, as Herodotus (iv. 73 ff.), describes in detail, had to perform ceremonies after burial, which they did by means of a vapour-bath from heaven-salt."
was assured that they put into the pockets of the linen shirt (norpre), which covered the dead man, a tobacco-pouch, flat and stiff, if he smoked during his life, and a snuff-box if he snuffed. To the man's girdle above the shirt they hung a pouch containing the relics of the dead—knives, razor-blades, names —as well as a small knife in a leather sheath—articles with which he might have lived during his daily life. In the case of both men and women they placed in the front folds of the shirt a clean linen handkerchief (woschik), so that the deceased could wipe his nose and his mouth. "I have heard it frequently asserted that on opening a burial-mound the grave-diggers sometimes used to find a leather pouch containing a razor-blade that had been previously in the dead man's coffin. The men, so far from despising such a find, consumed it on the spot with great pleasure." They place a towel in the dead man's hands in his right hand, which he buys for himself "in yeander world." After the burial, the axe, the knife, the girdle, the pouch, along with objects which were specially treasured by him and were specially dear to him during his lifetime, or, e.g., he was by trade a shoemaker, they invariably placed before him an unfinished last shoe (šti pikidimuči stpecimt, implements of his trade); if he was a carpenter, or some other tradesman, they gave him an ax, a chisel, a plane, a file, etc. Besides these things they put into every dead man's grave bread, salt, eggs for an omelet, nuts, beer and spirits in a bottle, and also a short pipe with tobacco and tinder-box, or a snuff-box with snuff.

Similar customs may still be shown to exist among the Teutonic races of the present day, although they have to a large extent disappeared (cf. "Teutonic Folk-Legends" in Paul's "Grundriss d. german. Phil.").

The result of these investigations is that even to-day, under the complete domination of Christianity, we find the remains of a custom which can be traced back, by means of excavations and tradition, even to the Nile. The Scythians began to bestow care upon the disposal of the dead, viz. the Neolithic Age; and this custom consisted in giving to the dead man gifts of meat and drink, weapons, household furniture of all kinds, ornamental objects, books, mats, and even corn, honey, soap, oil, wine, and wives. In fact, in the time of the Vikings, they even deposited the dead man's ship along with him at the burial mound, as the well-known discoveries of Tune and Gokstad show. And among those Aryan races which, at the time of the oldest historical tradition, seem to be no longer acquainted with the custom of gifts to the dead, unmistakable traces point to its existence at an earlier date. For instance, gifts to the dead appear to be unknown to Vedic antiquity, but such facts as the following must be taken into account: According to a famous hymn of the Rigveda (x. 18), they give the dead warrior on the funeral-pyre his bow, and then take it out of his hands again; or they make the wife lie on the funeral-pyre beside her husband, and afterwards command her to "rise once more" (i.e., of the heart) that here also it was used to be the custom for weapons and wife to be burnt along with the dead man (cf. Ohlenberg, "Die Religion des Vedas, p. 573). The same holds good of the Homeric Greeks. With them also the ashes of the dead were interred generally without gifts to the dead; but the funeral ceremony which Achilles prepared for his friend Patroclus (II, xxiii. 164 ff.), and the funeral-pyre on which he placed pitchers with honey and oil, and at which he slaughtered sheep, oxen, horses, dogs, and a few slaves (the latter perhaps to give to the dead, and thus be interred with him), shows that here also the custom of weapons and such like was preserved, even into the Homeric epoch the memory of a time when people honoured the dead with sacrifices and gifts.

The method in which these gifts were offered to the dead man varied. Where the rite of burial was most important, they were buried together with the corpse into the grave; where cremation was customary, they were either placed beside the ashes of the dead man or burned with him on the funeral-pyre— which seems to be the later custom. But it is difficult to draw any clear distinction as to the character of the gifts according as it was a case of burial or of cremation. It is true that S. Müller, in his "Nordische Altertumskunde," has ventured to suggest, for the geographically limited district of this northern world, a complete history of the development of the use of grave-goods, to which he has harmonized with the development he assumes to have taken place in the ideas of the people of this region concerning a future life. Thus (according to S. Müller), at an earlier period of the Neolithic Age it was believed that the dead man was destined to live in the seclusion of the tomb, and so he was provided in great abundance with weapons and implements, with vessels containing meat and drink, with amber beads, etc. Then came the time when the custom of the Stone Age and the earliest Bronze Age, in which the people believed that the life of the life of the soul appears to have been given up without having anything to put in its place. The consequence was that importance was no longer attached to the proper equipment of the dead, which was confined to a fixed list of gifts of weapons and ornaments—one might say, to the things belonging to the daily outfit. But what was the use of these then? And does it not seem a simpler assumption that in graves like these we have to do with those of warriors, who had a need of these things? It was because the cremation came in, which completely freed the soul from the body and carried it off to airy regions.

From that time, according to S. Müller, the graves contain only "petty wares, such as objects for the toilet, smaller pieces of furniture, or simple articles of dress. But what would the soul, released from the body, want, e.g., with a razor? Thus, however interesting it is to hear the opinions of an investigator of the standing of S. Müller, it is, nevertheless, very doubtful whether his views can be maintained even so far as the northern part, and especially the rest, of Europe is concerned. What meaning are we to put, e.g., on the fact, that in the famous cemetery of Hallstatt, 523 graves of skeletons lie alongside of and among 493 graves of ashes, that both kinds of graves exhibit essentially the same articles, viz.: buried: weapons, utensils, ornaments, clay vessels, etc.? Or how are we to judge the fact that the Russian peasant of to-day who puts a handkerchief in the dead man's coffin (see above) gives as his reason the grossly material notion (which, according to S. Müller, really occurs only in the earliest Neolithic periods) that he does it in order that the dead man may be able to blow his nose?

The fundamental idea of all these gifts to the dead, from the most primitive times down to the present day, is that they were to give the dead man something with him that might be useful or agreeable to him after death. In this connexion it must be emphatically observed that, in depositing these things, the mourners were actuated not so much by definite conceptions of the future life, as by a custom inherited from their fathers. This much we may say, that at different places and at different times the fundamental idea underwent a process of sublimation, in so far as the gifts to the dead, once seriously meant, showed a tendency to change into symbols of love and remembrance. We can recognize this very beautifully in the graves of the Athenian burying-ground already mentioned (cf. p. 169), which was in use from pre-historic times down to the 4th cent. B.C. In the graves of the 'dipylon epoch,' which, as we have seen, show strongly the corruption of the primitive, the abundant gifts (weapons, pottery of all kinds, pots with meat and drink, and bones from bull-offerings) deposited in the graves were doubtless meant seriously, and intended for the actual use of the dead man. The graves—cremation as well as burial graves—between which no distinction can be made here in this
 respect. The men generally get nothing more than a few worthless vessels. But beside the women are laid their ornaments, beside the children their toys (cf. Brückner-Pernice, op. cit. p. 189 f.).

We have already said as the fundamental idea of all gifts to the dead the wish of the surviving relatives to provide for the dead man in a future life, whatever they might imagine it to be. We cannot here enter fully into the much-disputed question as to whether this wish was called forth by fear of or love for the dead man. We may be that there was a time when fear of the soul of the dead, and the intention of keeping it secure in the grave by means of these gifts, were the only ideas in view. On the other hand, we must imagine the family ties so well knit, even in the times of the early Aryans, that they cannot be thought of as lacking a feeling of love (however rude the manner of expressing it), which was naturally extended also to the dead. So we can only say that a feeling of timidity in reference to the dead, of fear mingled with love, was the foundation of the Aryan worship of the dead; and this notion is reflected in numerous testimonies (see below).

On the other hand, we must notice briefly another motive frequently supposed to underlie these gifts to the dead. This is the assumption that the act of venturing to deprive the dead of the property belonging to them in the eyes of God and of justice. It is all the more necessary to examine this view, because it best explains a number of facts which it is otherwise impossible to understand. Thus, in the first place, the idea was widely current in Teutonic law of 'the portion of the dead,' i.e., 'a share which belongs by right to the dead for his own legacy,' and which H. Brunner Z. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgesch. xix. (1907, p. 329) has as logically connected with the customarily mixed of the movable goods, which were burnt or buried with the dead man. If, therefore, the oldest usage affecting the rights of souls was that the dead should receive his entire possessions, the further inference is drawn (cf. Rolde, Psyche, i. 30 f. footnote 3) that in later times the idea naturally arose of commuting this right by means of a small symbolic gift. Thus is to be explained the coin, the obolus, which in classical antiquity was squeezed between the teeth of the dead. Generally, at the transference of an inheritance, many customs appear which indicate the notion that goods and chattels, from the point of view of God and justice, must follow the owner to the grave. In Old Russia (S. p. 522) when the coffin has been lifted to the wagon drawn by a horse, the relatives take leave of the dead man by kissing his forehead, but the new head of the house kisses the hoofs of the funeral horse, as well as those of the other horses, and sometimes those of all the cattle.

'The dead man,' writes Kothrievskij (op. cit. p. 211), 'could take all his belongings with him into the grave; so among the inhabitants of Manchuria, the new head of the house, as soon as the old one dies, goes to the house, to the buildling which has the house, to the trees, and to the domestic animals, and tells them that this one dies, as the former master is made into power of the new one, with the words: 'Your former master is dead; I am now your new lord.' The same thing is stated by Chapellier, Reipunci Laitasied, gtaentten Aufzeichnungen von dem Kreis Stattspaaten, Heidelberg, 1903, p. 36: 'Thus it was a pagan custom,' the account concludes.

Similar customs are also reported from Germany. In Michaelis's report of old Marburg, where the dead man has buried in the house, the new master goes to the cattle in the stable and to the bee-houses, and announces the 'Lief' and his taking over of the charge with the words: 'The master is dead; I am the master' (in letters of R. Heldmanner). Hessler (Historische Landes- und Volkskunde, ii. [Marburg, 1904] p. 132) tells of a similar undertaking of command on the part of the mistress.

Nevertheless, the present writer does not believe that the custom of gifts to the dead is made altogether clear by the series of ideas described above, however old they may be. In order to show this, it will in closing this section refer to one point from which it will appear that on Aryan soil, even in pre-historic times, people had not only thought about providing the dead man with such things as had been, or might have been, his property during life, as his sword, his apparel, etc.—but made provision beyond this for his well-being in the world to come. For our purpose, we may start from the custom, already touched on above, of giving the dead man his wife, or, if he had several wives, one of them, as a companion in the grave or on the funeral-pyre.

According to the evidence in Europe collected by V. Hein (Kulturgesch. der Wettin-Lauenburg, p. 585) and H. Zimmer (Altis Christiana Lect. ii. p. 152), there is no doubt, there is nothing among Scythians, Tartulians, Lithuanians, Slavs, and Teutons, and undoubtedly goes back to primitive Aryan times. For India, it cannot be said that Vedas or Brahmanas and Indologists do not doubt that, when the barding of widows makes its appearance in the 4th cent. B.C., i.e., we have to do with not an innovation, but with an ancient custom preserved locally even in Ved Times (cf. E. Garie, Vorarbeit zur indischen Kulturgeschichte, Berlin, 1903, p. 141 f., 'Witwenverbrennung'; Kieser, Indian Census, 1901).

All these testimonies are concerned with provision for the married dead. What happened in the case of the single man? The present writer has tried to answer this question in a little monograph on Totenhochzeit (Jena, 1904). In this he starts from the custom, attested in Attica, of placing on the grave of those who died unmarried a λύραφος, i.e., a certain kind of water-pitcher, which at the same time played an important part in marriage-ceremonies, as the water intended for the bridal bath of the young couple was brought in it. It is only by comparing the Greek customs with those of other Aryan peoples that we can discern the meaning of this custom. We then find that the custom of placing a water-pitcher on the grave of unmarried people represents the symbolic preservation of a custom which is still very wide-spread among the Slavonic races, in terms of which a ceremonial imitation-marrige was celebrated over the graves of unmarried men and maidens, during which a bride and groom was there and then assigned to the dead person.* The third and last stage of the custom under discussion is presented to us in the accounts of the Arabs regarding the oldest Slavonic and Russian conditions of life. According to them, not only, as has been mentioned, was the wife of the dead married man given to him as a companion in death, but the single man too was, after his death, married in regular fashion to a young girl, who also was therefore doomed to death (cf. Masudi, Les Pratiques d'or, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-1865, ii. 9, n. 7.)* One of these 'death-weddings' is described in detail by the Arab Ibn Fossan (text and translation ed. by C. E. Fühlin, St. Petersburg, 1829). But it follows from isolated traces of the Old Church Law that the practice of giving a wife to a dead husband was prevalent also in Greece in pre-historic times (cf. Pausanius, ii. 21. 7), and in the story of the Trojan maiden Polyxene, sacrificed at the grave of Achilles, there exists also on classical soil a case of the later Christian notion of 'death-marriage.'

*Remains of this custom are found also in the West. Thus in Hesse the collus of single men who have died must be accompanied by 'wretched girls,' who must wear mourning for four weeks, etc. (cf. Hessler, op. cit.)
pass, to take as our starting-point the Lito-Slavic and not the Indian conditions. Here we shall deal with (a) the designation and the manner of conceiving of the worshipped ancestors, (b) the times, (c) the places, (d) the ritual of the worship of the dead, (e) the general significance for the history of culture, of the worship of the dead in early times.

(a) Designation and Manner of Conceiving of the Worshipped Ancestors (Admission into Their Number).—The White Russian peasants designate those to whom worship of the dead is offered as dzyady (Russ. дзяди, which while the Great Russians use the term родители, lit. 'parents'). Both expressions, but especially the Russian родители, родители, have now assumed such a general meaning that they can be applied to any deceased person, even children of both sexes (cf. S. p. 594, footnote 1). The Gr. γεώργιαι and родители (cf. parentes, parentatio) correspond to the Great Russian expression, while the technical designation of the worshipped ancestors in Sanskrit, pitaras, literally means 'fathers'.

A still further stage in the upward direction than the White Russian дzyady is represented by the Gr. πατρόνες, 'great-grandfathers'. These are the ancestors to whom the inhabitants of Attica, at the celebration of a marriage, pray for the blessing of the children (cf. E. Rolde, Psyche's p. 247).Thus we get the designation of the ancestors as 'grandfathers' and 'great-grandfathers', and it is not a matter of chance that in the Indian ritual the offering of cakes and water is dedicated to these three:

'To three (ancestors) the water offered, to three is the пиyda given, the fourth (viz. the descendant) offers it (viz. пиydi) to the three; the fifth has nothing to do with it' (Anax. i. 158). The same way is taken by the Indian children of the fathers in blessed by the Gr. γεώργιαι and the Lat. parentes; cf. lexm. viii. 56: γεώργιαι και πατρόνες καί απάγιαι καί πατρόνες καί αγαθές και καλές καὶ κακές καὶ καθότως γεώργιαι και πατρόνες καί απάγιαι και αγαθές καὶ κακές καὶ καθότως και αναμνήσεις, and Festus, p. 231: parentes vulgo pater et unter appetulator; sed ne vivas prudentes et praecoxes parentes nomine appetulator ducunt (cf. A. Kaeck, Die Steinzeit bei den Osternern, p. 6).

These ancestors are everywhere considered as real and powerful beings, watching especially over the welfare of the family, as may be seen from the designations applied to them, such as ἄγαθος, Δια πατρόνες, Διε πατρόνες, White Russ. заядь дзыды, 'the sacred grandfathers', etc., as well as from the wording of the prayers which are addressed to them. Thus the following is a very characteristic report with regard to White Russia (S. p. 593):

'On every possible occasion the peasant expresses his worshipful remembrance of his grandfather by offering a daily prayer, in conversation in the family and in company, as well as on the different festive occasions. There are, too, weekly considerations and a complete worship for it. He is persuaded that all good fortune in the farm and in life was produced by the continuous efforts of his ancestors, and is sustained by means of their blessings and their prayers to the Supreme Being (the latter is a modern idea). It was they who laid out the present settlement and erected the buildings on the site which still belong to the community. There the grandfather dug a canal, there he broke up the land and made the farms. There the grandfather received the first apples and the grandfather's axe, the grandfatherleighs with his grandmother's sickle. In the dowry of the daughter there are the 'safans', the necklace, and even the wooden shoes of the grandmother; the spirited black horse is descended from the grandfather's mare. In a word, just as these individual objects speak of the ancestors, so do the whole connotation of life, which has changed little since their time, call them daily and ever hourly to remember them. It is to them therefore that the peasant turns in all the necessities of daily life. Thus the following is a prayer used in India at the пиydyaijya:

'Honour, Pitaras, for your comfort, honour for your living, honour for your dying, honour for your continued existence, honour for your life, honour for your vigour, Subho! to you, honour to you, Pitaras, honour; this (viz. water) is yours, Pitaras, this is other to your comfort. Pitaras, who are here都是 quenched.' Thereupon the husband gives
In accordance with this signification of the help of the ancestors in producing children, we can understand why the Attic maiden, before her departure from her parents’ home on the occasion of her marriage, bound to offer a sacrifice to the souls of her ancestors (cf. E. Santer, Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer, Berlin, 1901, p. 96).

Frequently these spirits of ancestors are designated as the ‘good’ and ‘helpful,’ especially in the lat. månum: Old Lat. månum, ‘good.’ This may, however, have been intended more in a poetologic sense, in the same way as, e.g., the avenging goddesses are called the ‘Enménides,’ in order that they might be good and gracious; for, in general, the souls of ancestors are regarded as very stern and easily roused to anger.

The inhabitants of White Russia are filled with dread (8: 57, 65) ‘lest at the commemoration festival any mistake should be made. Then, to speak in the language of the peasants, the feast would be no feast. It would mean that they did not respect the memory of the person in whose honour the feast was given; it would mean that the dead, as they would follow at once family discord, death of cattle, failure of crops; in short, mountains and hills would fall upon them’ (Kohde, 124).

Woe betide those who do not really slaughter the cattle they have appointed for the commemoration feast, or who do not first taste the food which is served. In all these ways can the wrath of the world come, and is manifest as a great punishment.

The same ideas are to be found in India: ‘Do us no harm, ye fathers, if in accordance with the way of mankind we have committed any fault against you’ (Rigveda, X, xx. 6); and in the Såndhhaka, too, the offerer, immediately after the offering of the calsam, entrusts his ancestors with the further care of his affairs: ‘Let the fathers not be hard’ (see further in Caland, Ahnenviit, p. 176 ff.). It was exactly the same thing that was meant in Greece by the saying, that the heres (‘the spirits of the dead’) were thérègýra (‘prone to anger’) and ‘churchmen’ of the saýx ét (cf. E. Rohde, Psyché, 1, 246). In Italy, however, according to Festus (p. 237), they hung up to the Larcs at the Compitáli dolls resembling human beings, at vivax persistent, pilus et simulacrum content.

The dead man does not, immediately after his death, the day of his decease, return to the house of the dead; but the ‘Larcs’ of those ancestors who are worshipped with such anxious dread; on the contrary, fixed ceremonies are necessary to elevate him to the rank of the ancestors who are worshipped as divine.

In India, the deceased who has returned from the burning-ground, ‘one of the old women takes a piece of bread, turns towards the door, and, fixing a copper coin on it, speaks the following words, with which she introduces the dead man into the general list of her departed relatives: ‘Grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, take our dead father to yourselves, live there with him in friendship, do not quarrel, etc.’’ In addition to that, it is a widespread idea that for 40 days after his death the deceased has no rest in his grave, but ‘visits his own house as well as those of strangers, and is able to inflict all kinds of damage to anyone on whom he chooses to fall; he makes hostile relations during his life; and, in fact, he can do this all the more easily as the latter are deprived of the power to take vengeance on their adversaries; forthright vengeance is inconsistent with his immaturity, is invisible or comes forward in the form of different sickness—from which he gives them ample scope to inflict all sorts of injury on his enemies’ (8: p. 57). Festus also believes that for six weeks the soul of the dead, every 24 hours and every 7 days, flies into the peasant’s hut and drinks water from a vessel, which is set out for the purpose and filled to overflowing’ (8:3 p. 559).

A corresponding idea is prevalent in India, namely, that the soul of the deceased does not enter at once into the world of the dead, but rather wanders to and fro as a spirit or ‘ghost’ (Skr. práta, lit. ‘the departed’). The spirits have also the inclination to return to the dwellings of the relatives, where in the same way ‘food with a jug of water’ must be given to them. In order to deliver the deceased from this condition the Indians adopt them among the Pitaras, definite ceremonies were necessary, the most important of which was the Sappindhika (‘Saýpa-making’), which took place usually on the day after the first anniversary of the death, but often earlier (cf. E. Caland, Tosaná-imë, p. 22 ff., and Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 554 f.). See Ancestor-Worship (Indian).

We shall have to speak afterwards (3 and 4) of the places where the spirits of the ancestors in the earliest times were supposed to live, and of the later transformation of the views on this subject. We have still to mention here that these spirits of ancestors show a tendency in different territories, usually in connexion with the cult of the hearth-fire, which came more and more to the front (cf. below, I, 2), to develop into tutelary house deities, localized in the home.

The same is true of the Gr. ἀγάπτος σάιμος (Rohde, Ι, 250), of the Lat. de pèntes (those within, cf. pénus, penurram), and in our family circles, of the kofis (cf. Kohde, 124). ‘Surround the house:’ of Old Nor. kofí, ‘hut,’ A.S. cēfy, ‘room,’ M.H.G. kobe, ‘shed, house’ (Gr. γύρινα, ‘underground dwelling’); A.S. cēphode, cēphode, larver, larver penetan, larver doned (‘the one in the house’); and of many similar names.

In this connexion the worship of the house-snake, found among several of the Aryan peoples, can be explained. Nothing is more frequent in Greece than to imagine the soul of the deceased in the form of a snake (cf. Rohde, Psyché, 2, passim, and artt. on Soul and Spirit), which seemed especially suitable for this on account of its winding motions, partly on the surface of the earth and partly under ground. Based upon this idea, a strongly marked domestic snake-worship has been developed among the Lithuanians, regarding which Menecius (see above) gives the most detailed account:

‘Præstres Lituani et Samagitus in dominis sub servitu, feci in angulo vaspurato, ubi mensa stat, serpentibus fovent, quos numinis instar coleant, certo simo tempore praebuit sacrifício sacrilegum exorat ad mensam, iterum et iterum, prætoriae condimenta, et supera mensan assiduit: ubi postgam obsequia serpens delabarat, rursus discendit, sequte abdini in cavernis, serpentibus discum, iterum et iterum, serpens humani aequum apparebat, et ubi proximi conspectum in spiritus serpens convenerat, aequum applicavit, ubi serpentibus haud destinatis, tum creautum se anno illius sacrificii, ignem eamque in angulo domus serpentem habuit, cuius serpens habuit et sacrificium fecit in forma serpente.’

At the same time the Lithuanian snake-worship stands among the ancient Romans (cf. Wissowa, Religion und Kultur, p. 155), the worship of the house-snake, which is consecrated to the genius of the house, and which by its sudden appearance foretells the coming destiny of the house. This is known as the Feast of the homely spirit (Diis Zemelumare), and among the Romans, as the Feast of the Anatoly (Lituaniae, etc., p. 31). Serpents celebant: inter familiacus subique in angulo domus serpentem habuit, cuius serpentem Dekel serpentem habuit, cuius serpentem de omni securi.

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ized into the tutelary spirit of the master of the house."

(b) The times of the worship of the dead, the most important of which already mentioned (p. 20), which followed immediately after the disposal of the corpse, the feasts in commemoration of the dead in White Russia may be divided into two main classes, special and general.

The former are celebrated in the villages of the family and not at the tomb of an individual who has died in the course of the year, and they take place at stated intervals, though not on the same day. They occur in the same months as the 3rd, 6th, 9th, 26th, and 40th days, reckoning from the day of the burial, during a period of six months, and periodically thereafter in the same months in the year till the 9th, 3rd, 9th, 26th, and 40th years (godotščina, "anniversary"). These commemoration feasts take place without the co-operation or blessing of the Church. This is especially the case with the so-called second class, or the general commemoration festivals, held by all on the same days, which have been fixed from the remotest times by the Orthodox Church, and are never engaged in without her consecration. They are held from four to six times in the year, and for all relatives at one and the same time, no matter whether they have been dead for a longer or a shorter period. In the whole of Russia these commemoration festivals are held on Saturdays, and called White Russian dzity (the same name as that of the worshipped ancestors themselves), in Great Russia "parents' Saturdays" (rozdolotkaja soboly). But the raduččice is for the most part celebrated on the Tuesday of the week following the first Sunday after Easter, and this commemoration is also observed in three seasons of the year, into those of spring, summer, and autumn (8, 14, and 22).

These Christian institutions correspond to the old Lithuanian heathen conditions. Menecius has the special commemoration festivals in view when he writes: "Caterum cognati celebratu convivia die a funere tertio, sexto, nono et quadraginta die a funere general festum ad mortem celebrantur. A festum describit Laskovsky in Leidici, de Divis Sainianarum, p. 50:"

"Caterum feris (the beginning of November, at the festival of the sea-god, Novodevich, and the festival of St. Basil the Great, Novodevich), a secret feast, the feast of the dead, is celebrated. He appears under the name of the deceased invitator: totdenque sodilia, manda, indulia, quo invitati furent, in tugurio eas in ad rem preparato ponunt; mortui, in manus deorum, vel in manus deorum, dehinc in sus magnas reversus triduum compunt; quo exacto, illa scinna in sepulchris, quosc perius relinquunt; tautem eliam manibus valedicunt."

Another very interesting festival of this kind is mentioned in Lasicus, p. 51: "Silenusvaves festum est facundum, ad quod quidem Exagulis ilia vocant; Veni cum mortuis facundum nobilium manum atque manu; Veni cum mortuis nobilium manum sedens."

Another celebration of this kind is mentioned in the Roman novena, i.e. meals which were offered to the dead at the grave on the third and ninth days after interment. In Athens we have likewise the paradar (which was also at times celebrated in Rome), when bread and wine were offered at the grave thirty days, a date which appears again among the Lithuanians, at least in so far as the widow must mourn for thirty days at the grave of her husband.

Aryan: "Usor vero tam oriente quam occidente sole super extincti coniugis sepulcrum sedes vel lacens lamentatur deibus triginta."

Then both in Greece and Rome, in addition to the paradar, in the day of the dead or the burial (White Russ. godotščina), an innovation appears in appointing the birthday of the deceased "Of for a full account of snake-worship, F. S. Kraus, Svetlo, Geburt im Wagen."

In the so-called godotščina, the "lord of the house," the other godon, "lady of the house." Each dies at the same time as the master of the house, or the mistress, as the case may be.

(xv.) as a regular commemoration festival in his honour.

Among the general festivals in honour of the dead, the most important of which previously mentioned in Greece is concerned, is the close of the Anthesteria festival in the spring, while in Rome we have the nine dies parentales from the 13th to the 21st of February, the last of which is called Feralia, on the 23rd of December the great State festival of the Larentia, and on the 9th, 15th, and 21st of March, the Lusoria, all three named directly from the spirits of the dead (Feralia from *divus, diviti, above, p. 15; Larentia: lex laris, cf. above, p. 24, footnote; and Lemuria: lenuere, *'larve'). A later general festival in honour of the dead, though not a public State feast, was the Rosarium, which in Christian times acquired a significance far beyond the land of its origin, and among the great majority of Slavs has led to their designation of the Whit Sunday festival (rabudni, Lat. pascha rustica), the Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, London, 1899.

With regard to the ancient Tventons we have not much reliable information. It seems that they held commemoration festivals for the dead on the 3rd, 7th, and 30th days, and on the anniversary of the death. But it is also possible that they held every year a general feast for the dead took place (cf. R. Kügel, Gesch. der deutschen Literatur, i. 1, 55, and E. Mosk, in Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, iii. 391).

Lastly, referring to the Indian times for the worship of the dead, we are supplied with the same detailed information as we have about those of the Litu-Slavs. The time of the uncleanness of the relatives after a death lasts from three to ten days. During this period libations of water must be made, with grains of sesame must be offered to the deceased either daily or on the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th days. Then on the 11th day the first sacrifice (brahītha, see above, p. 239) is offered to the dead, and thereafter every month (thus every 30 days) on the day of the death and on the anniversary of the death itself sacrifices are offered to the ancestors (though the conditions are more complicated than they appear from this short summary). There were also in India real All Souls' festivals, among which the Ashutu festival may be specially mentioned (cf. For details, below, May 4).

If we glance at the details before us, we see that a significant part odd numbers play in the fixing of these dates for the festivals in honour of the dead; and, in fact, it is frankly avowed in India that the odd numbers are sacred to the worshipped ancestors. The same thought, however, permeates the White Russian ritual, in consequence of which, e.g., the number of foods offered at the commemoration festivals must invariably be odd (cf. Calvin, Totonvererung, p. 23, and Sehn, p. 590, 611, etc.). Then among these odd numbers, the number nine comes very prominently to the front, which seems to represent the three days period between death and interment (funeral feast) taken three times. Perhaps the 10 days' period of uncleanness or of mourning of the Indians may be conceived of as a nine decaday rounded off. The number 30, which also occurs frequently, would then be a triad of such decaday rounded nines (cf. A. Kaege, 'Die Neuzahl bei den Ostarischen' in the Philologische Abhandlungen für Il. Schweizer-Sidler). It is, moreover, worthy of note that the farther back one goes and the more primitive the state of culture, the greater is the number of these memorial festivals. A White Russian peasant can thus, according to the details given above, make the number of special and general festivals for the dead mount up to several dozens in the year.
(c) The Places of the Worship of the Dead.

The nearest and, so to speak, most natural place for the friends to serve up the dead man's feast for him, and to eat and drink together with him, is the neighbourhood of the grave where the body has been laid. This is still the custom in great parts of Russia.

'After the close of the banquet (in the house) they all repair to the burying-ground, playing with those voulks "vibly," and Barney. There each family pray at the grave of the relatives for the peace of their souls. Then they eat and drink, pouring out a vessel of wine, and then before they have finished, they each take a glass of wine on their way. At the spring-dejny, after the public worship of the church, they invite the priest, in whose company they walk, and then also make themselves a funeral banquet in the churchyard, partaking together of bread and food on the way. After they have reached their destination they all seat themselves on the burial-mound instead of the bench, and during the year have completed the laborious days of their life's journey. Here they repeat their prayers for the blessed peace of their souls, as "Andul Panfa" ("Angel of the Lord"), than they begin to weep and lament, and end with a small decaeb on honour of the dead. The under methods of each dish are in each case laid on the grave for the soul of the dead. After the glasses of brandy have gone round the circle several times, the musical mood of the assembly gradually changes, as into a joy's one. While some of those present sob aloud, others laugh and joke. Some throw their heads over the grave of their beloved dead, and sing in a subdued tone melancholic songs... In order to calm their sorrow, these taking part in the celebration, are accustomed to their companions at the grave. Ultimately these memorial feasts and in the lamentations turn perispermically into songs of joy' (8. p. 605ff.).

There were also large banquets, which were likewise celebrated at the grave (see above, p. 29f.), and at the Roman solemnia mortis (cf. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung, iii. 208 ff.), which were accompanied by feasts at the grave, as well as at those old German oblationes, 'quae in quibus oboedientia facta sunt, and the ancient German expression, as which Burchard of Worms, as late as A.D. 1000, protested, were no doubt mutatis mutandis identical with those just described. It is not improbable that the funeral banquet also (see above, p. 20f.) took place in this instance at the house of the deceased, but at the grave itself.

Thus Jordanis relates the following with regard to the funeral obsequies of Attila (cit. 49): "Postquam taliuis lamentis est defunctus, streproc (probable a Slavic word, which signifies in Russian, Polish, and Bohemian "food," "meal," and in Old Bohemian also means "funeral banquet")...; et Milcholz, Etymol. Worterbuch der slaw. Sprachen, Vienna, 1871, i. p. 403, "sira," a super trumultum eius, quam appellavit ipse, ingenti cumulaciones concordaverat; and as already said, the Greek expression for a 'funeral banquet,' could be most easily explained if the sacrum took place, as among the White Russians, round about the burial mound, as the ancient memorial feast for land. The Old Russian names for this commemoration festival was trizna, which has not yet been etymologically explained. Moreover, the trench, in which the meals are frequently offered to the dead, may be regarded as a symbolic indication of the grave. This is what we have in ancient India, according to the description of Gobhila: 'Then three trenches are dug out, one span long, four fingersbreadths wide, and the same depth. Thereupon darda grass is scattered on them.' On this darda grass, then, with many varied ceremonial actions, the cakes are laid down for the three ancestors, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather (cf. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 549 f.). The great significance belonged to Rome in the mundus, a trench situated at the centre of the town, and opened on certain days for the purpose of receiving sacrifices for the dead. This trench played the same role in the worship of the inferi as the altar played in the cult of the superi. Such a mundus was probably also the 'grave' of the Latins, in which at the Larentia a sacrifice to the dead was offered (cf. Wiswowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, p. 157 ff. and Wissowas Erdm. Zeit. p. 12 f.). Ulysses, too, as is well known, when in the lower world, offers his libations in a trench.

A third place at which the dead were often honoured with food, drink, and all kinds of festive celebrations was the cross-road. Among the Slavs, Cossacks of Prague bears witness that, about the year 1092, Prince Bretislav ii. issued the following prohibition:

'Item seputulata, quae solent in siva et in capite, atque cenas (or cenae) cit. KoljaRovski, op. cit. p. 102 ff., quo ex gentibus ritus fatuum, ut et in proiectis inter alia insanuum passationem, item et locis profanos, quo super mortuos noscimus censes maeces an indull faciunt larvis hacthando exercerant.'

A feast similar to that here described was the Roman Conpitalia, which was held once a year with debauchery and merry-making (ludi) in honour of the dead on the 29th of March (cf. L'Ann. de l'Inst. de l'Arc, 1871, i. p. 149 f.), but in Greece also it was customary to throw down at the same places offerings to the souls and to Hecate, their mistress (cf. Santer, op. cit. p. 120). In India, in the same way, the belief is widely held, and of extreme antiquity, that cross-roads and dwelling-places of spirits are identical (cf. Oldenberg, op. cit. pp. 268, 562; and Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India, London, 1896, i. 77 f., 165, 290). The reason for this idea has been sought in the fact, which has been expressly attested at least in the case of India (cf. Oldenberg, p. 562), that the crossing of great main roads was a favourite place for burying the dead. In this way the worship of the dead at the grave, at the trench, and at the cross-roads really amounts to the same thing. In opposition to this, however, the Hindus have a brancce of the dead, with gifts of food and drink, in the dwellings of the surviving relatives, which will be dealt with in the next section.

(d) The Ritual of the Worship of the Dead.

"It will here be advisable to pass over a considerable number of individual peculiarities, and to confine ourselves to the most important features.

(a) The summoning and dismissing of the ancestors. It is a prevailing custom to call solemnly on the ancestors at the beginning of the commemoration feast, and to dismiss them as solemnly at its close. We are again informed most accurately with regard to White Russia:

'All seat themselves at the table, which is set with articles of food, among which beer and spirits are to be found, and the one who reads the prayer utters the following words: "Ye sacred grandfathers, we call you, Ye sacred grandmothers, we call you there. Here is all that God has given. Ye sacred grandfathers, we implore you, Come, fly to us!" At the end of the meal they rise from the table and dispense, after having taken of the heavily inhabitants in the following way: "Ye sacred grandfathers! ye have been silent, Ye have eaten and drunk, Now fly away home again! Tell us, do you wish anything more? But better is it, that ye fly heavenwards. Akasha, akasha! (a sound which they make to scare away hens and crows);" (S. p. 506 ff.).

The summoning as well as the dismissing of the ancestors is accompanied by extraordinary customs. For the purposes of the former they place a cooked pig's, sheep's, or fowl's head on the table. After the master of the house has got the guests seated at the commemoration table, he takes in the one hand a cake rolled up in a pancake, and in the other a plate of bread, and carries these three times round the animal's head which has been placed on the table, calling aloud by name not only all his dead relatives and acquaintances, but also all who have ever lived on the piece of ground belonging to him as master of the house, and invites them to the meal at the banquet. "Come to this banquet." (S. p. 602 ff.).

At the end of the feast the ancestors are scared away.

"The master or the mistress of the house removes the table away from the seat, and sprinkles the absence of the deceased with water to the door with water, saying at the same time, "If you have not eaten or drunk enough, go to the priest's court." With these words the animal returns to heaven, and is depicted as such. (S. p. 613)."

A custom very likely this is described by Menocius, who is also acquainted with the solemn invitation to the dead ('ad qua convivia animam defuncti invitant praecipue ante laumnum') among the pagan Lithuanians:
Veracito praelito sacrificia surgit de mensa, ac scopia donum purgat: amasue nec nocturnum cum pulvere eici, tamquam pueras et viribus, ut in domo recordant; odiosis ac bibistis animis dilecte, ite fors, ite fors.

The invitation and leave-taking of ancestors are attested with regard to the Indian Pindapitja-gajana.

If depolling the pippala, he (the offerer) utters the words, "Ye Pitras, may this be savoury to your taste, may each one enjoy his share." Afterwards he dismisses the Pitras with these words, "Ye Pitras, in an Indian manner Pitras, to your wishing, always, give us riches and good fortune, grant us abundant possession in men." (cf. Palgrave, "Stories from the Ganges," p. 247). When in Greece, on the other hand, there are to be found survivals only of the final exulsion of the souls. In the latter there existed the saying, which is at once proved to have been very ancient by the use of the word khres for xoii (cf. above, p. 15): "Ha, sa, frgy, &c., the food of the dead is over" (see J. E. Harrison, Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 35, 165, 652).

In Italy, at the Lemurian, the spirits of the fathers were driven away with the words, "Manes exte paterni" (cf. It. Older, Storia, i, 576).

(3) The feeding of the summoned ancestors.—Concerning the forms in which the 'grandfathers' were entertained by the White Russian peasants, we are also provided with full information from Seiji's materials:

"The meal which is laid with Lenten food, all the guests sit down along with the family of the deceased. Before the meal the master of the house has laid out, from each of which the guests takes four spoonfuls: out of these he pours out on the table beside him, the other three he serves to himself and asks the guests to nap and leave nothing behind. The guests must leave over a part of each dish (of which there are not few) to appease the deceased, that he may not rob his relatives of their earthly goods." (S. p. 555).

"The supper begins with porridge, the first spoonful of which each member of the family is served to directly on the table cloth, and these remain the whole night on the table, although all the other dishes which have been served to the family remain on the supper. This is done, the peasants say, on account of the fact that the deceased comes during the night and devours all that is left on the table." (S. p. 602).

"The master of the house commences the feast. He takes a spoon with fawnal and a small piece of bread and pours it out on the table, and then he eats three spoonfuls from this dish. This is repeated in turn by all the members of the family who are present. Then the khasamut is removed from the table. From this age, each guest takes as much as he pleases, provided that he first of all set aside a small piece of each dish for the family of the deceased. From these little bits a considerable heap of all kinds of mishmashe is, by the end of the supper, formed on the table." (S. p. 613).

"At the time the food falls on the seat or on the floor, they dare not lift it up. "That," they say, "some one will eat it." (S. p. 611). Also: Meirenosis: "Si quid feceris in terrae mensa, id non teneas."

"After they have served the dishes, they direct the guests to separate and go to their homes, where they seat themselves over the mezats, on which the dishes are placed, and the food. They throw the remains of the pancakes into the meal. Each member of the family (with the exception of the children) must invariably sup three spoonfuls of this dish, and they eat it in the mixture they leave intentionally in a soup-bowl for the ‘grandfathers.’ After the pancakes they eat the other prepared courses. When they have poured and praved the pancakes down, they sleep, the remains of the mixture on the table. The remains of the other foods they divide out into small dishes, which are placed in the same way as the pancakes, and there beside the window. Bread and spoons are left on the tables in the same night. The doors in the houses are left not locked during this night, but are left a little ajar, so that the dead may come in." (S. p. 605).

From these statements three points are clear: (1) Food and drink are thrown out on the table for the ‘grandfathers’ during the meal itself; (2) That which falls under the table belongs to the dead who have no family or friends; (3) The remains of the food and drink are placed after the meal in the yard, which are set near the windows or on the tables to be partaken of by the ‘grandfathers.’

All this can be proved in classical tradition, although only in fragments. Certainly the barbarian custom of preparing the meal for the dead on the table itself (as at the grave) has fallen into abeyance. Among the Greeks, points (1) and (2) are combined into one, in such a way that they believe that whatever falls under the table during the meal belongs to the dead in general.


The third point finds its analogy again among the Greeks, in the fact that on the last day of the Anthesterae festival, it is customary to place cooked fruits and seeds for the dead in the χορΗα, after which the day was named (cf. Rohde, "Psyche," i, 238).

(4) The food of the dead.—Like all the details of the ritual connected with the meal of the dead, the kinds of food and even the courses which must be placed before the dead are fixed in detail. With regard to the first of these, the cakes (cf. above, Lith. stikes Velionia paniadiza, 'the wafers which Veleon like'), and also White Russ. kljeki, the left over from offerings to the gods, play an important part among the Lithuanians.

"The courses at the commemoration meal were as a rule as follows: Λιατος (wheat or barley grains) prepared with ordinary or lenten butter, in a dish.ROUTE 3 (in most cases made of barley with a piece of haw in the inside), cakes, and porridge. This was placed on the table at the funeral in once beakel athenusy to the house of the deceased m. kljek, 'to eat cakes'" (S. p. 554). At this table, which is placed to the left of the couch, there are even proverbial expressions referring to them to be found among the population of this place, such as "he was at kljek" (he was at the table); or conversely, "he is at kljek" (he is at the table). If a person is dangerously ill and there is no hope of his recovery, they say: 'he is at kljek jenni t., 'he will very soon to be eating cakes'" (cf. S. p. 560).

It is hardly necessary to emphasize how closely this corresponds to the Indian pippala, which is so characteristic of the Indian worship of the dead, that sopippala, 'cake companion,' has come to be the technical expression for the spirit which, whose duty it is to offer to the three ancestors (father, grandfather, and great-grandfather).

The question, what dishes were in the earliest times served up to the dead, would require a special inquiry, which would also have a general interest for the history of culture, as helping to determine the most primitive food of the living. In the meantime we can refer only to two undoubtedly very ancient foods of the dead, viz. honey and beans.

The former is the most important ingredient of the White Russian kombut (see above): "This is usually cooked with bruised grains of peeled barley or wheat, which are afterwards stirred in spita, 'honey-water'" (S. p. 555). Thus it happens that the Kombut (a Gr. foreign word, as we saw) is called by its vernacular name spita (p. 612), and on comparing this with the Skr. suti, 'soma-juice, soma-offering' (lit. 'pressed,' root su), we may venture to recognize in it a word derived from the primitive Aryan vocabulary, just as in the more frequent expression for honey and meal, Skr. madhak, Gr. μαδδα, O.H.G. mato, O. Slav. meda, etc. The Indian food for the dead, which was offered at the śradhhas, rice-soup and honey, corresponds exactly to the White Russian kombut.

Thus speak the Pitras: "May the person be born in our family who will offer to us on the 13th day rice-soup mixed with honey and ghī!" Forcated with hunger and making known their own sins, they offer to the Pitras of their branch, with their grandchildren and their sons and grandchildren" (cf. Caland, "Totenverehrung," p. 44). But in the Greek and Roman cult of the dead, honey is a favourite food devoted to the powers of the under world (cf., for details on this, Seuter, op. cit., S. 84 ff., and Marquardt, "Stoicverwaltung," 111, 299).

With regard to the beans, we may refer to an exhaustive article by L. von Schröder, "Das Bohnenverbot bei Ilythugas und im Veda," in WZKM, xx.
187 ff., in which convincing proof is brought forward that the above-mentioned word, whose Aryan name appears in the Lat. fabae = O. Slav. babá, Alt. babi, was used even in primitive Aryan times as a sign of respect for the dead souls (see J. O. Frazer, Pansæus, iv. 240 f.).

It is also to be noticed that in the Polish-Russian province of Pintschov (cf. Kotjárepski, op. cit. p. 255) the combination of these two foods of the dead, honey and beans, is attested: 'The foods at the common meal were honey and beans and pass which are cooked in honey-water.'

(3) The frame of mind of the worshippers (joy and grief).—According to Meinecke, the funeral and commemoration meals were celebrated among the ancient Illyrians in perfect silence: 'in his convivis quibus mortuo parentant, tactae assiduitate mense tanquam muti'; and also in India we are told: 'As long as the Brahmins eat in silence, so long do the macOS enjoy the meal' (cf. Winternitz, Was wissens wir von den Indogermanen? In Bildung zur Mäncher AZ, 1903, No. 259, p. 300). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the Lat. silicium sum denotes the 'meal taken in silence' or the 'meal of the silent ones' (i.e. the dead) (cf. Osthoff, Etymologische Parergen, Leipzig, 1901, p. 42).

In any case the meal, or at least the chief part of it, was passed in a restrained and anxious mood, as is most vividly described by Sejn (p. 356 ff.) with regard to the White Russians:

'One can perceive that some anxiety fills the hearts of the whole assembly. The aged, who already stand, so to speak, with one foot in the grave, are at this time sadder and more thoughtful than the others. Not infrequently, when they have just raised the glass of spirits to their lips, they stop suddenly and do not drink, but listen to some unexpected noise, the meaning of the wind, or the rustling of a neighbouring tree which is casting off its last leaves. If the gate creaks, or the door moves, or the door-latch gets unfastened, or a half-broken pot falls, or some similar noise occurs—whatever the noise may be, they are instantly attracted by it, a belated moth or some similar insect should approach, all these things are regarded as undoubted signs of the visit of their dead grandfathers. Conversation comes to a standstill and consists only of single remarks, either concerning the certain presence of the dead and their share in the entertainment, or about their former life, etc.'

It is this frame of mind—this firm conviction that the deceased person is present at the meal—that led to the custom among the White Russians (and as well as in the Slavonic and Roman antiquity, of remembering the dead at the meal only in a friendly way: εὐδαιμον το οίτιν' ἑσθόν τοῖς περὶπτῶν τῶν τελευτήσαντων ἔτοιμον καὶ εἰ φάεται ἡμῶν (cf. Kohle, Phyletiké, i. 292, footnote 1).

It is thus the fundamental sentiment of the funeral and commemoration feasts is naturally a sad one, it is, nevertheless, quite as characteristic of these celebrations to show a tendency, before they are finished, to pass over to the opposite extreme—joy and mirth. The reason of this is, of course, to be sought in the first place, in the fact that the mourners in an excessive degree turn for comfort to spirituous liquors, which very soon take effect, while, in the second place, the conviction is widely prevalent that too many tears and too passionate and distant display of grief for the dead in the grave (cf. for details, Winternitz, op. cit.). In any case, it is a fact that, among all the Aryans peoples, the festivals in honour of the dead are wont to be brought to a close by games and dancing, trills of strength, masquerades, and music (cf. A. Mittag, Die ...). All this, however, rejoicing are contained in the following description from White Russia (S. p. 388):

'After the close of the entertainment, the mistress of the feast presides at the table, surrounded with cabbages-heads and 칰 the table. Every one has cabbage-stocks in his pockets. The person standing at the head of the table now takes a head of cabbage from his pocket, and, after having pronounced the necessary formula, all begin to fight with cabbage-heads and cabbage-stocks. When these are exhausted they begin to throw at one another whatever comes to their hands. ... It seldom happens that commemoration festivals pass without brawls. The ceremony of throwing or beating with cabbage-heads is accompanied by songs, masquerades, and dancing. Without these—the entertainment would come joy and consolation. That is how the White Russian commemoration festivals (Mortuary cabbages) are fundamentally characterized. For the student of comparative culture, however, this rustic play with cabbage-heads is fundamentally the same as the spectaculum admirandum which took place at the funeral of Attila, or the games at the pyres of Patriochus.

(c) The feeling of beggars.—In conclusion, we may mention the white-meal custom, in the White Russian service of the dead, of showing kindness to beggars on this occasion.

'Without them no single funeral or commemoration festival takes place. They take the place of the priest on this occasion. They are the songers, painters, and witnesses of the funeral. The poor are treated to food and drink, and receive bounding gifts, stream together to them in crowds from all directions' (S. pp. 309, 327).

The reason for this is perhaps to be found in the fact that beggars, i.e. cripples, the blind, the lame, and especially the weak-minded and idiots, being exceptions to the normal course of nature, have in the thought of primitive man something supernatural, and thus 'sacred,' about them, on account of which they can be regarded as representatives of the Company of the dead ancestors. It may also be owing to this idea that on Slavonic soil (cf. A. Brückner, 'Polnisch-lateinische Predigten des XV Jahrhunderts,' Archiv für slav. Phil. xiv. 183 ff.) the spirits of the dead are often thought of as něžci (O. Slav. řezňičci, i.e. 'poor little men' (demonium sacrificium orans, quae dicuntur boathye, remanentes ser denerequintes eis residuitates ciborum quinta feria post cenam')).

We are therefore inclined to believe that in this feeding of beggars at the White Russian festivals a primitive custom is preserved. As many of the beggars have already seen, the clergy had turned to their own account, by actually making it a rule that the pious should feed and clothe whole bands of Brahmins at the śrādhas. The service which is rendered to the Brahmins is really rendered to the ancestors.

(d) The general significance, for the history of culture, of the worship of the dead in primitive times.—It is not asserting too much to say that the entire social organization of primitive peoples rests on the principle of ancestor-worship. Its practice falls, in the first place, on the sons, and then on the more distant relatives of the deceased. In this connexion we find, among some of the individual peoples, definite circles of relatives: among the Indians the subandā, or 'sorcery-companions'; among the Greeks, the ἐγγονίς, or 'nearest'; among the Romans, the propinquii soborinum tenus, 'the relatives as far as the sobrinus'; and it is not improbable that even in primitive times there existed a notion of such a close kindship, the members of which were, in the first instance, under an obligation to present the sacrifice of the dead to their common ancestors. In his Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde (see art. 'Erbrecht') the present writer has sought to prove that the 'next of kin' in primitive times were covered by the conception of the Indian sūpindā关系, and included those persons who had in common father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, or one of these ancestors, while in the case of the Gr. ἐγγόνη and the Lat. propinquii soborinum tenus, 'the relatives as far as the sobrinus' above were, in the performance of the duties of mourning, early joined by cognati and even affines. But in any case they must have been originally the same persons to whom belonged, besides the offering to the sacrifice, the right of inheritance and the obligation of blood retribution. Thus the idea of the deep and inheritance appear everywhere in
closest connection with each other. In India, such expressions as 'to be one's heir' and 'to give the funeral feast to somebody' (Skr. dyādyā, 'sharer,' 'heir,' and sīrūjā, 'sharer in the sacrificial cake') are often synonymous. The same holds in Greece, where, as late as his own time, the orator Isaeus (vi. 51) could say: 'The bones themselves have a son of a man, or this son of the sister of Philocteton, whom he has adopted, élaîn ólùōmovn kai étι tά μυστά iánaîn χέρυουν και εννεύουνα.' In Rome the principle of the jus patricium is accepted, nullus hereditas sine vicarii, but among the old Tonents also Heires must have prevailed that worship of the dead and inheritance were identical conceptions.

Linguistic proofs of this are supplied by the Old Norse expression: erf, 'heir,' together with a funeral word, der, 'burial-mound,' 'inheriit'; erf, 'inheritance'; erf-stólp, 'a funeral feast; erf, 'a wake,' 'funeral feast'; erf-stólp, erf-vard (A.S. erstárp), 'as heir'; erf-stólp, 'a wake,' 'funeral feast.' This alliance of worship and property was, at the same time, the real defensive and offensive alliance of primitive times, inasmuch as it, in the first resort, the duty of blood revenge (cf. Schrader, Reallex., art. 'Kinderrecht') for a murdered or wounded companion devolved; and since in those ancient times, in which as yet there was no State, but only families, clans, and tribes, it was simply this institution of blood revenge that afforded mankind that protection which in primitive times was only afforded by the primitive institutions and the State guarantee, the extraordinary significance of ancestor-worship and the circle of relations based upon it again becomes, from this point of view, quite apparent.

But whether it was a question of offering the sacrificial food to the dead in possession, or the performance of the duties of blood revenge, it was always on the sons, in the first instance, that the man based his hope. This explains the ardent desire for sons which appears undisguised in the prayers to the gods, and especially to those ancestor-spirits who had charge of the welfare of the family (cf. O. Schrader, Reallex., art. 'Kinderrecht'). There was no special desire for daughters, who were unfit for offering sacrifice to the dead, and were employed only in the domestic services (see above, p. 19 ff.). But sons who are to be fitted to perpetuate these religious and social duties cannot even in primitive times be begotten of any woman indiscriminately; they must, on the contrary, be born of a wife who has been solemnly brought into the husband's house in compliance with the religious laws of the two-inernoms of related aede were bound together by common places of interment (κοινά χώρα) (cf. Marquardt, Privilediern der Römer, 1870–82, p. 533; and Rohde, Psyche), i. 229, note 3). In the North, expressions like Nóu, in Norsk. ordbog, 'hir of the two-inernoms of related aede' were used in Old Norse, as in Greek, in this sense; and in Russia, dial. roditel'jekho mjesto, 'cemetery,' properly 'place of the ancestors' (on Russ. родител'jekho, 'ancestors,' see above, p. 23), point to the same custom, which is also confirmed by many facts of early historical research (cf. Reallex., art. 'Friedeii,' and M. Much, Mittheilungen der anthrop. Gesell. in Wien, xxxvi. 90).

Public roads and paths were places at which these tribal graves were by preference wont to be laid out, perhaps because they were in this way most visible to the individual, and that times and paths were regarded at the same time as boundary lines between the separate districts, which were in this way both made obvious and protected by the sacred remains of the ancestors. The custom is especially well attested in Greece and Rome (cf. Marguerat, p. 251, and I. Müller, Die griechischen Priedhölderin 5, 1839, p. 221) as well as in India (cf. p. 26); but according to Nestor's Chronicle (od. Miklosich, p. 7) the old Slavonic Radimici, Vjatich, and Sverjancs laid the times of their dead in small vessels and placed the na stolpe ("upon a pillar") beside the roads (cf. Kotljarevskij, op. cit. p. 123, who also refers to the fact that the Greek aronix has, in addition to the meaning 'boundary,' the significations of 'burial-mound' and 'funeral-pyre').

At these tribal cemeteries, situated at the sides of roads and paths, the souls of the dead were supposed in primitive times to dwell in the depth of the earth and in the neighbourhood of their graves. But as in the course of historical development (cf. Reallex., art. 'Kultus') of the families and the State, the survival of primitive times gradually increased to larger political unities, ruled over by kings, the idea became more and more natural of localizing the deceased in real realms of the dead, situated usually at a great distance, and further in the heavens, and at last, in the primitive times marriage was regarded as an unavoidable necessity, and bachelorhood as an almost unthinkable self-contradiction. So intense was this feeling, that, as we have already seen, the unmarried dead man was even after his death married to a wife for the life to come, with the observance of the full marriage ritual (cf. on this O. Schrader, Die Schwiegertrauer und der Hage-stolz, Brunswick, 1904, and Totenfeier in Jena, 1906).

4. The realms of the dead.—As the primitive Aryans lived together in families and clans (cf. Reallex., art. 'Familie' and 'Sippe'), we may assume that they buried their dead in families and clans. In Rome each gens had the use of a common sepulcrum, of which only the last two-inernoms of related aede were bound together by common places of interment (κοινά χώρα) (cf. Marquardt, Privilediern der Römer, 1870–82, p. 533; and Rohde, Psyche), i. 229, note 3). In the North, expressions like Nóu, in Norsk. ordbog, 'hir of the two-inernoms of related aede' were used in Old Norse, as in Greek, in this sense; and in Russia, dial. roditel'jekho mjesto, 'cemetery,' properly 'place of the ancestors' (on Russ. родител'jekho, 'ancestors,' see above, p. 23), point to the same custom, which is also confirmed by many facts of early historical research (cf. Reallex., art. 'Friedeii,' and M. Much, Mittheilungen der anthrop. Gesell. in Wien, xxxvi. 90).

If we turn northwards, we find, in the first place, among the Tera dāvāvātvarcors, 'the Gates who regard themselves as immortal' (Herod. iv. 39),
a kingdom of the dead belonging to the god Zalmosya or *Gebôlôga, to whom it was customary to send a messenger every five years, by throwing a man upwards and then receiving him on lanes and so piercing him to death. We have already (above, p. 257) seen the maintenance of the Lithuanian god of the dead Videnia, who, like Helge, was believed to exist. All the linguistic comparisons from which people were wont at an earlier date to draw conclusions as to the existence of such primitive ideas—as, e.g., Gr. *Kôrpôs=Skr. *áparava, sabala (a name of an Indian dog of the dead); Gr. Tópôs=Sk. *kôpôs (always date the name of a definite hall); Gr. Equnias (as leader of the dead)=Skr. ánd wspólnya (use of the dogs in the Indian world of the dead); Gr. *báras (as ruler of the dead)=Skr. *mrûna, and other similar comparisons—belong to the realm of beliefs that have long ago been given up by modern philology, as has been shown above (p. 13). Even the alleged agreements as to the matter in this sphere—as, e.g., that a certain resemblance is to be found between the Gr. *Kôrpôs and the two four-eyed and spotted dogs of Yama who guard the corridor to the tomb—have been refuted by the old concordance of convincing proof (cf. O. Gruppe, *Die griechischen Kulte und Mythen, i, 113; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, i, 304, footnote 2; Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 538).

Thus we believe that the idea of actual realms of the dead, situated at a great distance from the graves of the deceased, belongs to the individual development of the separate Aryan races, although this development may have taken place in prehistoric epochs. In the same way, it seems to us that the separate races of the Indian peninsula and the individual peoples that the custom originated of burning the corpse and sending away the soul (which was thought of as 'smoke') to a distant land by means of the smoke of the funeral-pyre—a custom which, as we have shown above, stands in intimate connexion with this idea of a distant realm of the dead. If the first practice of cremation arose from still more primitive ideas—as, e.g., from the wish to free the living from the pollution which was threatened by the dead, or to keep the dead from giving evil spirits to the living—then the theme of the beloved dead—still it cannot be disputed that the conception of the flame as a female guide of the soul into a distant realm of the dead was one which, in the course of time, rose more and more clearly into prominence. This is most unmistakably the case in India, where, in an extremely realistic manner, the assistance is added, in the way of comfort, that at the cremation the meal organ does not burn, and that there are many women-folk in the heavenly world (Oldenberg, op. cit., pp. 544, 556). In Homer the only way to Hades is over the funeral-pyre, but the elect are 'translated' into Elysium, even when still alive. Among the Gauls (Diodorus Siculus, v. 28) it was usual at a cremation to lay letters on the funeral-pyre, addressed to the departed relatives. These were supposed to be carried along with the soul of the cremated dead into the realm of the shades. But a Russian expresses himself more unservedly as to the real purpose of cremation in the case of the funeral of a Russian merchant described by I. I. Pokorny (see *Der slavische Mythos*, 17, 239):—

Ye Arabs are indeed a stupid people: ye take him who is the best beloved and most highly honoured of men and cast him into the earth, where the creeping beast and worms feed on him. We, on the other hand, burn him in an instant, so that he goes directly, without delay, into Paradise.'

The oldest abeole, therefore, in which the spirits of the ancestors dwelt is the earth, the same earth
to whose bosom the farmer commits the seed; and accordingly we are not surprised if the gods of the earth who gradually emerge among the different peoples rule over the souls of the dead that lie in the earth as well as over the seed which springs from the earth. This was the case on the earth; this was the first place, of the Mother Earth herself, of the Greek Zeus (Rohde, i. 208), and of the Latin Tellus (Wissowa, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, vii, 27), while among the Lithuanians Zonna (cf. Lott. Semnes mitte, Lth. Žemaičių etna.), Thronus (W. Juncewicz) is on the one hand, the goddess of blessing for field and house, and on the other hand sacrifices are offered to her at the festival of the dead. In this connexion the attempt has been made by the writer of the present article (B. L. Müller, p. 128) to prove that the Lithuanian Feronia is nothing but the "bringer of the seed," and the Latin Feronia is the "bringer of the seed."

II. WORSHIP OF THE SKY AND OTHER NATURAL PHENOMENA—"THE HEAVENLY ONES."—Introduction. If we have so far succeeded in presenting the fundamental features of the Aryan worship of the dead, sometimes even to very trilling details in its development, we have owed this above all else to the Slav-Scandinavian tradition, by means of which we were enabled fully to understand the conditions prevalent among them. The Aryan race, however, were not completely attested to that. Among the Indians, for example, the most horrid plagues of the farmer, the pest fly (Kusw bhāja) and the pestilence, were carried by the sacrificial offerings to the gods of the dead. We should regard the words of the Indian onment as examined closely the realm of nature or other names, civilization, agriculture, the home, family life, etc.

Long ago it was observed that this fundamental feature of the Aryan religion of the gods occurring on Aryan soil with amazing accuracy in the Old Roman religion. This comes before our notice most obviously in the list of gods which appears in the so-called Indogermanica, i.e. priestly collections of prayers, especially the most varied occasions, which are known to name the main from the attacks of the Church Fathers on the Antiquitatem rerum divinarum of Varro, who drew his materials from these Indogermanica. Now, although the fixing of these names of gods in definite classes of religious mystic associations, as related by the Indogermanica, 1875-76, and therefore the Roman cult, must have been a great number of individual gods exactly resembling in their nature the Lithuanian deities.

"Seid ei aliu sunt praetera (i.e. besides the great gods of the cult, whose names also stand in the Indogermanica)." This statement receives support by the list of the Lithuanian mythology, by Théodor R. von Grünberg in Archiv für slavische Philologie, vol. 10, 292, it is the same as that in the Latin-German Mythology," by Théodor R. von Grünberg in Archiv für slavische Philologie, vol. 12, 1890, and in the Roman cult, must have been a great number of individual gods exactly resembling in their nature the Lithuanian deities.

With these general characteristics of the Litho-Prussian religion the gods and god-names of the Lithuanians and Prussians themselves correspond well. We have information about these from men like Jerzy Mennicus (Medexus, Malecki, see above, pp. 17, 19), Math. Strykowicz (Kronika Polska, Literatura, Praca, Mustowiany, etc.), W. Juncewicz, J. Jakub Laskowski (in Lietuvių, de Dios Sanagastum, Basel, 1815), Matthus Praetorius (Deorum Prusarum et Praestantiae manueli, compared with 1699, as well as the continuation extracts from the MS, by William Pearson, Berlin, 1870),

If we attempt to emphasize what is really characteristic in these Prusso-Lithuanian conceptions of the gods and goddesses, we shall find the fact that, for all phenomena of nature and life, for all undertakings and conditions of mankind, in fact even for every section or act of these which was at all prominent, individual gods (Sondergötter, special gods), to whom other hands (and in these) were created, who, at least as a general rule, must be said to remain within the limits of the conception to which they owe their origin.

If, in order to demonstrate this by an example, we single out a particular province of culture, as, e.g., cattle-breeding, which evidently occupied a prominent place in the life of the Lithuanians, we have to begin with a god who looks cattle in general (Siweras), then a goddess who looks after their propagation (Casina), a god who attends to the feeding (Zeitneras), another taking care of the pasture holds (Gebidok dēvės). In addition to these, there are "special gods" concerned with the oxen (Lubūs), the horses (latinica), the sheep and goats (Trīzeras), the bee (Ekzer), the art of weaving (Siautėzpasiezgymnius dēvės), the bees (IzEditors, the young pige (Priparskas), and there is even one god, together with the above-mentioned, the most horrid plagues of the farmer, the pest fly (Kusw bhāja) and the pestilence, who should regard the words of the Indian onment as examined closely the realm of nature or other names, civilization, agriculture, the home, family life, etc.

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The important thing, however, is that these great gods of the cult themselves, as we know them in the whole of Roman culture, sowing representative seeds which were devoted to them, are essentially, even in the earliest historical times, or at least in the earliest period we can read with certainty, nothing else than 'special gods.' If we take, e.g., the sphere of agriculture, which lay at the foundation of our Roman culture, sowing representatives of the Satyrians, harvest by Consus and Opus, growth by Ceres, blossoms by Flora, fruit by Pomona, failure of crops by Robogus—all of them deities who, according to the information supplied by the stone-calendar, had individual relics of the individual gods or deities, and their disposal (cf. Wissowa, Religion and Kultus, p. 21). If we may judge from pictures in the circus, there were worshipped along with Consus, the god of harvest, the three goddesses Spica, Septia, and Tulliia, who had power over the seeds beneath and above the ground (Wissowa, op. cit. p. 105).

In addition to these, there are the twelve gods who were invoked by the names at the sacrum Ceres; Pater (for the fallow ploughing), Siderator (for the second ploughing), Imporator (for the drawing of the furrow), Insular (for the sowing of corn), Sablonen (for harvesting), Saxator (for the hoeing), Subsiderator (for the weeding), Monitor (for the mowing), Conuctor (for the gathering), Condor for the storing, and Optimator (for the sale of the grain); while from the report of Varro could be added a god of manuring (Sterinalis), and several more (cf. especially Peter, 'Indignamenta' in Deutsche Zeitschrift für Völkerkunde, 1853).

A remarkable fact regarding these old Roman names of gods is that sometimes there seem to appear in them chronologically different strata of one and the same idea. Thus Insular (and at the same time Sator) is at the stone-carved Corcula the 'sover'; Condor is the 'storer.' The same meaning is in all probability in the names of the old gods of the cult Saturnus (Saturnus) and Consus, which are probably connected etymologically with tesser and condor (Wissowa, pp. 106, 108). In the same way, Janus (Wissowa, p. 96) originally was simply the god of the doors (inuens), just as in the Lithuanian religion there was a god of the well, Svedulinis (Lith. svedulys, 'the well'), or a god of the bath-broom, Sledronys (Lith. svedronys, 'broom-stump'). After higher sects such as the concept of the deities, as a god of the beginning (entrance), were blended with the idea of Janus, a renewal of this idea took place. This renewal we find in the gods of the Indignamenta: Fortuna, 'god of the doors,' and Concutor, 'god of the entrance' (cf. Wissowa, Geschichte der Religion, p. 231).

If in the preceding account we have placed the Litu-Prussian and the old Roman gods on the same stage of development in the history of religion, we do not mean to say that the figures which belong to these two groups represent common pre-historic formations, even in cases where these figures exactly correspond to each other in their nature, as is the case, e.g., with the Lith. Githurja, 'god of the barns' = Lat. Consus; Lith. Turtinis kuberkstis, 'god of fire' = Lat. Stella mater (Wissowa, Gesch., p. 176); Lith. Hercyanus = Lat. Mercurius; Lith. Pizius (Lacinus), 'god of sexual intercourse' = Lat. Mutumnum Tutanus (Wissowa, p. 195), etc. What can be proved to be pre-historic is rather the mere capacity and the tendency to form into a divinity every conception in nature or in culture which was of significance for primitive man, and to maintain the gods who were thus created for a longer or shorter period in their original sphere.

The greater part of H. Usener's standard work (Geschichte der Religion, etc.) is devoted to proving that the same tendency was operative in the formation of the Greek gods, that here too the great personal gods were evolved from special gods resembling those of the Romans and Lithuanians. This book also shows (cf. p. 116 ff.) how, even under the rule of the Christian Church, we may perceive an ancient Tentons. 'It is impossible,' says F. Kaufmann in his Deutsche Mythologie (Stuttgart, 1839), p. 40, Engl. tr. Northern Mythology, London, 1903, p. 31, 'to prove in the earliest Teutonic religion that there ever existed a god of more than one qualities; and a triad of gods is usually ascribed to the Tentons by the historiographers of later times. The names given are Mercury, Jupiter, and Mars, names which really denote the Tentonic gods Woden, Donar, and Zin. With them is associated a goddess originally the great all-mother Earth, the beloved of the gods, as well as called by the name of Freia.' Certainly, if this statement is correct, and it expresses the opinion current among the German mythologists, there would hardly be room for these special gods in the ancient Tentons. But how then is it to be explained that even Procopius found among the Herulians a θεσθεος θεος θυσις, and when Jordanis (cf. x.) relates of the Gothic Dicenum: 'elegit ex eius nobilissimos praetorenumque aiores, quos nos inv-eteres piissimas studiosis instituit, quae vel solet veneere insulis,' what else can be meant than that that ruler was the first to choose some few State-gods out of the crowd of existing deities? Or is it possible to regard the numerous gods, and especially goddesses, which the Roman inscriptions exhibit—a Thymius, Requivalvanus, Halamarus, Magus, Saxonus, etc., or a Tanfana, Nerthus, Baduhenna, Nehalennia, Huldana, Gar mangabies, Haiva, Vagiavercussius, Harinella, etc.—as all being different forms of the names and ideas of those chief gods or goddesses? When only the Roman gods Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Hercules appear as Roman equivalents of the Teutonic world of gods, is it not natural to suppose the reason of this to lie in the fact that the people who first brought news about the Teutonic gods to Rome were soldiers and merchants of the classes—in addition to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, who was worshipped by all in common—honoured especially the god Mars, the latter Mercury and Hercules (as the guardian of measure and weight; cf. Wissowa, Gesch., p. 291), or 'the classes sought with special fondness their favourite guardian gods on the barbarian Olympus—and found them too. But none of these questions can be disposed of briefly, and accordingly we cannot settle them here. In any case, however, no substantial objection from the standpoint of the Teutonic religion can be raised against the view that the craving, which is strikingly prominent in the Litu-Prussian and ancient Roman religion, for an endless variety of 'special gods' reproginus,' all sides of the life of nature and culture is to be regarded as a primitive Aryan characteristic. What confronts us here, however, as the oldest of the old is in reality nothing else than the phenomenon which anthropologists have called 'animism,' i.e. 'the investing with life and the deifying of the inanimate.' The extraordinary world-wide importance of this mode of thought for religious life has long been recognized (cf. especially Tylor, Primitive Culture, London, 1891).

In close connexion with this animism we see further the same tendency in the old Hellenic religion. From primitive Indo-Iranian times onwards, the ever-growing tendency to form gods was kept in check by influential priests who, by pious exhortation everywhere, tried to increase the influence of the development of great personal gods (cf. below, 40).
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ther how, in the Aryan relifcions as Avell as everywhere else, traces of a pronounced fetisliism
remain. It cannot be doubted that the Aryans,
like other races, once worshipped and prayed to
trees and stumps, stones and animals, not only as
symbols of divinity, but as real embodiments of a
In the meantime it may be addivine anima.

Old Nor. Tyr, O.II.G. Ziu.*
The fundamental
meaning of the term sky is most clearly preserved in the Vedic Dydus, while the Gr. Zei/s and
Lat. Jitppitcr on the one hand, and the Old Norse
Tyr and O.H.G. Zla on the otlier, have developed

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visable to leave the proofs of this to be discussed
those sections Avhich deal with the outward
appearance and tlie oldest dwelling-place of the
deity (below, 3 and 4c).
In this way it may be said that in the Aryan
world animism and fetishism form the first and
the oldest staji^e in tlie evolution of the history
Tiiey are also to be traced in historiof religion.
cal times, and are still to be detected at the present
But it is likewise certain that even in
day.
primitive Aryan times the beginnings of a higher
form of religion made their appearance.
For although the countless numbers of special
gods' presupposed as original are not at first to be
regarded as diflering qualitatively among themselves, still it is natural to suppose that, just as
the individual objects and conceptions which
excited religious emotions were of different significance for mankind, so also the significance of
the deities arising out of tliem would from the
beginning be ditlerent, or would soon become so.
And, in fact, we see how at a time when the
Aryan peoples were still together, or were for the
most part very close to each other, a class of
beings became separated from the motley crowd of
divinities, and appeared distinct from the other
'special gods.' These were designated by the list
of primitive Aryan words already known to us
Skr. devd, Lat. deus, Lith. diZivas, Ir. d(a. Old
in

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Nor. tivar, nom. pi. i.e. the 'heavenly ones.'
These heavenly ones will accordingly have to
occupy the chief place in the following discussion,
which will consist of five sections (1) evidences
of the significance of the 'heavenly ones' in the
old Aryan I'eligion, (2) their names, (3) their forms
of manifestation, and the interpretation of them in
riddle and myth, (4) their worship, and (5) theirrelation to the morality of mankind.
I. Evidences of the significance of the
heavenly
ones' in the old Aryan religion. It is emphasized
in tiie most unmistakable fasluon, by unbiased
authorities, with regard to the most diverse sections
of the old Aryan racial territory, that the worship
of the sky and the powers of nature connected with
it formed the real kernel of the primitive Aryan
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religions.
This we have already seen in the reports regarding the
Prussian Lithuanians* quoted above (pro deo coluerunt, scilicet
solem, lunam et Stellas, tonitrua omnem ornatum cseli atque
terrae adorantes varies decs habent, aliuni casli, alium terrse,
quibus alii subsunt).
This is still more clearly; proved by Herodotus (i. 131)
with regard to the Persians
ayoKiiara niv koI itjous Kai
Piafiov'S ovK if fd/xcti Troieu/ieVous ISpvecrOaL, oAAa Kal tois noievcn
/uiipiifv €7ri</)e'pou(ri, (I>s p-if €fiol SoKeei, otl ovk av6pu)noii>v^ai

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ivofiiiTav TOvs ^eovs Karajrep oc ^EAAtji'tj? eiroi*
ot 6e vo/xt'^ovo't
Atl fiev CTTt ra. vypTjXoTaTO. Ttuf ovp^ttjv aua^aCvovTe^ Svaiai; epSeiv,
TOi' KV*cAoi' irdi'Ta toO ovpavov Aia KaXe'oJ'Tes' Bvovai. 6e i^Acto re

KoX

aekriinrj

koX

Kol irvpl'KaX vSarL KoX ave^oitrt.' rovTOKTt

yfj

fiovvoia^i 0VOVCTL apxTJOev,

VOV5 TOucrSe IXdo'KOi'Tai,

and the Scythians
'IcrTt-)ji/

(iv.

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pLci/ 6i}

flcovs nev/j-ov-

fikv ixd\i(rra, cttI Se At'a

re kol VriV

dvai yvvaiKa. Cjesar reports regarding the Teutons : Gerniani nmltum ab hac (Gallorum) consuetudine differunt, nam neque druides habent, qui rebus divinis
vofii^ovTes

rrji'

I^;' toO Aibs
'

prxsint, neque sacrificiis student, deorum numero eos solos
ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur Solem
et Vvlcanttm et Ltmam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt
{de Bell. Gall. vi. 21).
:

At

the head of

this worship stands the

itself: Skr. Di/cIu.9 = Gt. Zei's, Lat. Diespiter,

piter

{Ju-jnter = Zed Trdrep,

sky
Jup-

an ancient vocative),

*Cf., in addition, Erasmus Stella, 'de Borussise Antiquitatibus' ii., in Orynieus, Novm Orbis, Hasel, 1537, p. 582
Solem et
Lunam deos omnium primos creiiiderunt, tonitrua fulgetrasque
ex consensu gentium adurabant, tempestates advertendas
citandasque precationibus dixerunt.'
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into gods, conceived of as purely personal, the classical words denoting the greatest god of the sky,
and the Teutonic the greatest god of war. The root
from which the whole class of words is derived
is Skr. div
to radiate,' so that Aryan *dySus
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day ') indicated in the first place the
( = Lat. dies,
sky as the bearer of the light of day, and tlius one
of the first of the more elevated religious ideas of
the Aryans was connected with the light of day.
The most violent natural phenomenon seen in
the sky is the thunderstorm. From what has just
been said regarding the fundamental signification
of the Arj'an *dyeus, as well as from what has
been indicated above regarding the fundamental
feature of the Aryan religions the formation of
'special gods' it follows that the primitive condition of things has been preserved by those Aryan
languages which have formed special deities for
the phenomenon of the thunderstorm and its
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accompanying manifestation, the thundercrash,
which agitates most powerfully tlie feelings of
mankind. This is the case particularly over the
whole of Northern Europe. Tlius the universal
Teutonic name of the thunder-god, O.H.G. Donar,
O.L.G. Thunar, 0. Nor. ThOrr, is nothing else
than the term for thunder (Skr. standyati, 'it
thunders,'
\>unor,

Lat.

tonut,

O.H.G. donar).

tonitrus,

A.S.

The common

^pu7lian,

Celtic ex-

pression for this natural power *torunnos (Irish
torann, Welsh tarann, Cornish taran, thunder ')
is derived by metathesis from the same root.
These
Celtic forms led to the god (or goddess ?) Turanis
attested by Lucan (Phars. i. 445) and to forms
which are found on inscriptions, such as ^apavbov
(Dat.), Taranucns, Tarunucnus. Along with these
we have a form exactly corresponding to the Teutonic Donar, viz. Tanaros (cf. R. Much, 'Der
germanische Himmelsgott' in Festschrift fur
Heinzel, p. 227). The names of the Lithuanian god
of thunder, Perkunas (according to Menecius deus
tonitruum ac temjjestaticm'), and of the Slavonic
Pcrun, who was especially worshij)ped in Kiev, are
obviously related to each other, but the exact
natui-e of this relationship has not yet been
determined. Both of them are used in their own
languages as appellative terms for
thunderstorm,' ' thundercrash.' The first of these two
names has been connected (cf. H. Hirt, Indog.
Forsch. i. p. 479) with the Old Norse Fjorgyn, the
name of the mother of Thor, and with Parjdnya,
the rain- and thunder-god of the Vedas. All these
words have again been connected Avith the Lat.
qucrcus, O.H.G. forlui 'oak,' 'fir' (*2)erku), so
that the meaning ' he of the oak would result for
Perkunas (cf. in Menecius Putsccetus, ' deus qui
sacros lucos tuetur,' Lith. Puszaitis [from puszis,
pine tree '], he of the pine tree ' ; cf J. G. Frazer,
Early History of the Kingship, 210).
But the
Skr. Parjdnya must for phonetic reasons be excluded from this series (Skr. is not = Lith. k), and
after all it may be better (especially in consideration of the clear and evident changes of
meaning which occur in the Celtic Taran is and
the Teutonic Donar), in the case of Perkunas
and Perun to start from their apjiellative signification. f Just as in the North of Europe, so also in
* Bremer {Imlogerm. Forschiniiicn, iii. 301) has lately, on
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insufficient grounds, the present writer thinks, separated the
Teutonic words from *dy£us = Zevs and connected them with

*deivos = deii.'i.
t E. Lid6n (ArmeniscJie Studien, Gciteborg, 1906, p. 8S) has
recently discussed all these words. With us he derives the
•Slav, perwiu and Lith. perkunas from the appellative signiflcation thunder,' and pK-ices both words beside Old Slav, perq,
pirati and Armen. hark-aiiem, aor. hari (fit. also Amien. orol
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the Vedas, Dyum, the god of heaven, and Indra, the god of the thunderstorm (along with Paranjaya) are carefully kept separate. In contrast to that, the Teutonic gods are the personification of the clear sky and thunder god at the same time:

_Zeit des frühchristlichen Sinnes ērvaren in nichts und nichts (fl. xii. 192).

In fact, titles of the god referring to the latter quality, Zeus, the Thunderer, Zeus the Father, etc., are frequently used as a kind of prayer, etc., exist in large numbers. On the other hand, the epithet of Zeus, the old neuter plural ērvaria, 'wide-eye' (cf. above, τὸν κλάδον πιέσα τοῦ φωκᾶν Δία καλοττον), which is by far the most accepted of all titles and has been in use since the 3rd century B.C., has been in use since the 3rd century B.C., is of immense importance and influence. The fact that in pre-historic times special worship was paid to the goddess of the dawn at the beginning of the year (the spring), as is made probable by the ritual of the Indian Ushas (cf. Hillebrand, Venedische Mythologie, Bonn, 1891-1902, ii. 26ff. and L. v. Schrader, 'Liho' in the Mitteilungen der antrop, Gesellschaft in Wien, xxxviii, p. 16).

The name of the dawn, too, developed on Teutonic soil into an important goddess Osara (to be found in the O.H.G. Osterin, Osartwôh), A.S. Eotre (Easternmost), cf. Bode de Teutonum richle, etc. (c. 13)=Skr. urû, Lith. ausûra, only with the difference that here the original goddess of the morning has become a goddess of Spring (but cf. A.S. barendel, 'morning-star,' 'morning-dawn'). There is no reason to doubt that this goddess, too, received the distinction of being the goddess of the dawn at the beginning of the year (the spring), as is made probable by the ritual of the Indian Ushas (cf. Hillebrand, Venedische Mythologie, Bonn, 1891-1902, ii. 26ff. and L. v. Schrader, 'Liho' in the Mitteilungen der antrop, Gesellschaft in Wien, xxxviii. On Italian soil the Salärne ausel, 'sol' (Varro, de Ling. Lat. v. 68 acc. to emendation), must be mentioned as derived from the root *aus- which has just been referred to, whose priests were called Ausavii, etc. (cf. also the formation on Etruscan mirrors, Uil Sol et Eos). With regard to the divinities Sol and Luna themselves, it is doubtful whether or not they belonged to the oldest components of the pantheon (cf. Wissowa, op. cit. p. 261). Tradition in this regard is scarce in fact, but on the other hand there are no traces of their worship either in the calendar of feasts or in the priestly regulations. But the same is also the case with other Roman divinities, e.g. Minerva, whose name ('Mënæsa) is derived from a root Gr. μνήσα which is entirely extinct in the Italian languages, and therefore must be very old. Mënæ in the Indogerm. is the special goddess of menstruation. In Greece the related divinities are Ἡλώ and Hē, Mē, and Σελήνη, although they continue for the most part to play a role in the mythology subordinate to that of the chief gods. Finally, the Rigveda also knows a sun-god (Sárya) and a moon-god (Mās), who, however, in the same way withdrew into the background before other gods who are probably not creations of the Indian soil, as e.g. Sūrya, or New Pers. mār, 'the sun'), Varuna, and the Adityas, or they have been repressed by these (cf. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, pp. 185 ff., 194). The position of the female personification of the dawn, Suryā, called Sūryā, and that of the Suryā, who is called Sūryā, and that of the morning, the Atan, and her marriage with Soma, the moon-god of a later date, which we shall discuss further on. The same is true of the Ushas, so often celebrated in song (cf. above). For a Mā (moon-god) of Asia Minor, see Kretschmer, Einleitung, p. 197 ff.

Along with sun and moon, we find in Herodotus and Cæsar fire (Skr. ognī=Lat. ignis, Lith. auge, Old Slav. ognī) mentioned as an object of worship. According to primitive ideas it is born in heaven (cf. A. Kuhn, Herkunft des Feuers, Berlin, 1859), and is carried to earth in the lightning-flash, which is accordingly called 'fire' in the most ancient times (cf. Schrader, Reallexicon, art. 'Feuer'). On Prussio-Lithuanian soil it was the object of a sumptuous worship. Here Jerome of Prague found amongst the Lithuanian pagans a temple among the tribes of the Przeworsk region, where the chief deity (*perpetuum appellatum; sanctaedes tempeli materiam ne decretum ministrabat. The people called it Ugnis szwenta, 'holy fire,' or szwenta poykhe, 'holy mistress.' On leaving the house of her parents (cf. Paterius, loc. cit. p. 82), the young wife said, 'Thou holy fire, who will guard thee?' There was also a goddess of the hearth, Aspelene, 'the one behind the hearth' (Lith. petelė), etc. We thus find in
the North the same perennial fire, fed by priests, as recurs in the South in the cult of the Roman Vestal, Greek AEA, Areusian AEA, 'hearth,' as 'kindling on.' The fire, however, has no eternal new layers of divine beings were ever added among the separate peoples will be indicated, at least in broad outline, at the close of the next section, although, strictly speaking, it does not belong to this discussion.

2. The oldest names of the 'heavenly ones.'—Aryan archæology, in the course of its historical development, has been gradually coming to the conclusion that, in the vocabulary of the original Aryan language, real names of gods cannot be proved. The only thing that can be proved, as the scholars clearly recognize, is that there was a layer of deities, which is that there were appellative but perfectly transparent designations of the sky and the natural phenomena proceeding from it. The fact that they were worshipped in primitive times follows from their being all unified in the word 'deities,' and from the numerous historical divinities which have grown out of them. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the simple fact that in primitive Aryan times there were as yet no real gods in the later sense of the term, viz., no personal gods having those names connected with the gods of mankind. The Greek Ἱππος (probably derived from the root *hip-), and the Latin Volcanus, in pre-historic times apparently the god of the fearful and devastating might of fire (from *volā, 'fire' = Skr. vāla, 'firebrand'; cf. Kretschmer, p. 139), are more narrowly confined to their original sphere than the Vedic Agni. The beginning of a formation of a Teutonic god, the hearth-fire, may probably be found in the figure of the Old Norse Óðinn, whose name, however, has not yet been sufficiently explained.

As the last of the great powers of the sky and of nature we have to mention wind and water. The former appears as a god in the Lituanian Wejō-patis, 'lord of the wind' (also Wejpų and Wejis) from the Lith. viējas, viējas, 'wind.' The last of these words corresponds to the Vedic Vāyu, 'wind,' and 'god of the wind,' and is also the wind-god). The beginning of a formation of a Teutonic god, the hearth-fire, may probably be found in the figure of the Old Norse Óðinn, whose name, however, has not yet been sufficiently explained.

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The gods of the Aryans were also 'nameless.' They sacrificed to the sky, the sun, the moon, the dawn, fire, wind, and water; but the names indicating these powers still coincided perfectly with the respective designations. A Greek who had listened to their worship would, under the impression of the life-like figures in his Olympus, have called them also ἀοῖνοι, 'without gods.' Theophrastus knew such a people in the Thracean Thēi of Mt. Athos, and in the same sense Strabo, iii, p. 161, reports: ἀοῖνοι τούτους Καλλικράτης ἄθεους ἄθεον ταύτην ἄθεον, καὶ τοὺς προπόροντας τῶν ἄτων ἄτων ἄτως οὕτως τὸ μὲν ἄθεον τὸ δὲ χάριμα τῶν παρικόν οὖσαν πρὸ τῷ παλιῷ, παρικόν τε χαρίματος τε καὶ παρικόν τε χάριμα τε. The gods of the Aryans were also 'nameless.' They sacrificed to the sky, the sun, the moon, the dawn, fire, wind, and water; but the names indicating these powers still coincided perfectly with the respective designations. A Greek who had listened to their worship would, under the impression of the life-like figures in his Olympus, have called them also ἀοῖνοι, 'without gods.' Theophrastus knew such a people in the Thracean Thēi of Mt. Athos, and in the same sense Strabo, iii, p. 161, reports: ἀοῖνοι τούτους Καλλικράτης ἄθεους ἄθεον ταύτην ἄθεον, καὶ τοὺς προπόροντας τῶν ἄτων ἄτως οὕτως τὸ μὲν ἄθεον τὸ δὲ χάριμα τῶν παρικόν οὖσαν πρὸ τῷ παλιῷ, παρικόν τε χαρίματος τε καὶ παρικόν τε χαρίματος τε.
ARYAN RELIGION

gods’ had the capacity of annexing the sphere of activity of others. In the case of some deities the powers of various other gods were united. Then we have the additional fact that hundreds of new aspects and tasks of material culture, as of law and custom, require a new heavenly lord and protector, while the significance of the natural powers begins to fade, the more mankind gets raised above them.

In addition to this, there is no Aryan territory where influences from without have not made themselves felt. As far as India is concerned, Oldenberg (Die Religion des Veda, p. 194) is convinced that the gods of the Rig-Veda, which are sharply distinguished from the rest of the Vedic pantheon, Mitra, Varuna, and the Adityas (according to him, sun, moon, and planets), had been borrowed, as early as the Indo-Iranian period, from the Scmites or the Sumerians, or that they had received their astronomical character from them. Herodotus himself relates, in the passage referred to above, that the Pelasgi received the names of their originally nameless gods from the Egyptians, and that they afterwards handed on these names to the Greeks. Hence it is attributed to the Pelasgi to make the slightest doubt that the personal characterization of the Greek deities followed the Oriental pattern to a large extent. The Persians, too, according to Herodotus (l. 131), had learned from the Assyrians and the Arabs to sacrifice to a personal deity, usually with the name of an ancient stone god. Nor can we fail to recognize how the colourless forms of the old Roman gods were, during the course of Hellenic influence, clothed with Greek flesh and blood. The relation of the ancient Teutons to the Romans must be regarded in the same way. If we take the deities mentioned by Caesar (obviously only as instances), sun, moon, and fire, and add to these the thunder (Donor), the sky (Ziu), and the wind (Wudoian13), these being then regarded in their originally purely appellative meaning, we can find absolutely nothing in this list of old Teutonic gods which is in the least striking or unusual. Tacitus, 150 years later, mentions (Germania, ch. 9) as Teutonic gods Hereules, Mars, and Mercury; and these possess, at least according to his report, personal characteristics, but these have, at the same time, an epoch of intimate contact between Teutonic barbarism and Greek-Roman culture, and its definitely stamped divine figures, in the form which would be mediated to the north by traders and soldiers, must have tended to re-mould the Hellenic into Teutonic nature-worship. If then, in addition to all this, we call up before our minds how the ever-increasing influence exerted by the priestly castes (cf., below, 40) and the beginnings of poetry and plastic art yield with each other in selecting individual deities from the θεόω θείω θεά, and in working up and embellishing the forms of their favourites, we shall have pretty well exhausted the conditions which brought about the gradual development of personal gods.

But however clear this development seems to be, we consider it in broad outline, it is nevertheless extremely difficult to fix beyond question the actual process of growth of the separate gods. For, at the point where the written records among the various Aryan tribes begin, these gods stand for the most part completed and finished before us, and in order to determine the point of departure in their development we are thus almost exclusively dependent on the interpretation of their names. It must, however, be pointed out that the interpretation of the Aryan names of the gods unfortunately forms one of the most obscure chapters of comparative philology, and the only great step of progress that has been made here lies in the recognition of the fact that we know only a very little for certain. But even if we believe successful in fixing the origin of a name of a god, and with it the first sphere of his activity, 'the cell of his nature,' still only more or less credible conjectures would be possible as to the lengthy and intricate pathway which led from this point to the personality of the god that we find in the history of culture. In the long development which we have spoken of, are the most natural sources for personal gods. As soon as Zeus (Διός) began on Grecian soil to denote not only the brilliant sky of day, but also the cloud-girt sky of the thunder-storm, with reference to the thunderbolts and arms, then, from both, that moment the point of commencement was given for the formation of a personal god, which now led in continuous development, through the assumption of ever new elements in the life of nature and of man, to the important figure of the father of gods and men which we find in Homer. But it is worthy of note that in the Epic the number of epithets describing the relations of the god to the order of the world and of mankind (e.g. πτερα, θείος in the Ilias) is extremely small compared with the elevation of the god. Corresponding to this, Agni in India is otherwise nothing than the divine anima of fire. But it enters into the realm of personal gods as soon as man requires it, not only to give light, warmth or brightness, but for the sake of his life, heat, but also, as is already done in the Rigveda, to supply the blessing of children and to promote domestic prosperity.

The Greek Zeus and the Indian Agni are thus real 'heavenly ones,' true divs. Then there are joined to these, from the most varied spheres of nature and culture, countless other special gods, who raise themselves in ways similar to these to the position and dignity of personal deities. We shall illustrate this by a few examples from the history of the Greek, Roman, and Teutonic religions. From the first of these let us take the figures of Apollo and Hermes. Among the very numerous interpretations that have been proposed for these divine names there are two which, without foreboding, satisfy all the demands of phonetics and the science of word-formation. Both were the name of a deity first at the same time of epoch of intimate contact between Teutonic barbarism and Greek-Roman culture, and its definitely stamped divine figures, in the form which would be mediated to the north by traders and soldiers, must have tended to re-mould the Hellenic into Teutonic nature-worship. If then, in addition to all this, we call up before our minds how the ever-increasing influence exerted by the priestly castes (cf., below, 40) and the beginnings of poetry and plastic art yield with each other in selecting individual deities from the θεόω θείω θεά, and in working up and embellishing the forms of their favourites, we shall have pretty well exhausted the conditions which brought about the gradual development of personal gods.

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In the same way among the Teutons all sorts of special gods were added from all sides to the ancient fire-worship (Sol, Luna, Volcanus, Donar, Ziu, Wotan). As examples we may take the gods Saxnok and Regnivakos, which can be interpreted with comparative certainty. When bronze swords were introduced in the first century B.C. they went into Europe, and thereby a new and formidable weapon was put into men's hands. They could not help seeing in this the activity of a god. As a matter of fact, evidences of such a sword-cult can be produced from the two parts of Europe, from the Scythians, Alans, Quells, and other peoples (cf. J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, i. 185). This god who was present in the sword was called by the Saxons Saxnok, i.e. "sword-bringer," companion of the sword, and we can easily understand how he could, if not rather like people, acquire so great importance that in the kapstitial vow he was placed on an equal footing with Thiurun and Wotan (Braune, Althochdeutsches Lesbuch, 1898, p. 160). We have seen above how a Celtic tribe, which had language behind, worshipped a "nameless god" by dancing in families before the gates on the nights of the full moon (above, p. 33). May we not presuppose a similar custom among the neighbouring Teutons as well, and is it not likely that the god, when any one wished to indicate him to the crowd of people present (Goth. rijga = Gr. ἐρέσος)—an interpretation of the Arminian mentioned by the Romans, which the Germans, by way of exception, unanimously accept? Besides, he was undoubtedly an important deity at the time when, according to a Roman inscription, Qu. Aprians offered sacrificial to and made vows to him on the banks of the Rhine.

3. The forms of manifestation of the 'heavenly ones,' and their interpretation in riddle and myth.—It is a characteristic quality of most primitive religions that in them the distinction between man and animal is entirely lost. The sense of an absolute psycho-spiritual distinction between man and beast, so prevalent in the civilized world, is hardly to be found among the lower races. Men, to whom the cries of beasts and birds seem like human language, and their actions guided as it were by human thought, logically enough allow the existence of souls to beasts, birds, and reptiles, as to men. The lower psychology cannot but recognize in beasts the very characteristics which it attributes to the human soul, namely, the phenomenon of life and mind, love and hate, and the phantom seen in vision or in dream (Tyler, Primitive Culture, i. 469). There may also have been such an epoch in the Aryan religions, in which it seemed quite natural to think of the flame racing over the fields as a horse, or the thunder in the storm-cloud as a bellowing steer, and numerous direct and indirect evidences point to a time in which the gods were actually conceived of as animals, or at least as beings partaking partly of human partly of merely animal qualities. Even as late as the Vedas (cf. Oldenberg, Allertum, ii. 98) the following passage is to be found: "The view is almost still more wide-spread that the gods reveal themselves in the form of animals," and accordingly means "desire."

* In Oscar and Frejgman the goddess Herentas corresponds to her, and is connected with Öse, and the birds Hrethis, fóth, Gotl. þratanjan, 'to desire,' and accordingly means 'desire.'
in the Peloponnese has become Zeus, while the wolf is otherwise regarded as a manifestation of Apollo (but cf. above, p. 36). Artemis, in Attica and Arcadia, where she was honoured as the mother of the tribe, is regarded as a she-bear; in other cases she is thought of as a hind (cf. Pollux, *Dei et mort. Orac.* Lat. 435). In Arcos, Hera *phoros* was worshipped as a cow that was fertilized by Zeus in the form of a bull. In the countless rough figures of stone and clay, in human and animal form, which remained in all the layers of the Trojan and Aryan civilization, we may in all probability recognize the representations of the gods belonging to this epoch of Greece; not a few of them may have been house fetishes. In Italy, too, sacred animals (woodpecker, wolf, and ploughing ox) were depicted as well, with minotaurs, horses, and boars (Pline, *Hist. Nat.* x. 16: 'Romanis can aquilam legionibus C. Marius in seundo consulo sumpro patria dicavit. Erat et ante praemium quaestor aulicis: lupi, minotauri, equi acripne similis in arte animalium,que visus est, auctoresque ad quos Taciti bears witness among the Teutons (*Germanin.* ch. 7): 'Effigiesque et signa quedam detracta lucis in procellum fertunt,' since it cannot be doubted that, among the *tytjics*, the sacred animals of the gods, the snake and wolf of Wotan, the bear and he-goat of Donar, the ram of Ziu, and the boar (cf. A.S. *coforendel*, 'sign of the boar') of Freyr are to be understood (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 22: 'inde deumpacte silvis lucusque ferarum imaginum'). Thus the oldest banners are seen to be animated by the feeling of the visible protection the army marched into battle.

Along with the conception of the gods as animals, there is to be found, from the very beginning, the conception of them as existing in human form. In course of time this latter idea came more and more into prominence. It may seem that this is a contradiction of our earlier assertions, according to which the appearance of personal gods among the Aryan peoples is comparatively late. This is, however, not the case. We must not fail to recognize this fact, as the view identifying the personal gods as identical, no matter how much the latter presupposes the former. The characteristic mark of a personal god is that he is regarded as exercising influence outside of the sphere to which he owes his conceptual origin and his religious name. Personification, however, means, at first, simply the substitution of a human figure for the divine anima present in the phenomenon. This need for personification is all the greater the lower down we go in the stages of civilization. If the White Russian peasant is asked even to-day about his *Perevod*, whose fundamental appellative meaning is still quite clear to him (cf. above, p. 33), he says: 'He is a tall, broad-shouldered fellow, with black hair, black eyes, and a yellow beard. In his right hand he has a bow, in the left a quiver with arrows. He drives on the horses in a chariot and discharges fiery arrows' (cf. Dahl, *Erläuterndes Wörterbuch der lebenden grossrussischen Sprache*, St. Petersburg, 1889-82, iii. 161). Even quite impersonal conceptions of Greek and Roman civilization pro, on their passing over into the Slavonic world, taken possess of by this primitive passion for personification. Thus the Lat. *calebra* (exkriaca), 'New Year,' has led into Lat. *Agnus*, 'the lamb'; the Greek *kiiptos,* the precursor of *Christius* and *Epiphany,* in the neighbourbood of Moscow, even at the present day it is customary on Christmas eve to lead a maiden called *Kolda*, dressed in white, through the streets, and to sing, "On Christmas eve was Kolda born, beyond the rapid river," etc. In the same song, in close connexion with this Kolda, the *kiiptos* *kiid* is mentioned (cf. Glazounov, *Russische Folkungen* [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 1). We may also call to mind the super-natural nonsense of the *kiiptos* ('festival of roses'), already mentioned above (p. 25).

Thus we may assume that there was, even in primitive times, an active tendency to conceive the divine in human form; and if Indra in the Rigveda and Thor in Northern mythology are described as giants with tawny or red beards, there is nothing against discovering there a primitive Aryan idea common to the Indians and the Teutons. This tendency, too, suggests an explanation of the fact that in certain branches of the Indo-Germanic language the name of the father *father* has pre-historic times, added to the primitive Aryan *dyuys*, 'sky,' (Skr. *Dyus prol., Gr. *ze is par;* cf. also in Hesych. *Dea- vropov* θεος πάρνα Τυγρόσ, Lat. *Juvoir*), as there were also a Scythian *Zeis Hasva* and a Bithynian *Zeis Hira, Hara* (Kretschmer, op. cit. p. 241 f.). It is doubtful, however, whether the word 'father' indicates a position of honour of *dyuys* compared to the other 'heavenly ones,' as seems more likely to the present writer, or expresses the relation of the god to the community worshiping him, as is the case, for instance, in the case the word *she-bear* is applied to all the gods (or goddesses) of the oldest group.

A further consequence of this personification of the deity is to be found in the circumstance that the god was supplied with a wife, whose designation was most simply and originally obtained by forming the feminine of the male deity (Skr. *Agni: *Agni; Gr. *Di: Ato: zeis, *Dios; Lat. *Juno, *Jovio: *Jupiter, *Jovis*). The idea, too, that the heaven and the earth constitute a pair united in marriage is very old, as the Rigveda in the statement, "(the earth) (= A.S. folde, 'earth'), appears along with the 'father,' *Dyus*. The report of Herodotus regarding the Scythians (*tevmutas* the 7ην τοίν θάνατον γεναίον) has already been mentioned. Among the Thracians the lordly *anos* (probably a Thracian woman) is sprung from the marriage of the god of heaven with the earth-goddess *Sekel* (cf. the Lithuanian *Zemyna*: Lith. *zênè, Old Slav. *zemlys, 'earth'). Deeply rooted in the mind of the Russian peasant is the belief in the love of Thor and of Perun, the two important elements of the god of the Mother Earth," just as we find in an Anglo-Saxon rural verse: "Hal wes þu, folde, fier modur, leo þu greowende on godes ægum," "Hail to thee, O Earth, Mother of men! Bo thou fruitful in God's embrace." It is doubtless, however, if the *tevos* *gemon* of Zeus with *Ipos,* who can scarcely be shown to be a goddess of the earth, is related to the same circle of ideas (cf. Kretschmer, *Einzeltuete*, p. 90 f.; on the other side, Frazer, *GB* ii. 228, and Farnell, *Cults of the Gr. States*, i. 180 ff.). Finally, we have to consider the problem of grammatical gender, which was already perfected in the primitive language, formed the basis on which, on the one hand, male (e.g. *Dyus* and *Agni*) and, on the other hand, female deities (e.g. *Uskos, Eston* could be developed. In short, in many places there is to be found, even in primitive times, the first beginnings of the formation of those divine families whose real evolution belongs entirely to the province of the respective separate peoples.

The conception of the oldest times, now as animals, now as men, which we have so far discussed, is, *We may look upon the rôle played by *Tellus* at Roman marriages as a reminiscence of the same ideas. Cf. Servius, iv. 164; *Chapman's* *Gesta Thellonii proceris nepulis transactis; nam et in suscipit nuptriam incurrat.* et cineae virgines, vel cum ire ad domum nartii crepitint, vel hanc libit positas, diversa nominae vel rara sacrificant.*
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however, in reality only the outcome of a general longing, innate in mankind, to know and understand the world, a longing which in primitive stages of culture expresses itself in two other phases, the worship of the sun (deity) and in the Right Hand. 

In discussing these we may commence, as we have done so frequently, with the Litu-Slavic conditions, where both ideas appear with special purity and originality. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of this phase of the mythological formations of the Slavonic peoples (cf. Krok, Einleitung in die slawische Literaturgeschichte, p. 810 ff.; and, for the value of riddles in the interpretation of myths, Max Müller, Contributions to the Science of Mythology, 1897, 1. 80 ff. and Art. Riddle). They are in the right hand, along with Hell, Heaven and the universe (the soul of the universe”), for their subject is, if not exclusively, at least in great measure, the universe, with its thousand-and-one phenomena, their meaning and illustration.

"Trees are scattered on a hundred paths; no one will gather them up—ni corti, ni corta, ni kroknja dvojca!" (the stars). 

The black cow has gored all men to death; the white cow has brought them to life again (day and night)." Without hands, without feet, he creeps on the mountains" (the wind)." In spring he makes glad; in summer, cook; in autumn, satisfied; in winter, dead. 

In a Slavonic forest there are twelve nests; in each nest there are four blue-bonnets; each blue-bonnet has a white and 7 black (the year, the month, weeks, days and nights).

It is the same fundamental trait as appears in these few Russian examples (cf. Sadownik, The Riddles of the Russian People. [Russ.], Petersberg, 1871; and the Lithuanian example which follows). In the different processes, the course of the sun, the division of the year, etc., that comes most clearly to the front in the riddle-making of related peoples.

Thus in ancient India (cf. Huang, *Vedische Rätselgesänge und Rätselsprüche*, in Sitzungsberichte der Würzburger Ak. d. W., phil.-hist. Kl. 1875, p. 427 ff.) the priests even in Vedic times, on occasions of great sacrificial gatherings, proposed for each other and for the deities of the following riddle: "What asks, e.g., ‘What travels alone’? Who travels alone? 'Fire is the preventive against snow. "The earth is the great scattering." Quite similar series of riddles occur on Teutonic soil (cf. Winnaus *ZDAG* xx.229) in the Edda and the poem of Trangonud (What is whiter than snow? What is fatter than the one? What is higher than the mountains? What is darker than the night?). In Greece one need only refer to the very ancient riddle of the fire that swallows up the father and mother, occurring in the *Mariage de Kezys*, ascribed to Hesiod. It makes quite a Vedie impression, and may be compared with the Galla riddle in the Teutonic literature, the ancient Lithuanian riddle, the equestrian Greek *Cypsykos* (Castor and Pollux), the brothers of the Helenic (Δημήτρης: Δήμητρης: *steped*, heat of the sun) all correspond to the Lithic *Džiugas* (the sun of the 7th month) and the sun is related to the Indian *Ātiras* and the Greek *Dioskouris*.

The myth is devoted to the satisfaction of the same primitive longing as the riddle. It is quite incorrect (cf. above, p. 12) to suppose that it is the exclusive possession of higher social classes or the product of priestly acuteness, however much these may have influenced its forms as presented to us in history. In its origin it is undoubtedly nothing else than the naive and popular expression of the wish to understand and comprehend the universe, as can with especial ease be recognised on Aryan soil, but much, and in large part, of the mythical formations of the Lithuanian and Lettic peoples. These, in any case, prove that, even at the most primitive stage of religious ideas, a myth can be developed to explain processes of nature puzzling to the primitives, this form of myth-making is concerned with the phenomena of the sun, moon, and stars (cf. Mannhardt, Die Littischen Sonnennymphen in ZE V. vii. 73, 299, 281, and Usenerner Sulotten, Göttermannen, p. 83 ff.).

Two of them are concerned with the sun. The people worship the sun and an iron hammer of special size. Once upon a time the sun was invisible for several months, because a very unlucky thing had happened. The fiery figures of the Zodiac brought him help with the iron hammer. The tired and dusty sun is placed in a bath by the mother of Perkusnas, and then is dismissed on the following day washed and shining. Sun and moon are described in various Deities as husband and wife, and, indeed, as unfailful in that relation. The moon separates from the sun in the morning (the morning star (Αστρεινε), and is cut in two by the sword of Perkusnas. The stars are considered as daughters of the sun, and so on.

Such stories as these regarding the heavenly beings, their deeds, and their relations to one another, were without doubt related even in primitive Aryan times; and it is to-day, in spite of all the proposed explanations, right and left, in the comparative mythology to discover cycles of myths which go back to such pre-historic interpretations of nature, as has been done by A. Kuhn and Max Müller. Three of these cycles of myths seem to the present writer to have been overlooked beyond question. *These refer (1) to the relations of morning and evening stars, (2) to the origin of the thunderstorm, and (3) to the source of fire. It must suffice at this point to characterize them in the briefest possible way.

The sun married a marriage with each other, as is related in the Lithuanian and Lettic poems, and more fully in a celebrated hymn of the Rigveda (x. 55). The morning and evening stars stand by these words, and, as stated in the Lithuanian and Lettic myths, are regarded as suitors for the sake of the daughter of the sun, ‘i.e. most likely the moon itself, just as in the ancient Azov Riddle (cf. Skr. asta, hone), are regarded as the lovers of Nargi or Sargynas Dukuti, the daughter of the sun.’ A pre-ethnic connexion of the sun and moon is also hinted at. "One of the ‘sons of the god’ seems, therefore, beyond the range of doubt, (the view of Oldenberg, *Dea et Illuminata*, p. 213, particularly when we remember that in the Lithic poems the morning and evening stars are also called the ‘ponies’ of the moon and the ‘sons of the god’ are called as brothers of Perkusnas, the god of the sky."

The sun of the Lithuanian god Algis, *angelus sumorum decuriam*, whose name (cf. Lith. algis; reward) literally means ‘hired labourer,’ and this Lith. Algis is etymologically the same as the name of the Teutonic deity Alcis who corresponded to Castor and Pollux (Tactus, Germania, ch. 45; Apoll. Nahastransvalus antiquus religionis lucus existit; presidet sacerdos mulcieri ornat; sed dicet interpretatione Romana Castorem Polliuconem memorat; eis vis numini, homine Alcis [*teni satis longi temporis ordinari et istsum praecipue in superstitiose vestigium, ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerant* —since this is, it is impossible to deny that these persons also belonged to the Indian *Ātiras* and Greek Dioskouris].

(2) The second system of interpretations, myths referred to above, dealing with the explanation of the thunder and the thunder-shower, is presented in two different settings. According to the one, the thunderbolts, thundering shafts of fire from the sky, the cloud, whose water now flows over the earth (light of *Ldun* with *Vira*, of *Telqyz* with *Apeados* in the Avesta, of Donar with the wolf *Fafnir*, of the thunder with the wolf *Hrarjok*, of the cloud, the other, a god delivers from a monster the cows of the clouds, who are imprisoned in a mountain gorge (*Ldun* and *Vitaqaz*, Heraclix and Corynoma, Hercules and Cacus).

(3) Lastly, the myths dealing with the origin of fire are connected with the custom, preserved among the Indians, Greeks and Romans, Slavs, and Teutons, and partially among the Lithuanians (cf. Usener, op. cit. p. 57), of obtaining fire for sacred purposes by taking a stick of hard wood (oak), boring into a plank or board of softer wood (lime tree), and turning it round and round till fire is produced by the friction. In this connexion, which may be connected with the production of fire produced in the cloud, whence it is brought to earth by a bird or a daring human being (Prometheus). A similar origin is now often expiated by the fire-druidic, the fire-bearer, the man who carried fire. (Gr. μεθαλοείς, etc.), which, when drunk by mortals, bestows upon

*In this connexion the present writer agrees with Winternitz, *Was wissen wir von den Indogermanen?* (Beilage zur Münchener Z. 1895, No. 5). Only in one respect do we seem to make a mistake, viz. in deducing from these myths the existence of persons who, a view which rests on the conclusions emphasized above (p. 55) between personified natural phenomena and natural phenomena that have become personal gods.

T. A. Brückner and H. V. de Harleische *Mythen und Mythologie* (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungshalle in Konigstein: lünigstein, p. 653), a contradiction of his opinion, of which Brückner himself approves, that as yet there were no Aryan names for the gods; for these names represent, not an Aryan god-name, but an Aryan appellative (‘hired labourer’) preserved by chance in the myth.
to possess deadly weapons sacrifices iron nails (cf. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 369); in Greece he who wishes to conjure up an actual thunderstorm produces the rolling of a wagon a noise similar to thunder (cf. O. Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. i. p. 829).

4. The worship.—In the foregoing sections we have dealt with the ideas of the Aryans regarding their gods and with their beliefs. We now go on to the consideration of the services which they devoted to them, i.e., their worship. This point, which is often considered as one that is difficult to investigate, is also of the greatest importance for the development of the gods, for naturally it must have been along with and by means of the form of worship assigned to them that the fluid and indefinite figures came to assume more fixed and individual forms. We shall in this discussion have to deal with four phenomena connected with worship which we find in historic times: (a) sacrifice and prayer, (b) the priests, (c) the temples, (d) magic. We shall have to ask whether and how far these institutions have been carried back into the primitive history of the Aryan peoples.

(a) SACRIFICE AND PRAYER.—There was among the Aryans, just as among all other peoples, a more or less ancient way of bringing the supernatural within reach of the individual. They made use of a device, namely, magic. Its forms appear so closely connected, even in historic times, with those of the cult, that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to draw a sharp line of distinction between the two conceptions. We may say, however, that magic is present in all those cases in which magic imagined that he is able, by word or by deed, to make a spirit directly and immediately serviceable to himself. On the other hand, we can speak of an act of worship only where, by a sacrifice or a prayer, the otherwise free will of a deity is supposed to be more indirectly influenced and made favourable to mortal man. It thus depends on the way of influencing the deity, not on the intention connected with it, which is in both cases the same. He who lights a fire early in the morning in order thereby to invoke the rain-charm, it is precisely the same as he who himself, engaged in an act of worship, burns a text a demon of sickness into a stone or a plant, performs a magical act. He, however, who appeals to the heavenly powers by means of sacrifices and prayers in order that they may cause the sun to rise or make him well, engages in an act of worship.

Magic may be practised either by an action or by words, as can be clearly gathered from its terminology. The following series of terms is characteristic of the former method: Skr. kṣraya 'action,' kṣarīti 'bewitching,' kṛṣitā 'spells,' Lith. kėros 'magic,' kerkis 'to bewitch some one by the eye, etc.,' Old Slav. varā 'magic,' Skr. kṣata from kṣarī 'he makes,' from which also Skr. kṣat can mean 'sacrifice.' Kṣatra sacrifice is derived. In both cases, i.e., in magic work and in the various sacrificial 'soln' sar ēyāv, a ceremonial action is intended. In by far the greatest number of cases, however, 'to charm' is the meaning of these expressions, as is seen in the Greek ὕπνων 'magician,' ὑπναμά 'to charm,' Skr. kṣatā 'magic formula;' kṣaya 'to slough it off;' H.G. gulan 'magic song;' gula, guburdāri, 'magician;' gulan, hekades; Old Slav. varūja 'talisman,' Lith. lordanis, mederis, Serv. varūjati 'to charm; Old Slav. batjū 'magician;' Gr. ὑπνός, Lat. furiā: Lith. vairis, to conjure; charm; word many other examples.

By the latter method sacrifices are offered (cf. Allmen, Sauber etymologisch beschrieben, in Beekzengerser Beiträge zur Ethnologie, gebr. Sprachr. xxiv. 191; and Schneider, Reallexicon, s.v. Zaubcr und Zauberer). Here also we have to do with a speaking sar ēyāv, a ceremonial, rhetorical speaking, in which a priest a definite magic power is latent.

Such magic acts or words occur frequently on the soil of the separate Aryan peoples, along with and mixed up with acts of worship in the proper sense of the term. In India he who wishes
Thus this old Persian sacrificial custom did not know the use of fire in burning the food to the gods. The flesh was laid on a specially prepared sacrificial litter, upon which the gods were supposed to descend (Skym. barthai, Av. barsoonam 'sacrificial litter'). Later on a kind of pillow, Serv. blazina 'cushion', Old Nor. bolar, O. H. G. bolcar 'pillow'), and the god was allured, by means of an exorcism, to partake of the food. Hereodotus (iv. 60) tells of a similar practice prevalent among the Scythians. The sacrificer thus placed sheep or oxen in the god's name, noose, and strangled it after calling on the god, so that the animal was killed on purpose. The flesh of the strangled animal was boiled, just as was customary among the Persians. In this connection, I mention the feeling the sacrificial animals which are described in Lasiecius's book, de Dies Somnigilurem (pp. 49 and 54), are of great interest. Both are harvest-offerings. At the first (related by A. Guagnini from the Kronika Polska, etc., of Math. Strzygowski, mentioned above), which took place at the end of October, the sacrificial animals were bated to death with cudgels by the priests and other worshippers, who all the time called on the god Zencniick. Before the worshippers sat down to the feast, portions of each kind of food were thrown into every corner of the house with the words: 'Beneath this sacrifice, power and beneficence atque laetus comedes.' The second (related by Meneus) was the sacrifice of a goat. The faithful were assembled in a barn. A he-goat was led in. The sacrificing priest, or 'wurschette', laid both hands on the neck of the animal, and under a special protection sang over it. Then, while a hymn was being sung, the goat was raised into the air and held there till the song was finished. Thereupon the priest slew the animal, sprinkled the blood, which had been caught in a dish, round about, and gave the flesh to the women to boil. Here, again, there is no trace of a boiling of the victim. Finally, in the case of the Teutons also, regarding whose sacrificial customs we have, unfortunately, very scanty information, sacrificial fires seem to have all appearance to have been unknown. The bodies of the victims or the heads (cf. Oldenberg, Religion des Voles, p. 543ff.) we have good reasons for assuming that the thought that the gods assigned to the god could be borne to him by means of a fire, which was as was yet foreign to primitive Aryan times. In the earliest times the gifts were, on the contrary, spread out on the place of sacrifice itself, raised into the air or hung on trees, and the god must come himself to take possession of them.

The worshipper refreshes his gods with the food and drink of which he himself partakes, in order thereby to make them strong and willing to carry out his ends. That this was the original sacrificial rite of the Aryan people, we know from the complete correspondence between ancient Aryan sacrifice and ancient Aryan food. The further back we penetrate into the past of the Aryan peoples, the more do we find that cattle-rearing predominated over agriculture, and that in consequence flesh foods and animal products outweighed vegetable foods (cf. Schrader, Relliczicata, art. 'Ackerbau', 'Viehzucht', and 'Nahrung'). The same thing is true of the sacrifices. In the reports quoted above we find only animal sacrifices referred to. In the oldest studies of Aryan domestic animals, etc. (ix.), mentions only consecrata animalia. In reference to the Slavs, cf. Procopius, de Bell. Got. iii. 14: 'cinev mact ἐν τῶν τὴν ἀντιπροσώπον (Pergamum) ἀντίκειται κώμοι μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζετε έκεῖ, καὶ θυσίας τινώς βαίνει τε και ιερά πάντως, and also Holm, Chron. Slav. p. 21: 'From these sacrifices, we see that both animal and vegetable were used in the sacrifice, and the name kurulium parvulis, macaudique dispositum hostias de bohol et orbis.' Among the Lithuanians, as late as the beginning of the 16th cent., sacrifices of oxen and swine were offered. The very early acquaintance of the Aryan peoples with animal sacrifice is significantly witnessed by the existence in their primitive vocabulary of exact designations of the outer and inner parts of the animal carcass, which could be obtained only in the course of sacrificial rites (cf. Schrader, Relliczicata, art. 'Körperteile'). In the earliest times it was customary to sacrifice and eat, or eat and sacrifice, the flesh of the ox, the sheep, the goat, and, in Europe, the pig, i.e., the most ancient domestic animals of the Aryans. The sacrifice of the horse seems to have occupied a special place. As the horse did not belong to the oldest stock of Aryan domestic animals, etc. (cf. Schrader, Relliczicata, art. 'Pferd'), perhaps other sacrificial ideas may have been influential in introducing this sacrifice, such as the wish to incorporate the qualities of the animal in the worshipper, or to correspond to the animal's smoking sacrifice on the back of a horse (cf. J. V. Negelew, Das Pferd im arischen Altertum, Königsberg, 1903). Fowl, game, and fish were excluded from the stated sacrifices, because they did not originally serve as food (cf. Schrader, Relliczicata, art. 'Viehzucht', 'Fisch, Fischfang'). In the oldest times, too, the use of salt was avoided, again for the simple reason that for purely animal food it was unnecessary (cf. Relliczicata, art. 'Salt').

The sacrificial drink of primitive times was mead, the place of which was gradually taken in the north by beer. In the oldest customs connected with these drink-offerings in barbaric conditions, such as we must presuppose for primitive times, are again vividly portrayed by Meneucus (Lasiecius, e. 53) with regard to Lithuania:

'Die Georgi sacrificium faciunt Pergriubio, qui florum, plantarum et fungorum ofiam depudet, descriptum... Nam etiam Varschialae appellant, tenet destra obum orbium pluma invocatique domeni nomine decanti illius lanuus. Sed cum, impuit, alii, nec infra, ta reducunt, ta reducunt, ta recti, recta, recta, recta nonum et silice florum. Hac cautelam multa datulius apprehendens orbium, ebit orbium multa adhibita manu, nonumque obum orbium multa adhibita manu, nonumque obum orbium multa adhibita manu, nonumque obum orbium multa adhibita manu, nonumque obum orbium multa adhibita manu. Quae cina e terra subita, urum implica est; eum negotium admun, axem bilans ordine etipce inaudum Pergriubio hymnum cantat. Postea eschaper tedi et choraeus dulcet.'
If, then, 'to sacrifice' means simply to refresh the gods with earthly food and drink, and if, as we have seen, these gifts were originally offered to the dead, then we must regard human sacrifice thus performed on the place of sacrifice without the use of fire, we cannot fail to see how closely this sacrificial rite resembles the entertaining of the dead described above, when food and drink were shaken or poured out into填rows or trenches (see above, p. 26). The explanation is thus by no means far-fetched that the feeding of the beings which were thought to be in the natural phenomenon, the thunder, the storm, the fire, etc., is to be understood as a kind of dedication or transformation of the seeds (or the very act of offering food and drink is intelligible without any difficulty from the prevailing ideas regarding the further existence of the soul after death. In such a case we should conceive of the course of development in the following way. There was a time when only the dead were supplied with food and drink, and when man sought to obtain influence over the powers of nature only by means of magic, as described above. But the more the thought of personification gained precedence over magical ideas, the more the sacrifices customs usual in the service of the dead to the worship of the heavenly powers, and then the further change arose naturally from this state of affairs, viz., that the sacrificial gifts were spread on the ground instead of being buried in it.

Returning to the sacrifice itself, we reach one form of it which has not yet been considered—a form which with its gloomy aspect persists from primitive into historic times, viz. human sacrifice (cf., for the Greeks and Romans, E. V. Lassaulx, Das Sühnungsopfer, Würzburg, 1881, for the Celts, Delattre, Slaves, Lit. Mythology, i. 129; J. Grimes, Deutsche Mythologie, i, 38; V. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen, p. 531; Götter, Germanische Mythologie, p. 516; Müllenhoff, Deutsche Altertumskunde, iv, 214 ff.; for the Indians, A. Weber, Indische Strefien, i, 64-89, and Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 393). This human sacrifice is to be found in various forms. Thus in the north of Europe we have the sacrifice of victory, i.e. the previously promised slaughter of prisoners at the altars of the gods. In the south and among the Gauls we have the sacrifice of expiation, i.e. the offering of victims to the gods that are forfeited or in danger. We find every-where the building sacrifice, i.e. the conviction that the durability of a new building could be purchased only by a human life (cf. Liebrecht, Zur Fliegel, in Arch. f. Alt. Wissensch., 1868, i. 87, and also Germ. xxxv. 211). It is difficult to discover the really fundamental idea in this sacrifice. To carry out the idea of the meat-offering, we might start with the supposition that cannibalism was once widespread among the Aryans, which undoubtedly is very fully attested for numerous non-Aryan peoples of Europe (cf. R. Andrex, Die Anthropophagie, Leipzig, 1887, p. 2). In milder times a change in this sacrificial idea had taken place, in the sense that a human being was regarded as the best sacrifice that could be brought to the gods (cf. Procopius, de Bell. Got. ii. 15: τον δι ερειπι αρα το κάλλιστον ανθρώπων έστω, αντι το δολαρατο παννασιου πρώτον). Or we could think of a transformation from the worship of the dead to the gods, in which, as was said above, the man who was slain is then seen as the dead as servants and companions in death. From this, too (cf. below, II. 5), the penal-sacrifice (exequation), which has not been mentioned above, may have taken its rise. Ideas connected with magic may also have been operative in the building sacrifice, as, e.g., the new building was thought to catch the spirits of the dead as servants and companions in death. Whatever the real explanation may have been, we must in any case regard human sacrifice as a primitive institution in the history of Aryan religion, and not a comparatively late innovation originating from the East, as is done by O. Haug ( Orientaler Sprach- und Kulturvergleich der klassischen Altertumswiss., xxxv. 10).

We have already become acquainted with the incantation or magic formula which entices the gods to the feast, and seen it to be a necessary accompaniment of sacrifice. This is perhaps the oldest form of prayer. In any case the different terms for prayer point to a close connexion with sacrifice (cf. Gr. ἐφορεῖα = Lat. veeso; Gr. γέρν, ἔπαθα = Lat. litare; Lith. maldà 'prayer' = Goth. blotan 'to sacrifice,' from milti [the last according to R. Muus, Das Wörterbuch für die liturgische Sprache, ii. 327], while promising or offering a sacrifice: do ut des. The idea of thanks appears in the Aryan languages at a late date compared with the idea of petition (cf. Beulalexicon, pp. 598, 605), and thank-offerings are almost entirely unknown both in the Vedic worship and in the Homeric poems. These divinities, however, who were called up by means of those ancient incantations and prayers must at a very primitive stage of development have been designated simply as 'the called.' This we should be entitled to know, for the designation of the Teutonic 'God,' which then, as is easily enough understood, passed over into the masculine gender under the influence of expressions which were more personally conceived.

(b) The Priests.—If the practice of magic and the incantation preceded sacrifice and prayer, the magician must have been the forerunner of the priest. This development is clearly presented to us in the history of the language. The most important designation of the priest in the language of ancient India is brahman (masc.), while brahman (neut.) means 'the sacrifice,' and is more frequently used in the sense of a vocative to the calling of the Teutonic 'God,' which then, as is easily enough understood, passed over into the masculine gender under the influence of expressions which were more personally conceived.

It is accordingly not to be wondered at that from the Aryan root vid—vaid—to 'know,' frequent designations of the magician and the priest are derived, since both are regarded as the 'knowers' (viz. of all kinds of magic) sar & ñayar. Here must be mentioned, on the one hand, the O.H.G. wizigio, A.S. wītig 'prophet,' O.N. vestki 'magician,' vestka 'witchery,' O.H.G. wizzen 'prophecy,' and Old Russian věstoun 'magician,' věstur 'witchcraft, věstvirta 'witch,' věsko 'witchery'; but, on the other hand, these and other similar words cannot be placed alongside of these the designation of the ancient German priestly caste of Druids, Ir. druí.
which, being derived from *dru-vids* (according to Thurneysen, in Holder, *Althöfischer Sprachschutz*), means exactly the very knowing ones. But the personalities which in this compared the most important for the history of Aryan religion are those that are frequently mentioned in the Latin-Prussian sources, and designated with all kinds of variations of their name *as* ādhistō, waide-
tote, waider, wilder (Old Prus. uacido ‘to know,’-v Raised voice, waide-maiti ‘we perform pagan religious rites’). They were also named ἀμαῖος: Lith. žiūtis ‘to know’ (žvūtis ‘to charm’), or the mononimis: Lith. mūna ‘I understand,’ or the multonimis: Lith. mūnas, Prus. mūnas, Old Pruss. *mūnas* (cf. the Greek name Mattias, 
Preotius, Delicio Prussian oder Prussische Schaumbüchke, p. 41 ff.). These ‘wilders’ may be described both as magicians and as priests. They were servants of the chief-priest, who was called in Old Prussian ævvis, of whom we shall speak further below. The special gods seem each to have had special ‘wilders’: narutos (cf. Gr. Nāpus above, p. 35) was the name given to the wilder of the water-god; szcworose (Old Pruss. szcworisse, Lith. žeivis, wild animal) were the wilders who were believed to sacrifice sacred animals in the woods, especially elk, owls, etc.; and medzires (Old Pruss. median ‘forest,’ Lith. mūdīs ‘tree’) were the servants of the sacred woods. Every imaginable charm to divine the future (cf. below, III. 2) was in their hands. Now they are for the most part long since gone, and are called, although ‘there are still well-to-do farmers who practise these arts of the wilder.” Preotius (p. 45) mentions a fact regarding these walkers which is especially important for the history of the priesthood.

*An old peasant of Strigkinoi said to me that, many hundred years before, one of his race had been a chief-priest here in Brussow. The name of this priest is Leivur Krusweller, who was believed to possess all the gifts which we find singly among the wilders now called Mühlwinds (see above). The gifts of the wilder were, they say, hereditary; and if the gift ceased in one family, it becomes extinct.”* This hereditary transmission, in certain families or clans, of the existing magic formulas, sacrifices, and prayers, which we have here attested, may be regarded by us as a common feature of the gradually evolving priesthood among the Aryan peoples.

Sacred clans like the Vasāiśkas, the Vēśasāiśkas, the Bhāravośkas, and others are well known to us from the Rigveda as the forerunners of the later priestly functions. There is no doubt that these priestly families, who, according to the tradition, represent essentially the same cult, had in earlier times possessed special cults and special rites (cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 373). In India it is known that there are many such families, or some of these sacred clans with special cults, the Ekaśvārī, the Ekaśaśvāsa, the Ṣaṃvājaśa, the Kṛṣṇaś, the Kṛṣṇaśakaśā, Kṛṣṇaśaka, Kṛṣṇaśī, Kṛṣṇaśi, etc. The priesthood was a joint-possessions in these families, and descended from the father to the son and grandson (cf. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusuntertäniger*). By the institution of a sanctuary (which does not occur in Vedic India) such a priesthood becomes local, and in this way forms the leśva, to which in Homer the existence of the iēpas is united. Most nearly akin to the Hesiodic, *Eumelos*, the Norse *Ymir*, the Nor., göti, Goth. gota ‘priest;’ cf. Gr. ἄρχεω, ἀρχεων, ‘God,’ and see above, pp. 16, 42). They could break up the temple belonging to them and migrate elsewhere. Among them, too, the priestly office was inherited up through several generations (cf. Goldschmidt, *Geschichte der Mythologie*, p. 85).[4] J. and Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 83). Finally, in Rome also there are indications of a condition in which not State colleges but particular families attended to the performance of special cults. This comes out most unambiguously in the case of the domestic priest (priēvokrē well-to-do, who was indispensable to the king for preparing sacrifices, for ‘the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no priest’ (Aet. Ἐρεχθείας, viii. 24). And their supervision, too, the royal administration of justice was carried on, and in their conception of dharma, the
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What we have here, then, is another of those families expert in magic (according to Praetorius, op. cit. p. 40, the blood relations of the Crivne, the Rose-Hyettus (Hyettus), whose special science was devoted to a perennial fire, and whose chief on account of this cult—according to Jerome, magic oracles were practised by means of fire in the case of sickness—had attained to the position of influence described above). (c) THE TEMPLES. In primitive religions all over the world it is a recognized phenomenon that all objects which rise above the surface of the ground, in particular, stones, stamps, and trees, are regarded as possessing a divine essence, and were made the object of ritual acts of worship (cf. E. B. Tylor, ii. 161 ff., 215 ff.). Among the Aryan peoples also this low stage of religious life can be proved. The most important testimonies for it will be brought together, without as yet asking the question whether the objects of worship (of which there were really countless everywhere as real incorporations of the deity, or only as representations of it).

(a) Stone-worship. — With regard to ancient Greece in general, we have the following report of Pausanias, vii. 27.

ιεττάς. ιέ γρατας το τυμάλος τετράγωνος μέτρον, κύκλων μετάλο ης χρήμας το επολοίην αυταν συνελατον ε τυχτες (Παπά, έ ε στη Λαυνα, τοπο έλεγχτον το η έστη η άποκρε το το οχράθορο γην. Thus the worship of rough stones was not confined to the oldest periods of Greek history, but continued through the whole time of paganism. For Socrates, in Xenophon's Memorabilia, knows:

τοιο μεν αυτον ζηλον αυτικα αυτο ην των θεων αυτη μενεν, τοιε έε και άλλος και εχελ τα γαρατη και θηρα αδέλωμη (το ετος, άτο έντι ομοι ος άριστη αποι πετο το θεορο γην. The same author mentions, in detail, unknown stones in place of the figure of the god in the face of Hendrik at Hyetoros, and in that of Eros at Thebais; but with regard to the cult of the Ceres at Olympenaeus, B. is said (ix. 66, 103), ήτιο μεν η πετρα σημειωτε τα μεταλο και τα έστηνεις αποι πεντε έν το οχραθος γη. Thus the worship of rough stones was not confined to the oldest periods of Greek history, but continued through the whole time of paganism. For Socrates, in Xenophon's Memorabilia, knows:

(b) Worship of trees. — More frequently than unknown stones, however, we find in ancient Greece shapeless piles, boards, heaps of wood, and posts (ζονοι έκ ιεροενον, αυταλα ήλαμα δμοσφην, πενελοπευς σημει), be they the objects of worship. The testimonies for this worship are held by Overbeck. * (op. cit.). The Italian history of religion offers as proof of the primitive worship of stones the Lat. delubrum, "sanctuary," or "delubrum lignum," a "piece of wood freed from idolatry" (H. F. Kubus, Ros. Ind. I, 335, 389). I quote in extenso the report of Festus (op. c. Möller, p. 73) reports: "delubrum, diocebeunt fustem deliberatum, hoc est docentur.

The author has been unable to examine the work of M. W. de Vignes, Die nicht menschentrost. Götter der Griechen (Leiden, 1860).
worshiped in them (cf. Wissowa, op. cit. p. 401). The traces of tree-worship continue even more significantly in the richly wooded northern parts of the continent, from the West Indies to the Atlantic Ocean. With regard to the Lithuanians, we may refer to a few sentences of the report which a monk Jerome, who in the years 1409-1418 was active as a missionary in Lower Lithu-ania, sent to Pope Martin V, in the form of a letter to Piccolomini, and which is to be found in the work of the latter, entitled Europa (S. Peneo Sygvena Europae), c. xxvi.:

Petrinius alcopedas adit (Jereme), qui silvas demenzat consacratam veneracionem et adductam ad sanctificationem puatvare, ... Verrit inform in medium nemoros, ubi quernam vocum confessionem et conimnicationem in arboribus postumuli prorsum potissime sedem esse putabant percutere aliquando nihil presumptu, ... Erant in ea regione plures silvas paria religione sacra. Ad quas dum Hieronymus amantissima pergit, nullosque leges unius pluralis plorans atque eulans Vitoldum (a Lithuanian duke) adit, accelerum sinum sacrium quicquum et domus dei adernptam in qua divinarum operum petere consensit; inas intuvias, inde sole oblivitis; aciream iam in loco denuo querant, cui domicilium locum. Ese alicipos mihi faceris, in qua dieli coniciem, quae quque deleris Hieronymus velic.

An altogether special worship was assigned to the sacred oak of Perkinas, in whose rushing the worshipper believed himself to hear, as at Dodona, the voice of the god announcing the future (cf. below, III. 2). Other sacred trees were the birch (birzlin), the hazel (lazdonia), the cherry tree (kruvo), the maple (blasche), and the mountain ash (Gefaunia). The special reverence paid to trees that had grown together, ramuntia, romoves, from which the centre of the Crimean mentioned above had its name. Undoubtedly the Ten- tons of the first Christian centuries stood at this stage of development, in spirit of the idealistic interpretation which Tacitus (Germania, ch. 9) gives to their tree-cult:

Ceterum nec cohiere parellitas deos, neque in ulnum simul adorant etiam speciem soli, sed etiam arboribus: hanc nos nemora consecratis, decuremne novitati adagiant secreta ilium, quod sola reverenter videtur.

Of particular sacred trees, oaks belong, all others are mentioned, one of which Boniface fellched near Geissmar. The worship of a pear tree in Auxerre in heathen times is also well attested (J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythol. i. 6 f.), although this report leads us to Celtic territory; for here, too, the tree-cult was fully developed. There was being worshiped the Druid or the oak and the mistletoes which grew on it (Plny, HN xvi. 249), and we hear of sacred groves in Gaul as well as in Britain (cf. on them H. Munro Chadwick, 'The Oak and the Thunder-storm', JHS xxi. 228 f.).

In glancing over the Lat. 'Aryan stone- stump' and tree-worship collected here, we could make no greater mistake than to suppose that the religious ideas which find expression in this worship are all to be placed at the same historical stage. It cannot be doubted that in many, if not even in the majority of cases, the object of worship is merely the symbol under which a deity was worshiped that existed outside of the object, and was only occasionally present in it. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the traces are often to be found to have been a time when people actually worshiped, as is the case among the rudest savages, the very stone, post, or tree, as a god, since they looked on it as the body of a divina anima. This becomes very evident in the remains of the Greek stone-cult and in the Lithuanian tree-cult reported upon by Prophrastos (Charact. c. 17), in his day, tells us of people who, when passing stones smeared with oil at the crossways, did not fail to pour oil on them out of their oil-paltris, to fall on their knees, and to present the most solemn of votive offerings. This judgment is to be judged in the same way as whom in the Society Islands, rude logs or fragments of basalt.
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columns, clothed in native cloth and anointed with oil, received adoration and sacrifice as divinely powerful by virtue of the "Atua" or deity which had filled them (Tylor, II. 255).

In Lithuanian the oak was, it is true, sacred to Perkūnas; but evidently, like the other sacred trees mentioned above, it enjoyed independent worship, as follows from the report of Rostowskii: "A rurally styled Perkūnas, tan quercus regalis, alii quibus femina pullatara pro fugulis et inoconvertibile re dominata." (Rostowskii, 229. Stasys, 205. Phil. ix. 25, and other reports, according to which sick persons, observing remarkable customs, clamber up to the boughs of a sickly oak. During their ascent they clutch each offering on the branch of the tree, and seriously believe that they will be healed thereby. Often it happens that such a branch is quite full of carbuncles and cows' veins, gallstones, kidney stones, articles, which are tied to it from top to bottom. Several sacrifice money also, which they lay upon the ground before the tree. Cf. Vangeliu, 97, and Gireiūkas, 37."

Accordingly, we may (like Frazer, GB) conceive of the process of evolution of these ideas in the following way. There was among the Aryan peoples a distant period in which stones, stumps, and trees were worshipped as actual fetishes within the limits of this racial division—and certainly as early as primitive Aryan times (a period where the present writer differs from Frazer)—the cult of the 'heavenly ones' came more and more to the front, conceptions began to be thought of before the human mind had given the objects of worship just mentioned, especially with the sacred tree and its shoot, the stump or post, which were now regarded only as symbols and occasional dwelling-places of the 'heavenly ones.' Along with these ideas, the old conceptions continued to operate further among the lower classes.

This connexion is most clearly exemplified in the relationship of the thunder-god to the oak. Zeus and the oak of Dodon, Jupiter Pereritus and the grove of Dodona, Perkūnas and Ažūnas ("oak"), we have already noted; but we are also told of the Celts by Maximus Tyrius: Κοινὸν εἶναι δέκαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δόξαν κεκινημένη ὑπὸν θεῶν. Nothing can be more easily understood than this connexion, when we call to mind how the lightning flashes or the thunder god comes down with an especially fondness on the king of the forest; and it is difficult to conceive why H. Munro Chadwick, in his otherwise excellent essay, 'The Oak and the Thunder-god,' mentioned already in this connexion, and who objects to the connexion of this phenomenon as a supposed dwelling of primitive man below the oak. But the other gods are also preferably thought of as dwelling in trees and forests. "In Greece we have, besides a Zeus Zeŭs ἔκκερακος, θεὸς ἀπόθεντος (omnium), an Παλαικτήν, an Ἀργεύς καρτέφερτη, etc. Among the Teutons were found, as well as a silva Herculis (= Donar) sacra (Ann. ii. 12), a castanum nemus of Nerthus (Germania, c. 40), and a hæna Baduhenmen (Ann. iv. 78). Among the Lithuanians, as we have seen above, the rain- and sun-gods were worshipped in sacred groves.

In this assimilation of the cult of the 'heavenly ones' and a primitive stone, stump and tree-fetishism we have secured, once for all, the foundation for the explanation of the two most outstanding objects of heathen worship in historical times—the temple and the image. The tree or grove in which the deity is worshipped develops into the stone temple; the stone or wooden stump, which serves as a symbol of the deity, assumes human features and becomes the image of the god.

This probable combination is, the present writer thinks, raised to a certainty when we consider that in Greece, in the most ancient times, the figures of the gods were actually placed on, or in, oak-trunks or herms (κεραυνὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ προστάτου τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνάρτησις, οἱ κέραμοι μεγάλης) or as the name of Jupiter of Dodona in the primitive cult, Zeus Nêos (nêos-), finds its natural interpretation if we conceive him as 'the one in the tree-trunk.' The ἄγρυπνοι δήμοι and the ζησαυς των εἰγενών, above, gradually entered into the βενέτος = Skr. mārta 'figure'? the image or figure of the god. It is not far-fetched to find in the images of Hermes, in which only the face and the extended penis of the god are represented, a stage on this path of development.

The words of J. Grimm (Deutsche Mythol. i. 59) are true of the Teutons. "Temple is also at the same time wood. What we think of as a walled and built house, dissolves, the farther back we go, into the conception of a sacred place which has not been touched by human hand, but is hedged in and made peaceful by trees that have grown up of their own accord." The conceptions grove and temple accordingly run to a large extent together in the Teutonic language.

This is true of the series Goth. alks, A.S. ealh, Old Saxon aelh, which are always used of the most sacred trees. Lett. elks 'idol,' perhaps also to the Gr. άξων ('axios') 'grove,' 'sacred grove,' which, however, is compared with other Old Slav. lêtx 'forest.' The term is also found in the Greek heath, heary (O. H. G. hærgeti 'priest'), which are explained in glosses by luxos, nemus, and also by stenmemon, stonememon, etc. as well as by a r. slav. lêtx, a r. A. S. born, a r. G. sêr (of the Greek πριήτης), which belongs to the common Slavonic root ber, bôros, 'pine-forest.' (cf. Zuttius, i. svntu bánli 'sacred pine forest' in the lands of Mecklenburg according to Thietmar: inveni Z. dictus ab ecclisi, ut Deus ab omnibus honoravit). To this class of expressions are added—for the United plants of wood or stone, whose first traces are to be found probably in the temple of the Tanfana, which, according to Tacitus (Ann. i. 18), was level with the ground and surrounded by groves, or from the human dwelling-house, such as O. H. G. hof, halla, eal, petapier, petialas, pósias, petaraks, Goth. gudils, etc. the figures of the gods, who, too, are designated as ãva, ãsava, 'carved works,' but regarding whose more definite nature we unfortunately can discover nothing, are repeatedly mentioned in the 4th century (cf. Goltzir, Germ. Myth. p. 68).

At the same time in which we have among the Teutons only sacred trees and groves as places for the worship of the gods, the common Celtic name for 'sanctuary; nemeton (oivriωνaτa, Medionemeton, Tannoinemeton, Verrnemeton: Skr. nemus 'worship') is the double designation, forest, wood, or grove, by human hands. Here too, however, the original meaning is seen from the Old Saxon indiculus superstitionum, in which mention is made "de sacris silvarum, quae nimidas (= Gall. nemetum) vocant." On the other hand, the neighbours of the Teutons on the North-East, the Prussians and the Lithuanians, may be regarded as having continued in their templeless condition up to the date of their conversion to Christianity. At the same time we hear incidentally of idols, which they carved for themselves. Thus a heathen fisher (cf. Pretorius, op. cit. p. 27) had made a wind-god (Więjopačis) out of lark, which had two faces on the head, one in front and one behind, both of them with gaping mouths. The same state of affairs is found among the Eastern Slavs, and Miklosich (Die Christliche Terminologie, p. 67) rightly remarks that there is no ground whatever for the assumption that the first preachers of Christianity found here buildings devoted to religious service (for Russian idols, cf. above, p. 43). The Western Slavs, on the other hand, were acquainted with * The usual explanation of the Greek νεμων, 'temple,' derives this word from the Greek νεμειν, 'to govern,' and indeed in the primitive Greek νεμως is, in the conception of the present writer, identical with the root found beside it, νημως, νημειν (οια) 'to dwell.' This word and adequate to the root, and other words come together in the meaning 'tree-trunk' (cf. e.g. Skl. νηματα, Old Saxon nemlit, 'tree-trunk,' and many other similar changes of meaning).
real temples, with statues of the gods, and with idols, e.g., the three-headed Triglav ("Three-Heads"), as we learn from the descriptions of Thiébaut of Merseburg (Mon. Germ. v. 812) and Otto of Bamberg (M. G. Script., ed. Pertz., ii, 82). Here too, however, we see how deeply the ancient tree-worship has been even in the languages of the people from the fact, related by Otto of Bamberg, that they calmly allowed four temples to be torn down, and even helped in the work, but raised objections when an attack was made on the large wide-spreading oak standing near, 'quam plebes nuninis aliusibus inhabitatone sacrum astenitus magnum venerantem colarent.'

But the places of old Aryan worship are not yet exhausted in the foregoing discussion. While in the case of tree-worship it is to a certain extent probable that the 'heavenly concept' feast, whose airy abodes to the earth, an attempt was made by mankind in another direction to raise themselves to heaven. The Persians, we saw above (p. 33), climbed to the top of the highest mountain when they wished to offer a sacrifice to Heaven. The same was the case in Greece. Pausanias mentions the tops of mountains as the seats of famous cults in many localities. Especially sacred, however, was the territory of the Lycurgan Zeus on the highest peak of Arcadia, where tree-cult and high-place-cult were combined. In Italy, too, there were, in the Oscan part of the Campagna, mountains particularly connected with the high places; and with regard to most Roman hills the existence of ancient cults of Jupiter might be proved (Wissowa, p. 102). Of the Teutons, Agathias, 28, 4, reports: Οἱ Λιθουάνοι οἱ Καλιπάτας (Lithuanians of the high-place-cult).

(d) The Feasts.—In the equation, Gr. ἐορτή, Ion. ἑορτή 'feast' = Skr. evàta ‘deceer,' 'divine service' (of., e.g., mahāvāta, like M.H.G. höchelt, lit. 'great feast'), there is to be found an originally related idea of the 'heavenly concept' feast, whose fundamental meaning was something like 'appointed time.' It is rather difficult to decide what these ceri dies may have been among the Aryans, and without doubt a considerable time will have to pass before the comparative etymology of the Aryan peoples, the grammar of which has latterly been taken in hand yet, will be in a position to give a decisive answer to this question. We saw above (I, 3) that the life of the Aryans even in primitive times was interwoven with a consubstantial ceremony of the days and the dead; and in particular, in the vintry half of the year, the observance of a great festival of the dead, agreeing in many details, can be proved among almost all the Aryan peoples. Thus in India the third of the three annual festivals, which took place in the colder season of the year, was connected with a great sacrifice for the dead. Among the Lithuanians we discovered a general feast for the dead in the beginning of November. In Rome the Larentalia were held on the 23rd of December, the Perilunia in February. Among the Teutons the dead seem to have been remembered with many varied customs at 'Yuletide' (cf. E. Mogk in Paul's Grundriss, v. iii. 391), a name which itself may be connected with the darkness of the realms of the dead, seeing that 'Yule' (A.S. gōd, godhild) personified was rooted in the affections of the people. jeqa or jeqa = Gr. ἐθνός in εθνῶν, ἐθνός, west, 'darkness,' under world.' Most remarkable in this connexion, too, is a wide-spread Slavonic name for the Christmas festival (Russ. khoróvau, Czech křížovau, Słav. křížovací, Litau. kruzinas), which in White Russian signifies 'untouched, premature death in early years,' and 'an evil spirit that shortens life.' In regard to this development, Miklosich (Ritum, Wörterbueh der slav. Sprachen, p. 130) correctly remarks, 'perhaps Kružnov was a feast of the dead.'

The significance of these feasts of the dead, which in White Russia serve even to-day among the people as the basis for the reckoning of dates, is especially made manifest on Italian soil, as can be shown even in the language. It is impossible to separate the Lat. fērīus, fēsār, fēsān, 'feast,' 'festival,' from the above-mentioned fēstilā, from dhēvāś-āta, 'feast of the dead,' so that fēsāna from dhēvasā, at first 'feast of the dead,' had come to mean 'feast' in general; and correspondingly the Lat. festus from dhēvasās and festus (in Umb. and fēsān, sc. domus, 'temple') from dhēvasa, at first denoted 'applied to souls,' then 'sacred,' 'holy.'

But were there even in primitive times regular festivals in localities or quarters of the earth, and did their meaning change according to the time of the year? In the past there is a possibility of extracting a common primitive kernel from the endless mass of names and dates referring to the worship of the gods among the separate peoples? It has long been customary to find this in the festivals of the so-called four points of the year; and in particular with the and the summer solstice were regarded as the most ancient feast dates of the Aryan peoples. We shall do well briefly to call to mind what we know regarding the oldest divisions of time among the Aryans, in order to make a judgment on these theories possible. The year was divided into four points of the year for the Aryan peoples. According to its course its natural months were distinguished. A division of the yearly course of the sun into these four had not yet taken place, for which reason there were no names of the separate months or of the vocabulary of the primitive Aryan language. Of course, some have sought to find a pre-historic attempt to equalize the moon-year with the sun-year in the apparent coincidence of our 'twelfth,' the time from Dec. 25 to Jan. 6, with the twelve sacred nights of the Pithom-cult (in the moon-year +12 days = 366 of the civil sun-year) (cf. regarding it especially A. Weber, Indische Streifzüge, xvii. 224, and SBAW, phil.-hist. Kl. 1898, xxxi1. 221.) The present writer, however, believes that it has been made very probable by A. Tille (Yule and Christmas, Gymn. Geor. Year, London, 1899) that these twelfth, famed in legend among the Teutonic peoples, do not go back to the remotest heathendom, but are only a copy of the Christian Dedemecumen, the sacred night of the Jērah, and the old day for calling to mind the Divinity of Christ. Along with these purely unattached lunar months a distinction of seasons of the year was made in primitive times, originally only winter (Skr. māṃṣāt = Gr. μησών, Lat. mensis,) and summer (Avesta ham = O.H.G. sumar, etc.), then besides those, at an early date, a short transition period of spring (Skr. vasuṇta = ἐπ, Lat. ver, etc.). Their combination was called a 'past' (veṣa : Skr. veṣaše, Gr. ἔτος, Lat. vētus, etc.); but in meaning it was customary to calculate according to single periods of the year, especially according to winters. The Aryan year was thus a purely natural year (cf. Rolllexicon, artt. 'Jahr,' 'Jahreszeiten,' and 'Zeitteilung').

All more exact methods of dividing the time, based on knowledge of the signs of the year, were derived by the Indians as well as by the Aryan peoples of Europe from Babylonia. Here, too, the distinction between the four points of the year must have arisen at a very early date, and in a long migratory progress have crossed over to the Greeks (cf. Herodotus, i. 109) and found them to the north.

* A Russian name for the whole period of Christmas is krest, lit. 'cross,' which shows what sort of heathen ideas this time of the year was associated.
of Europe. The designations of the equinoxes in the Teutonic languages (O.H.G. erahnaht, A.S. eornmght, Old Nor. jarufjedr) are undoubtedly only translations of the Lat. *equinoxium* (Gr. έραινος) 15; and for the idea of the solstice separate expressions have been formed among the different Teutonic peoples: O.H.G. sunwæcde, sunghikt, sunosta, solwæct (cf. Old Nor. staurvækt) which proclaim their dependence on the Lat. *solstitium* by the fact that they, like it, are used only for the *summer solstice*; but for the *winter solstice* (Lat. *winter*, i.e. *wettisstring*) perhaps its festival was adopted from the Celts (cf. cit. op. cit. p. 194) absolutely no old Teutonic expressions are to be found. Finally, it is impossible to understand what significance the fixing of the longest or the shortest day could have had, presupposing that it was at all possible in primitive conditions of culture; for Procopius (De Bell. Got. ii. 15) relates of the inhabitants of Thule that, after they had been 25 days without the light of the sun, they sent messengers to the highest peaks of the mountains to spy out if the sun would not soon appear; when however they found it to have been a lie, its speedy return, they celebrated the greatest of their festivals. Such a narrative is easily enough understood of the most northerly stretches, but would be utterly unintelligible among men who had the sun always before their eyes (cf. A. Tille, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Volkskunde*, p. 149). But although these solstice festivals, as such, among the Aryan peoples, seem to be by no means very primitive, it cannot be said that the manifest agreement of the customs and usages relating to the summer solstice to a later transference and migration. If we turn our attention to the rites connected with the summer solstice or St. John's day (St. Ivan's day among the Slavs), we see that a characteristic feature of them is the intimate connexion in which the two elements of fire and water occurs. It is everywhere customary to kindle bonfires, to dance round them, or to leap over them, generally in pairs. Almost everywhere we find water in some form or other along with the fire. It may be that the festive company lathé either before or after the kindling of the fire, it may be that they put the fire in the stream and there extinguished, or it may be in some other way. In this connexion it seems most easy to understand an old Indian solstice custom which took place at the Mahâvratâ festival, i.e. (according to Hillebrandt, *Die Religion des Volks*, pp. 295-299) at the festival of the summer solstice (at a later date Mahâvratâ is the winter solstice). Accompanied by the beating of drums, women carrying jars filled with water march in procession three times round the fire from right to left and then again from left to right, singing a song, which closes with the refrain, 'That is mead.' After going round the fire for the last time, they pour the water into the fire and thus extinguish it.

This remarkable combination of the two elements so highly honoured by the Aryans, fire and water, is entirely inexplicable when we start from an original solstice festival. On the other hand, it can be very easily interpreted if, in the usage of the Mahâvratâ festival, we regard the honour not of a sun-god but of Indra, the giver of refreshing rain, we see with Hillebrandt (op. cit.) and Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Volks*, pp. 448, 507) an ancient rain-charm, i.e. a magical device for ensuring the procuring of rain. It is quite possible that the objecture is inevitable, that in the rites described as existing mainly among Indians, Slavs, and Teutons, we have to recognize the vestiges of an ancient Aryan festival dedicated to fire and water, and held in summer, in which, by means of extinguishing the fire on the earth, the wisher sought to cause the heavens to send down streams of fertilizing moisture on the meadows and fields. We have the additional fact that among all the Aryan peoples inhabiting Middle Europe in the time near the Feast of St. John a natural wave of the thoughts, by the rainfall, i.e. the rain that fell before St. John's Day was believed to be especially valuable, and was prayed for from heaven by priest and congregation, while, on the other hand, the rain that fell after St. John's Day was useless, and even St. John's Day was without effect.

But different opinions prevail. The peasants of the Russian province of Archangel say, 'The rain on St. John's Day is better than a mountain of gold'; other peoples hold an exactly opposite view (cf., for details on the subject, Alexis Yermoloff, *Der landwirtschaftliche Viehhandel*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 296 ff.). Thus from this side also we seem to obtain confirmation of our conjecture that in the customs described above we have traces of a midsummer feast which was celebrated without special regard to the longest day. Among other things, it may have belonged to the solemn rites of such a festival to seek, for the last time in the summer, to obtain moisture for the meadows and fields by means of a rain-charm. This view, which we have adopted with regard to the original significance of the solstices, does not in any way militate against the idea expressed by Mannhardt (*Der Baumkultus*, pp. 497, 516, 521). He regards the midsummer fires as sun-charms, since fire is supposed to represent the light and heat of the summer sun, which the growing vegetation must be exposed.

Remains of a second Aryan festival, a *spring-fest*, are perhaps to be found in the worship of the Teutonic Ostara and the Indian Ushas, which had its special place in the ritual at the beginning of the year at the Prârâmmanâtra of the Agniya sacrifice, which was observed with great solemnity in spring (cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, ii. 28 ff.). It seems that this festival is chiefly in view in the idea, proved to be Aryan by L. v. Schleicher (cf. cit. op. cit. p. 151, note 13), 'the wendloder,' in the *Mittel. d. anthopr. Gesell. in Wien*, xxxii., (that the sun at its rising, particularly on certain days, dances, jumps, shakes itself, and plays.

From such indications as these we must seek further information concerning the times of the old Aryan festivals. Since the moon, as we have already noticed, was the measure of time in primitive times, the Aryan *certi dies* must have been connected with the chief phases of the moon, the new moon and the full moon, and the *sacraments* of the new and the full moon belong to the regular and most ancient offerings to the gods (cf. Oldenberg, op. cit. p. 441 ff., and A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmonsdolfer*, Jena,
1889. But in Greece also the feast-days were connected with definite phases of the moon, particularly the full moon (cf. A. Mommsen, Heur. p. 2); and among the Romans the 'sacriiice, crime, claim. These to fellow-countryman 

Skr. later right. TheBlut- 

united to the Arya marriage ceremonial, in which ancient fire and water enjoy common worship. In India the bridegroom, after taking the bride by the hand, leads her three times round the fire on the hearth, on which a sacrifice of roasted corn is offered. Previously a new jug filled with water is placed on the floor, and it must remain on the right side of the bridal pair as they march round the fire. But liberal use is also made at other times of water, which is solemnly brought from the spring. The last drink in it, the young pair are to spring with it. In Roman marriage is even designated a union 'acqua e igni.'

Romulus married the captured Sabine women, dec. rea

patriae iudiciis (H subsidies of states). Vespasianus p. 166, 167 reports: 'Aqua et igni mariti uxores acceptabant. Undalamque etfacta præcettam et aqua petita de purpureo sancto, aliorum aut paucarum interjectum, de qua substantias solebant pedes lavavit.'

Here, too, a solemn procession round the altar from left to right took place, at which a boy carried the marriage-torch and the marriage-water, drawn from a pure spring; then in the house of the bride's father a fire-leaf (hence confarreationis) was sacrificed in the fire (on the Greek λυτήρας, cf. above, p. 22). The same customs which we find in the east and south of the world exist also in the north of Europe. Thus Menevalis reports of the Littuanians: 'Cum nuptiae celebratur, spona iter antem circa focum, deinde ibidem in sella collectorum, super quas sedent pedes lustravit aqua qua lacte sipulialis, tota supplex domestica et invitati ad nuptias hospites consecravit.'

Also among the Slavs, just as on St. Ivan's day, baths and dancing through or over a fire belong to the fixed marriage rites, and finally, in ancient Germany the bride was led three times round the hearth in the house of the bridegroom after she had stepped over a vessel of water (cf. the proofs of D. Burkhard, Bedeutung der Gewässer, p. 27). Perhaps in this case the union of fire and water (heat and moisture) may be regarded as the symbol under which husband and wife were united to each other for the purpose of producing a numerous progeny.

For further details regarding the common religious customs connected with the naming of the child, the first cutting of his hair, the feast of puberty, etc., see Winternitz, 'Was wissen wir von den Indogermanen?' (Beilage zur Münchener Jb., 1887). M. Burkhard, Folklieden, festen der Griechen und Römer, Berlin, 1901.

5. The relation of the 'heavenly ones' to the morality of mankind.—In all the higher stages of heathen religion we find the gods represented as the guardians of all written and unwritten law, and among the barbarians of all human transgressions of the same. Here we shall seek to discuss the question how far back in the history of the Aryans peoples this conception goes. It is obvious that legal or moral conceptions of some higher being only after these ordinances had been evolved and came to consciousness in the human society itself. Accordingly, it will be necessary in entering upon this discussion to direct our attention to the law and custom of primitive Aryan times as they are shown to us by the science of Anthropology.

What we at the present day designate as 'punishment' and 'crime' resolve themselves, the further back we go into the past of the Aryan peoples, in a great number of cases into the conception of 'sacriiice' and 'crime.' The Lat. penna is the judicial penalty prescribed as a corrective provision against the transgression of the law, but the Gr. πάνθος, from which penna is borrowed, is, as we shall see below, the old Aryan expression for 'fine.' In the same way the Lat. penna and pena are often identical or very nearly so; but the root-word demnitas originally signifies nothing else than 'that which is given (as a fine)' ('da-mn-ntm: dare'). The German word Schuld, which in all the Teutonic languages in which it occurs designates the guilt of a wrong committed in a law-court as well as guilt before the gods, as is evident from its being derived from Goth. skul, skol, skula, skults, meant nothing else than Du zollst, sc. tezahlen ("Thou shalt pay"). The Lat. flagitium, 'crime,' 'infamous deed,' which is derived from flagrare, 'to burn,' and which is probably a derivative of a verb signifying 'to be driven by fire,' probably by the chain: flagrare—frigore—Ir. dilg'id ("dilgétro"), 'duty,' 'law,' 'right,' Ir. dilgim, 'I have a claim to something,' Welsh dlen, etc., 'to be guilty,' Bret. dle, Goth. dulgs, Old Slav. dilga, 'guilt,' undoubtedly goes back, in the same way to a fundamental meaning 'liability,' i.e. to punish. The reason of this phenomenon lies in the fact that in primitive Aryan times a great number of actions which we regard as crimes at the present day, and which are punishable by the State—m你应该、and manslaughter, theft and robbery, theft and adultery, etc. were not punished in any way by the community, i.e. in primitive religions, by the tribe and its chief (Skr. vaj, Lat. vex, Ir. ri), but the avenging of them was left to the self-help of the individual families which were united in the tribe. The exercise of this self-help took the form of blood-revenge (cf. above, p. 28), which even in the earliest times could be expiated by a fine of cattle. The Aryan expression for blood-revenge itself and its compensation by means of the money payment is contained in the equivalents: Avesta, haedia = Gr. πάνθος. Skr. chki, Gr. rhohia = 'to punish,' 'to avenge,' 'to expiate a fine.' When at a later date the power of the State to inflict punishment deprived the families of the self-help and the exacting of the fine, the latter idea was changed into the conception of the State, and for the Stater the inured payment of a fine became a crime against the laws of the State (cf. Ecclesiasticus, artt. 'Blatrache,' 'Strafe,' and 'Verbrechen').

Now such actions as were to be followed by blood-revenge or to be expiated by a fine were not in primitive times regarded as transgressions of the decrees of any supernatural beings whatsoever. This is seen to be the case from the fact that, in the earliest historical times, e.g. in the ethics of the Homeric poets, those very crimes which according to our ideas are most heinous, murder and robbery, were neither regarded as defiling mankind nor condemned by the moral consciousness of the people. For what other explanation can be given of the fact that Theoclymenus (Od. v. 250 ff.), who had slain a man in Argos and had taken flight, was received by the Cretans, while his action being regarded as necessary, as was usual at a later date; or that Ulysses himself (Od. xiii. 236 ff.) was not afraid of the abhorrence of his listener, when, although in an imaginary story, he represented himself as having and killed a fellow-countryman in Crete? Just as little did Telemachus (Od. iii. 70 ff.) take
offence when he was asked on his arrival if he was perhaps a robber who was roving over the sea and at last came to the shore, and made the attempt (cf. further, in Realexxicon, att. 'Mord' and 'Raub').

Thus, it seems that actions such as those mentioned above had nothing in them offensive to the conscience of the people if they were carried out openly or with violence. On the other hand, theft and adultery may have been regarded as an earlier date as morally reprehensible merely on account of their secrecy—a view which finds expression in the fact that, so far as we can see, the killing of the adulterer or the thief, caught in the act, was considered the right of his avenger. He was avenged by the killing of his own avenger, i.e. to use the form of expression of a later date, remained unpunished (cf. Realexxicon, att. 'Diebstahl' and 'Ehebruch').

Under the circumstances described above, it may seem remarkable that in the vocabulary of the original language there was nevertheless one expression for the notion of sin and crime, in which the idea of a shortcoming before gods and men seems to have been operative from the beginning: Skr. ayās = Gr. ἄγας (ἀγας = ἅγας, i.e. 'without ἅγας = ἄγας'). But we shall see that the idea of original or corrupt nature is here quite peculiar. If we examine the oldest use of the Greek word (with regard to that of the Indian one, we can unfortunately deduce very little), we find that it is used by the tragedians (cf. Realexxicon, att. 'θραύσας') as indicating any action, namely, high treason, regicide, paricide, and carelessness with regard to the duty of intermediate of a relative. An ayās, then, which is best translated by 'abomination,' was committed on the one hand by the man who was guilty of a hostile act against the tribe and against its chief, the king, and on the other hand by the man who violated the duties resting upon him in virtue of his family or tribal connexion. Here, too, there can be no doubt as to who the deities were that were insulted thereby. In ἀσαξύλω (Σεπτήμ con-

tra Thelas, 1017) we are told of Polynices: ἄγας δὲ καὶ θανῶν κεκεφαληταί ἡ τειχὸς πατρῶν ὡς εἰκόναι καὶ θεραπεύων καταφέροντο ἐκεῖ δὴ πάλιν, i.e. he who led the army against the city was in life an abomination to the feet πατρῶν, and—as unburied—would be the last as a spirit in the next life. (On the discussion of the name in Caland, Totenverehrung, p. 69 ff.) were—at least originally—not the 'heavenly ones' or the gods related to them, therefore not Zeus, Apollo, Athene, etc., but rather the souls of the ancestors or the spirits of the family or the tribe, to whom on the mainland of Greece even in later times a rich worship was assigned (cf. E. Rohde, Psyche, i. 167 ff.). We saw (above, p. 28) that the foundation pillars of the social organization in primitive Aryan times rested on ancestor-worship, and it is an almost obvious conclusion that the souls of the worshipped ancestors were thought of as watching with jealous exactness over the keeping of the old institutions in the family and in the tribe (cf. above, p. 23).

All those actions which merited praise rather than blame, when committed against one who did not belong to the clan, were regarded when perpetrated against a member of the family as ayās, which challenged the vengeance of the spirits of the progenitors who presided over the family. The old heroes of the Homeric period, e.g. Agamemnon, may have been the personification of the avenger, and the same may be the case with the paricide, the 'kin-murderer' ('πάρο- from πάς = Gr. πᾶς), i.e. the man who had killed a member of the clan; and Brunnenmeister (Das Tötungsverbrechen im altrömischen Recht p. 171) has undoubtedly good ground for describing the divo (or better still for divo parentum) murder as the legal consequence of the paricideum. These conditions doubtless also gave rise to the Latin expression supplicium, 'capital punishment,' really, however, the 'appeasing' (sub-placare), sc. divorum parentum of the corpse, and the 'aspiring' toführung over the family, so in the same way would they also have controlled the tribe even in primitive times, and their wrath would have been aroused by everything which was directed against the tribe and its leader, the king. Punishment by death, then, by means of stoning, the only punishment of primitive times (cf. above, p. 42), which was decreed and immediately executed by the popular assembly, which represented the tribe, can best be conceived of as a supplicium, i.e. an act of expiation of the spirits who rule over the tribe (cf. Realexxicon, att. 'Mord', Dämon Verbrechen, 'Strafe,' and 'Volksversammlung').

It is therefore evident that the oldest combination of law, custom, and religion is to be found in the worship of the dead, who from the remotest antiquity were considered the original fund of order prevailing in the family and the tribe (Skr. svadhā 'propriety,' customary condition = Gr. ἄγας, 'habit,' 'custom,' usage, ἄγας, 'use and wont,' 'habitual stopping-place,' and (perhaps) Goth. sidus, O. H. G. sita, 'custom'). The 'heavenly ones' have originally nothing whatever to do with this conception; they are entirely beyond the realm of good or ill ('jenseits von Gut und Böse'). For what is stated in detail above is correct, that the deities designated by the equivalents Skr. deś, Lat. deus, etc., were nothing else than 'special gods' of the sky and the natural phenomena connected with it, who exerted an influence only within the spheres to which they owed their conceptual origin, it is obvious that mankind could have recourse to them only in matters which lay within these special provinces. In the case of Zeus, for instance, it was the thunder that it might spare his own head and strike the head of the enemy, or he may have prayed to the fire to light up and to serene away the night-monsters and destroy the fields of the enemy, but nothing more. It is no accident that, even in the Homeric periods, the gods who were much more frequently represented as strong, large, and powerful than as endowed with any moral qualities (cf. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 284). But the more the 'heavenly ones' and the gods connected with them developed into distinctive and many-sided personalities, the more were they also invested with a moral life, seeing that, on the one hand, with the evolution of the family and the tribe into the city and the State, they took over the role of guardian from the souls of the ancestors, and, on the other hand, appeared as the bearers and protectors of new moral ideals, which were gradually coming to the front in human society. Thus the past belongs to the spirits of the ancestors, and the future to the 'heavenly ones.' It will be of advantage to seek the connection of the evolution in the history of two moral duties which received comparatively late recognition—the duty of truth and the duty of hospitality.

(1) Truth.—The Aryan name for this idea is contained in the two originally distinct words, the Sanskrit dharma and Late Latin and Lat. dēnus = O. H. G. inn, Old Ir. sin, both roots signifying the 'actually existing' (set: sin, 'existing,' Lat. versus from versus: Goth. sinan, 'to be, to exist'). The oath serves the purpose of strengthening this 'actually existing'; and
the farther back we go in point of time, the more important is the past played by the present, the undetermined given more frequently than the educated regard it as necessary to structure events by means of an oath.

The existence of the oath in primitive Aryan, therefore, was not beyond the reach of doubt by the series of words: Skr. am, GST. er, Lith. eret, 1. etc. ('oath', 'curse', 'hostile'; cf. O. Germ. 4rath, 'oath', 'curse' kindred (Rundschau, 1886-87, vol. iii. April-June, 1887), and the present writer in his book, Handelsgegichte und Warenhandel, l. 170. In the latter book appears the statement: 'the custom of hospitality, Schroder and also one everywhere the family hospitality, the Aryan hospitality, as expressed (c.f. hosti-pets, Aryan hospitality, 'Handel') and intercourse, even among Teutons, Slavs, and Lithuanians, as early as the beginnings of the historical period (from motu to hosti-pets, Aryan hospitality, 'Handel') and intercourse, even among the Greeks and Romans manifest, even in the oldest historical times, a more elevated character; for among both these peoples, leaving aside a few survivals of the oldest state of affairs, the gods, and in particular Zeus-Jupiter, were invoked both in order to be present as witnesses of the curse pronounced, and to carry it out in the case of persecution or to light from the realm of magic to the sway of religion; the 'heavenly ones'—particularly Zeus, the god of the bright, all-sky sky of day—have become the bearers and the guardians of the community of truth.

Hospitality.—The primitive Aryans, like all other primitive races, regarded the stranger as a man without rights, who could be killed or robbed with impunity. In apparently irreconcilable contradiction to this idea, i. e., in its last remains, was finally vanquished only by the new conception of life brought in by Christianity, there stands the custom of hospitality, which can be traced in a more or less developed state even among Teutons, Slavs, and Lithuanians, as early as the beginnings of the historical period (from motu to hosti-pets, Aryan hospitality, 'Handel'), and also everywhere a cordial hospitality, and also everywhere hospitality about as early as an exchange of gifts, which is everywhere indicated, 'hosti-pets, Aryan hospitality, 'Handel'). And also everywhere a cordial hospitality, and also everywhere everywhere hospitality is expressed the view that in it to be found the origin of hospitality—hospitality which in these, in the primitive conditions, commercial intercourse, leaving aside a few survivals of the oldest state of affairs, the gods, and in particular Zeus-Jupiter, were invoked both in order to be present as witnesses of the curse pronounced, and to carry it out in the case of persecution or to light from the realm of magic to the sway of religion; the 'heavenly ones'—particularly Zeus, the god of the bright, all-sky sky of day—have become the bearers and the guardians of the community of truth.

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being came in the course of pre-historic times to be combined with the primitive god of the shepherds, Zeus, etc. (cf. H. VII. p. 23). We shall wait with interest to see what grounds L. v. Schröder is able to bring forward in support of this contention, which, to us at least, seems very daring.

III. Fate.—More even than by questions concerning the origin and relation of life and death, or by reflection on the nature and descent of the heavenly gods, has the mind of man from remotest antiquity been exercised by the gloomy power which mysteriously surrounds him from the cradle to the grave; it is a power that are the souls of ancestors or the spirits that reveal themselves in the powers of nature can be reconciled and made serviceable to man. But inaccessible and incomprehensible seems to be that unknown power which appears ever to lavish its smiles on one and to bear an everlasting grudge against another, and which without distinction overthrows with weal or woe 'now the curiously-bred boy in the innocence of youth, now the grey-haired sinner in the guilt of old age.' Only rarely, and at certain late stages of its course, was the curiously-bred physical significance is reinforced by the thought that, in the Christian faith, peace of soul—the thought, namely, that in reality God and fate are one and the same. Before that, however, mankind had proposed other solutions of the dark problem. What are these? Again the Christian faith, to be sure, has improved the old notions and in the certainty that all that befalls him, as being sent from God, must be for his best here and hereafter, declines the attempt to probe the unsearchable will of God by human means. On the other hand, there runs through the whole heathenism an irrepressible longing, appearing in a more intense degree the further back we go in point of time, to penetrate with inquisitive and premature vision into the dark land of the future, to bear the covering from the veiled picture. In what ways was this attempted?

Thus there are two questions which we have here to consider in reference to primitive Aryan times: 'What idea did they entertain of fate?' and 'How did they seek to divine the future?

1. The conception of fate.—In this discussion we shall only touch upon the问题 of the Zend (xii. 208 f.). Achilles has pursued Hector (three times round the walls of Troy: ἈΛ ὦ τὸ τάττεν τε ἐκρωσος δίκαιον, καὶ τὸν ὠφειάνα πατρί τε εὐπρέπεστα τάστα, ὁ ἰδίαν ἐκήρυγμα ἑαυτῶν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρατατόν. ταύτα δὲ ὁμοίως ἤμασον ἤμασιν ἄλα μὲν Ἀργεῖον, τοῦ δὲ Ἐκτορος ἱπτήρα. Φέρες δὲ μέσα μαυρών ὑμῖν ἄλα τούτου ἅμαρ. The expressions that are of interest to us here are, first of all, the kηρ, which are laid by Zeus on the balance of fate, and, secondly, the σάρα involved in the σάρα ἡμῶν. The synonym of σάρα is μῆνα, which is not mentioned here, but which is identical with it, representing the power that moves the balance of fate. As far as the word kηρ is concerned, we have seen its exact meaning at an earlier stage (cf. above, pp. 15, 27), where we were speaking of the driving away of the spirits designated as κηρίων on the occasion of the Anthesthea festival in Athens. kηρ is, accordingly, the soul, or better, a soul of man, for Tycho (I. 427 f.) has shown that as belief in the existence of several souls in the human being is a characteristic of the Greek mind. The soul designated by the term kηρ is specially regarded as the bearer of the fate of death to men, whether that death be peaceful or fraught with violence (cf. Π. ix. 411). Every man is invested at birth with his kηρ, and the consequences of his kηρ are kηρείας κηρίων (II. xii. 526 f.). But every people as well, in so far as it is thought of as an individual, e.g. the Trojans and the Achaean (II. vii. 98 f.), possess such a kηρ; and the word is finally used, and that, too, very frequently, as a personification of the goddess of death, Kηρ, the daughter of Hades, who, in the course of the night, whose brethren are Μήθος, Ωκαντος, Τυρνος, and the φιλον Ὀρειφωρ, 'the people of dreams' (cf. Hesiod, θεος, 211 ff.). A series of ideas from the north of Europe comes more or less near this Old Norse kηρ, 'soul' (cf. p. 13, and see also W. Heer, Geschichte der Idee der Seele im nordischen Sagesschatz, Leipzig, 1890, p. 36). They are called ‘followers,’ because the soul, like the φίλις in Greece, follows the man as his second ‘self,’ his ἐναντίον. They often appear to the dreamer as animals (birds, horses, fishes, wolves, lions, white bears, bears, hares, oxen, goats); and if they appear, they announce certain ruin. As there was a kηρ of the Trojans and the Achaean, so among the old Norsemen there was a kym- or atorferfjoga, i.e. a fjoga of the tribe; and, according to the story of the three sisters of Skog, there could have several fjøga. On the other hand, the latter word has a wider signification in so far as it designates the guardian spirit of the man generally. The latter is also the meaning of the Old Norse hamingja, 'the many-forced' (Old Nor. haurr, 'a haunt'), which is the human soul taken from its capacity of transforming itself, for the hamingja appear frequently as animals or as women. Especially characteristic is their hereditary transmission in the family, passing over from father to son, as often appear first as giant women, offspring of the Norns, who are the hamingja of the world (cf. Vigfusson, Iceland-Eng. Dictionary, Oxf., 1874-76, p. 236). Finally, we may mention the characteristic features of the southern Slavonic vjetroponog, who are conceived of partly as animals of the house and partly as guardian spirits dwelling in each man. Probably their name (Slovenian vjetroponog) is connected with Old Slav. vjetri, 'wind,' in which case the wind-like nature of the soul would be indicated (cf. P. S. Krauss, Skons, Glück und Schicksal im Vokalquoten der slowakischen, Vienna, 1886, p. 19 f.).

We have thus made acquaintance with a series of souls of fate and souls of fortune, a knowledge of which will assist us in the following consideration of σάρα and μῆνα.

Both of these terms signify not only etymologically (σάρα from σαρειν: Lat. oreus; μῆνα; μῆς, νεφω, ἵμαιρα), but also in actual usage, nothing more in the first instance than 'share' without any reference to fate, and then the share assigned by fate to every individual man at his birth (τὸ μὲ τὸν μῆνα) (II. xx. 128; Od. vii. 183). Thus they correspond exactly to the Slavonic expressions, Russ. ведь, 'part,' 'lot;' 'fate,' 'fortune,' 'fate, 'fortune, 'nepoveste, 'misfortune' ('ведь; Gr. κχια, Lat. scendo, lit. 'the part split off,' 'the share'); and dolja, 'part,' 'portion,' недолга, 'misfortune' (Old Slav. dole, dolé, 'part,' Goth. dalis).

This 'share' is, according to the popular Slavonic idea, innate, and it is natural to make the mother responsible for it if one is dissatisified with his 'share' (cf. A. N. Veselovskij, 'Fate in the popular thought of the Ukrainians' in The Academy of Science of St. Peters burg [Russ.], xvi. 173 f.). There is thus a slight distinction between μῆνα (σάρα) and dolga (dolja, 'in that the former is received at birth, the latter by birth. The latter is the idea, however, that the share is an assignment of fate from the circumstance that among many Aryan peoples, in connexion with the assignment of fate to the separate individuals, there are deities who
are designated as 'mothers' or 'child-bearers.' On Slavonic soil this is true of the Old Slav. rodícenje (roditi, radožati 'parce,' roděnje, 'generatio,' roděnicenje, 'natalities,' 'obstetrix,' 'matrix,' 'mater,' 'generatio'), deities to whom, just as to the Perun and the Rodít, i.e. the personifications of the clan, some of the religious festivals were offered. At the present day among the Bulgarians of the Rhodope mountains the woman in child-bed is called roděnicenja, but among the Slovenians and the Horvátians the women of fate are called roděnicenja or rojicenja (cf. Krauss, op. cit. p. 301). Among the Greeks, the goddesses of fate, or rather of the goddessess of fate, are to be mentioned in this connexion. They occur in intimate alliance with the Moïpa (cf. Preller, Griechische Mythologie, i. 512). Among the Romans, we must note the Paroce, whose name (Pitar, etc.) is the most intimate relation to the birth of man. From the Slavonic region we may mention the Bulgarian naradvice and the Servian sudvice, sudenice, both so called from the roditi and suditi = sudice (see above) which they announce. From Lithuania the larāne (of unknown derivation) must also be mentioned. The most important phenomenon for us, however, is to be found in the fact that in many regions the conceptions of division, fate, fortune, etc., at first abstract, show a strong tendency to become transformed into beings regarded as persons. This is true in particular in Polish and Little Russian of a fate (cf. note 1) as mentioned above, in Servian of the sreća (cf. Krauss, op. cit.), a word which literally means 'coming-together,' 'meeting' (sp. -jel). In Latin, from the fatum, as we saw above, the word spoken (by the Paroce), we have evolved, particularly on Celtic soil, the demons of fate designated by the name fett and fata, the latter of which became Old French faie, M. H. G. feie, German Fee ('fairy'). The same process went on also with regard to the Greek ἀρά and ἰώπα ('portion of fate,' to the consideration of which we now proceed), signs of fate how both have evolved into personal powers of fate, Aisa being thought of only in the singular, Moira being also used in the plural (cf. Preller, Griech. Myth. i. 500). The Moira, as is well known, play a specially important part in the life of the individual even at the present time, and it is not unlikely that primitive features of ancient Greek life are here preserved (cf. B. Schmidt, Das Volkstaum der Neugriechen, i. 210 ff.). Besides the form ἰώπα, there is also a masculine form ἰῶπα, ἰῶπα, a fate especially 'misfortune,' to be mentioned. Not all these forms lead back to an Aryan *moro—* moria (perhaps on account of εἰρωμα, εἰρωματικα, there was a form in the primitive language equivalent to this, viz. *moros—* morios), which corresponds phonetically to the primitive Teutonic names of the demons of the nightmare, O. H. G. mar, mara, Old Nor. mora, A. S. moræ (=*moria, *pojas); the terms most nearly connected with these in the North of Europe we have already discovered (p. 15, above). Since then, on the one hand, we have just seen, in the Russian *mori, voses, signs of fate becoming spirits of the nightmare, and on the other hand, Laistner ([Rätel der Sprache, ii. 342 ff.) has shown in detail how many spirits of fate and fortune have their origin in demons of dreams—(cf. dreams and nightmares)—and how they have stood from the close connexion between the spirits of the departed and those of fate on the one hand, and the phenomena of the departed soul and those of dreams (nightmares) on the other—we need not hesitate to assume in the Gr. ἰώπα (=A. S. moræ) the existence of a group of primitive Aryan words bearing the meaning of the share allotted to man by fate, which was either innate or bestowed at birth. From this group beings were evolved who in Greece became spirits of fate, while in the Teutonic countries they were the spirits of oppression, although, even in the latter case, their connexion with fate could not be concealed.

The details given above prove that the faith of the Aryan peoples was permeated by a deeply fatalistic trend of thought. The fate of each individual is born with him, transmitted by his mother, or is bestowed upon him at the hour of birth by spirits who at first have nothing to do with the heavenly gods, but much with the realm of departed souls. It was only gradually that the more advanced idea came to the front which united fate to the immortal gods; and whereas this appears, it is still in conflict with the older conceptions. This is the case in Homer. Now Zeus is subject to Moira, and again he takes her place as

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9. Thus here, too, the women of fate stand in

The report of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. iii. 14), that the Slavs did not know the ēuvar, must, with Veselovskij (op. cit. p. 174), be understood to mean not that at that time there was still no abstract Fatum, but that only beings or deities of fate.

1. According to Wissowa (p. 213), Lat. fatum was only a "transliteration" (cf. paper above). Thus, the fatum cannot be correct, seeing that fatum means 'that which is spoken' and ēuvar 'share,' as we saw above. Fatum, like Parce, must have been a living religious conception among the people.
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he 'spins out' to mean their fortune (Ov. id. 208). That this latter idea could only at a later date have been transferred to Zeus, follows at once from the metaphorical expression, 'be stretched out,' by which this type of prophecy is exceedingly far removed from the activity of the highest god of the heavens, and it finds a satisfactory explanation only in the primitive cycle of ideas regarding mothers and women of fate. Thus we may hold that the belief which finds expression in the oracular responses, in Herodotus, and, at least very often—in the tragedians, the belief, namely, in a supreme law of the universe, the Moira, which rules over gods and men and from which none can escape, represents the ancient condition (i.e. from which the Homer), in which the world had begun to rise itself, just as it did in other religious matters, e.g. burning of corpses instead of burial, disappearance of gifts to the dead and of a real ancestor-worship, realms of the dead, Hades and Elysium, etc. (cf. above, I. 4). In this way it was possible for demons of fate to become immortal gods. An instance of this evolution is afforded by the Greek ἄρτα. The word, probably connected with ἄρτι, 'divide,' signifies the 'divider,' and as it is used by the oldest tragedians (e.g. Aeschylus), to indicate the fate of the part of some dead person, and by Hesiod (cf. Rohde, Psyche, i. 146) in the sense of glorified human souls, we see that ἄρτα is originally one of the many spiritual beings that determine the fate of individual human beings in homon and especially in mediam partem. These ideas prevail also in Homer, but in addition ἄρτα is a common name of the immortal gods, because, according to the belief which gradually came into favour, they were responsible for the decrees of fate. This fatalistic trait of the Aryan religions has in Europe been faithfully preserved by the Slavs (cf. Krass, op. cit. p. 89 sq. 'Gott und das Schicksal') Nor is this merely a matter of accident. Of all the Aryan, the Slavs are the race that remained nearest the original home, and are thus the last to enter into history. Nothing, however, frees the soul so certainly from the dull depression of fatalistic ideas as the great deeds of historical life.

2. The Divining of the future.
   — A primitive Aryan expression for this important idea is to be found in the terms of the sacrifice, 'interpretation of signs,' seidones, 'interpreters of signs,' Old Nor. sølt, 'a particular kind of magic for investigating the future,' Middle Welsh hwct, New Welsh hidd, 'prophecy,' Old Corn. hulod, gloss. magna = Gr. ἀρτός (Ionic for ἄρτος), 'fate' or 'fortune,' 'the complete auctor,' but all the uses mean by the Aryan peoples to divine the future cannot be given here; still, we shall prove that among the Lithuanians and Prussians, from whom we have so often started in this discussion, the majority of all kinds of divination practised among all the separate Aryan peoples is also to be found. The Baltic tribes, of whom Peter of Dusburg reported: 'Prutheni raro aliquod factum notable incohaent, nisi prius missa sortis sequens vitrum ipsorum a diis suis, natum bene vel malo, dilecti esse succedere, sciencientur' (Script. rer. Pruss. i. 54), come once more (cf. above, p. 31 f.) nearest to the Romans, of whom Cicero reports in almost identical terms: 'Nihil fere quoniam maioris rer. nisi suspicato ne primitivum quidem generis greacie expulerent, ...' (Letters, 38). The account of this topic we are indebted to the repeatedly mentioned work of Matthias Prœtorius, Delicia Prussianica, oder Preussische Schaubühne (ed. by W. Pierson, Berlin, 1871), in which the 'wadiers' (cf. p. 43, above) of the ancient Prussian expansion are treated. At the same time, admit, and upon which we shall base the following discussion.

(c) The flight and the cries of birds. — Lekbusted is the Lith. lek, 'bird;' and it is clear that this type of prophecy from the flight of birds and predicted future events from them, also called Aussepticia (Lith. paškiautiš, 'bird'), Eagles, ravens, hawks were also attributed to them as signs (especially in case of good fortune) (Prœtorius, p. 48). 'A lekbutas, or bird-diviner, when he is to prophesy, dresses in white, takes a golden ring, (i.e. the ring from which it goes to a puitskiss, i.e. a mound of earth, prays with his face to the east, and waits till a bird comes' (Prœtorius, p. 48). It is in accordance with the custom that the person who discovers the crows and the ravens, understands languages the words for 'bird' mean at the same time bird-omen and omen generally; cf. Skr. ādakāna (ādakāna the science of interpreting birds), as well as the Greek ἄσκησις, ἀσυπίστις from ἀσυπιστία, and probably also αὐτόρ (haut) (the interpretation of the word on the head) Observ. (in Latin: foavit, 'a press'; or, in Latin: foavit, 'from the water') are water-diviners, who divine from the bows, waves, etc. of these there are different classes (Prœtorius, p. 45). It is enough to refer to these classes. To our tracery, the cœlestia auguría, as well as the report of Ptolemy (Ptol. cœlestia auguría, c. 69), that in Teutonic a very important office was in the hand of the seers. Also divination of the birds in the temples of Midaic and ἀρχαία ἱέρα. 

(d) Sacrifices, haruspices, and blood. — With给别人 (Lith. sidurilai, 'entails') were soothsayers who could predict the future from the entrails of the animal sacrificed to the gods. At the present time, the judgment of the entrails, when the liver is examined, is still in use. By looking at the liver, of a pig, a man is able to say what kind of a winter it will be, what kind of a sheep (or, whether the early or the late seed will flourish. For augur (Lith. krainia, 'blood'), who could predict good or evil fortune from the blood of men and cattle, from the way it flowed, from its colour and changes, and who prophesied also from the menstrual blood of women, were the mediæ of the ancient Prussians. At the present date, in Ladonia we find įužlauti, who bet blood from the veins, suck it by means of a small horn, and tell from the taste whether the person will remain in good health or not. Before they were murdered, a Lithuanian would tell the future.

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This explanation seems more likely than the one previously given by the author in his Idiologia, p. 29 f.  

* Also by Joh. Laskinis (de Vitis Sanguinis, p. 51): 'nutriment eisiam quasi desso pecunias negr colouris ocelos et quadrupedes
ABLANDIAN YEBLY

(auspicia), and p. 269 on "Quinque": "signa quae augures obser-

vaverunt ex quadrupedibus.

(e) The ravishing of the oak.—Praecellentes arbore, ut robora, quercus,

silvum, inquit, solum, quod visibilia hominum, in adorantur

cementum, sed religiosi ut numinum deos celebrent" (Erasmus Stella,

d'ebbe "Borussiac Apologiae," ii. 23; de "Vincenzi," Novae Ordin.

austri, Basilei, 1827, p. 9; C. O. v. d. 327 f.: "

wher the svondau of the Tainix, v. v. h. S. 327 f.; "

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47).

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custom

Prussians

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Si
taan.

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(b"

(Swalgauti)

"Be

1
cannot explain the future in the case of

a'ngonemum se vidisse aliquant, quae cum se

calefaret, signa vel mortis vel vitae ostendas: victorum

ego in favoes ostensia igni, contra a dorsum ostentaverat

chalcinae."

(Cf. de Greek Garris

'
i"f

(or ignem): (K. F. Hermann, op. cit. p. 211).

Thus,

prometheus: boschis in Eschylus, Prom. 429: et

thenyadis in "Prometheus, prophet of Sol session."

and here we do

with deceptive utterances from the sacrificial fire, a

custom which, as we saw above (p. 41) was unknown to the

Prussians and Lithuanians.

(3) Dreams.—"Sapientia
to, etc. dreamers, from augusis(diphas),


(h) Prophetic utterances at marriages.—"Sapientones are bride-raders, "waiders, who attend at the bridal and prophetic. They also compose the sacred and the bridal (Kleid fili, "bride-inspection"). I.e. the betrothals. Sapiental signifi-

es means divination from the state of the bride, and 

(c) "from the pouring, as either the bridegroom or the bride pours 

beer into the other's eyes. Such customs are still to be found

(Priestorius, op. cit. l. 348). The betrothal, "Locutus est qui

nisi nisi capitatis faciebat auguries et praecipue

magna;" 45: "magna numina capitis decantant augurat..."

iv. 3: "magnas decantat augurias,"

the

But, with all these the number of the Prussian "vaiders" engaged in separate branches of divination is far from

found in a Roman carograph (xw{), i.e. a diviner who studied wax mounds; further, there were Sicin-

a diviner, who was also a head-mound diviner. (Quadrupedibus, "foam"), those who observed signs in the foam of the beer;" Sei-

tonimes, p. 54, who prophesied life or death from charred wood, and also to interpret traces among the horses.

(Cf. de Greek Ricea

(seitas, "sieve"), those who acquired information from the

burning of a sieve;" Stilboreo (stilas, "glasa"), Zerkatvoti (zakatvotis, "betrothals"), Stieblinutes (cold,"

which we predicted the future from glass, mirrors, plants, etc. It would not be difficult to find parallels to these kinds of divination among the other Aryans. On the other hand, there were several kinds of oracles attested among other peoples which have now been carefully deciphered and corrected. There were the tree-oracle, or oracle of the tree-oca (cf. Real-

lization, art. "Loci"); which is found among Scythians, Teutons, and Celts, and also among distinct traces among the Shaks and Romans; the significance of monsters as foretelling misfortune (cf. Realizations, art. "Orakel"); the horse-oracle, found among Indians of the West, and the German "V. Hehn, Basis," etc., and also the peculiarly Roman "signa ex tripulis." Still, the horse was also held in Italy as a source of information (De
dutoris: "salutem asplinum, quidam alios vel alterias coloris propter deos non audebat aliquis equester equitare"); and the dawn was regarded as involving the fate of the day. The harvest was announced to the people by the corn in the houses, and their chickens under certain circumstances were understood to foretell misfortune (Lascius, p. 48: "nato equorum generis vel coco vel dehli pulsul actuorum sedem mutandem").

The facts respecting divination here set forth can be regarded only as characterizing, and in no way be supposed to exhaust the corresponding number of customs of this class. And they will arouse deeper interest if we can only succeed in discovering the motives by which this proceeding, viz. divining the future, which seems so absurd to modern minds is therian (Kitching, der Inlandesquerter, Leipzig, 1894, p. 441 ff.) is, as so far as the present writer is aware, the only one who, although confining himself to the practice of taking the auspices among the Romans, has dealt with this fundamental and central question in detail. He has given the (undenably correct idea that the supposition quaedam serpentis) makes are considered as quadrupeds. This settles the doubt expressed by R. v. Theuring (Vorgeschichte der Information, p. 444 f.) with regard to the passage of Festus quoted above that auspices of this kind revealed the will of the heavenly gods is secondary and transmitted, and that every attempt to connect divination with the higher religions of the ancient world, as has been commonly done, is, accordingly, seeks to deduce the origin of oracular divination from purely practical grounds. Thus, according to his opinion, the oracle from birds (signa ex avibus) takes its rise from the observation of birds. He has shown, in passing, that a great part of the work of the Arians in their migrations the passes of the mountains, the courses of the streams, and the islands in the ocean which invited them to rest. The inspection of the entrails (signa ex extensis) is explained as a kind of examination which was made of animals of an unknown region. The entrails were healthy, and consequently whether the fodder of the land was satisfactory, etc. Thus we should obtain the remarkable result that this divination becomes the more sensible the further back we go in primitive times. No one will hesitate to conclude that the solution proposed by Theuring cannot be the correct one, no matter how difficult it may be to show it to be impossible in detail. No one, however, who considers with unskeptical mind the material presented, will fail to be impressed with the different complete and unambiguous. This does not rest on a basis of rational consideration, but has its roots in the childlike, dream-

encircled, and imaginative mental condition of primitive man. To the priestly dogma and rigor, say
d. (2) Most sentences have the key, or at least one key, to the understanding of oracular divination. For primitive man only the smallest part of his inner and outer life is eo thes. Everywhere wonders and signs terrify him. The phantoms of his dreams, and especially those of the horrible nightmare, which, in the rooms of primitive times, filled with nostrous charcoal fumes, must have been very frequent (cf. Hofler, Centralblatt fur Anthropologie, vi. 1), are realties to him. In the plants and animals, in the stones and stars, there live, as in men's own bodies, souls to which, as we saw above, fate is united. We can be surprised, then, that in the world of dreams, in the rustling of the trees, and in the flight of birds, the shadows of the future were supposed to hover mysteriously round the life of man! This anxious, timid, and nervous condition of primitive mental life called to its aid the art of priestly diviners, who—in other cases—were always devising new means of obtaining some mysterious message with regard to the future. These pseudo oracles rests in the dream and one fundamental thought, namely, on making the probability or improbability of a future event dependent on the incidence of another occurrence which was independent of human volition, such as the approach of a four-footed animal or a bird, a flash of lightning, or hearing the sound of animals or the human voice. All this had, originally, nothing to do with the heavenly gods, and it is only at the close of a long period of evolution that we find the Roman auspices announcing the will of Jupiter or Pythia, and prophecy in its name. All that remains of the ancient temple

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CONCLUSION.—It has been our aim—and nothing else was possible—to present, in this discussion regarding the religion of the Arians, not the opinions and the usages of a perfectly definite and distinct period of antiquity, but rather a series of developments in the history of religion taking place on the soil of primitive Aryan peoples. These developments depend upon the insight of the pre-historic period, and the inner life of the people, as brought out in the various traditions of the time. The author of the present work, by this method, has endeavored to bring out the evolution of the Roman religion itself, as it is reflected in the Roman literature. This is done by describing the various methods of divination, such as augury, dream interpretation, soothsaying, and divination by animals and plants, and then by showing how these methods were combined and developed in the Roman religion. The author has endeavored to do this in a way that is both scientific and interesting, and he has succeeded in doing so with great success. The result is a book that is both scholarly and popular, and it is sure to be read with interest by all who are interested in the history of religion.
Arya Samaj

The fruit of his profound grief on account of the death of his sister; and third, his flight from home at the age of fourteen, on the night of his initiation into the mysteries of the Kaula sect, in which he was initiated by guru Gangadhar, under the image of Siva and deluding it; second, his resolve to abandon the world and seek salvation.
ARV INDOR

In the ancient lore of the Hindus. He talked only Sanskrit, and our conversation was conducted through an interpreter (T. J. Scott, *Missionary Life among the Villages of India*).

After about two and a half years, Swámi Dayánand emerged from his "retreat" and plunged at once into public controversy and discussion. In the great centres of idolatry his usual theme was, "Can a man live without God?" Against this practice he thundered with all the force of his strong will, impressive personality, and unusual eloquence, and, according to his biographers, uniformly carried the day.

It was at Bombay, on the 10th of April 1875, that Swámi Dayánand founded the Arya Samaj. He visited Delhi in 1877 at the time of the grand Darbar, where he met certain gentlemen from the Punjab, who invited him to visit their province. This was his first visit to the Punjab, the scene of the future triumphs of his Society. From 1878 to 1881 there was the curious episode of a partnership between the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. Both parties were disappointed, for a split soon took place on the question of the personality of God. For the historians of religions it is a short cut. From this incident an Arya point of view, the various biographies of Swámi Dayánand; and for the point of view of the Theosophical Society, Col. Olcott's chapter on "Swámi Dayánand" in Old Diary Leaves.

Dinanda came is contact with many different leaders of spiritual thought in India, e.g. Dabendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen of the Brahmo Samaj, Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott of the Theosophical Society, Bhikhánu Sarbhai of the Prátrthma Samaj, Sri Saiyid Ahmad of Reformed Islam, and Dr. T. J. Scott and Rev. J. Gray representing Christianity. There is evidence that Swámi Dayánand made overtures to the leaders of both the Prátrthma Samaj (see Krish-narao Bhikhání, *Life of Bhikhání Sarbhai*, p. 7f.) and the Brahmo Samaj, with a view to organizing a single union, the martial body to be called "The Arya Samaj." But no union with any other organization was even temporarily effected except with the Theosophical Society.

In 1882-1883 the Swámi visited Rájpútnád, and while there became the friend and counselor of princes. According to his biographers, he acted the part of a modern John the Baptist in rebuking the Mahárajá of Jodhpur for being under the influence of a courtier. A few days later the Swámi fell ill. Some think that a slow poison had been given him because he had criticized the Maharaja, and some think that he was killed. He died at Ajmér on the 30th of October, 1883, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Swámi Dayánand was, from all accounts, a man of splendid physique, impressive personality, and great strength of will. T. J. Scott speaks of his "magnificent presence" and "impassioned zeal," and tells how "he would crush an ordinary opponent with a sledge-hammer style." The epithet mahá-márkh ('great fool') was often on his lips when debating with the defenders of idolatry. Olcott speaks of him as "tall, dignified in carriage, and gracious in manner," and gives a general estimate of him in these words: 'The Swámi was undoubtedly a great man, a learned Sanskrit Pandit, with immense pluck, force of will, and self-reliance—a leader of men' (Old Diary Leaves, p. 406).

2. Doctrine. — The official creed of the Arya Samaj is in the form of a Decalogue, and it reads as follows:—

I. God is the primary cause of all true knowledge, and of everything known by it.

ii. God is All-Truth, All-Knowledge, All-Beatitude, Incorruptible, Immutable, Merciful, Unconditioned, Infinite, Unchangeable, without a beginning, beginningless, without a support, and the Lord of All, All-pervading, Omniscient, Imperishable, Immortal, Exempt from fear, Eternal, Holy, and the Cause of the Universe. All knowledge is from God.

iii. The Vedas are the books of true knowledge, and it is the sacred duty of every true Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach to them.

iv. One should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.

v. All actions ought to be done comformably to virtue, i.e. after a thorough consideration of right or wrong.

vi. The practitioner of the Arya Samaj is good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual, and social condition humanity.

vii. All ought to be treated with love, justice, and due regard to their merits.

viii. Ignorance ought to be dispelled and knowledge diffused.

ix. No one ought to be contented with his own good alone, but every one ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others.

x. In matters which affect the general social well-being of the whole society, one ought to discard all differences and not allow one's individual worth to be given up, but in all personal matters every one may act with freedom (Handbook of the Arya Samaj, 1908).

It will be noticed that of the 'Ten Principles' given above, the first three, which deal with the existence and nature of God and with the doctrine of Vedic Scripture, are theologically the most important. The last seven are ethical principles. The Creed of the Arya Samaj, it will be observed, is a short cut. Combining principles i. and ii. of the Creed, namely, 'God is the primary cause of all true knowledge,' and 'The Vedas are the books of true knowledge,' we have the doctrine of the Divine Origin of the Vedas, which will now be considered.

In approaching this doctrine, let us first notice the problem of the regeneration of India, religious, political, and scientific, as it presented itself to the mind of the founder of the Arya Samaj. He found himself confronted by a variety of faiths both indigenous and foreign. Of religions of foreign origin there were Islam, introduced in the 10th cent., and Christianity, a comparatively recent importation from the West. The indigenous religion of India, namely, Hinduism, presented itself as a variety of faiths of India, ranging all the way from the strict *adwaita* doctrine of Saúkara-chárya to the crudest and grossest superstitions embodied in the Tantras, the whole being held together in a kind of external unity by the vast hierarchical organization of caste. Such was the religious and social condition of India (p. 21). There was also a political environment furnished by the vast and impressive administration of the British Government in India, and a scientific environment consisting of the spectacle on all sides of railways, canals, telegraph wires, steam-engines, etc. Thus, as Swámi Dayánand wandered up and down over India, he studied not only the past but also the present, not only the thought of India as embodied in *Veda* and *Upanisad*, *Sutra* and *Puraka*, but also the thought of Europe as embodied especially in the inventions of modern science, everywhere manifest in India.

The problem which confronted him was how to reform Indian religion, how to effect a synthesis of the old and the new, of the East and the West, in such a way as to guarantee the intellectual and spiritual supremacy of the Indian people, do full justice to the attainments of other nations, and provide a universalistic programme of religion. The solution of this problem was found by Swámi Dayánand in the doctrine of the *Veda* as the revealed Word of God.

There are many points of contact between Dayánand Sarasváti and Martin Luther. As Luther the German monk was a child of the European
Renaissance, so Dayānand the Gujārāti monk was a child of the Indian Renaissance. Both alike felt the tug of the new spirit. Whereas the earlier exponents of the new spirit, Luther attacked indulgences, while Dayānand attacked idolatry. Luther appealed from the Roman Church and the authority of tradition to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Similar arguments were put forward by the Brahmin church and the authority of smṛti to the earliest and most sacred of Indian Scriptures. The watchword of Luther was ‘Back to the Bible!’; the watchword of Dayānand was ‘Back to the Vedas.’ Dayānand’s theory of the Vedas may be outlined as follows:—The word Veda means ‘knowledge.’ It is God’s knowledge, and therefore pure and perfect. This transcendent and heavenly knowledge embraces the fundamental principles of all the sciences. These principles God revealed in two ways: (1) in the form of the four Vedas, which were taught to four Reśis, Agni, Vāyū, Sīrāj, and Aṅgīra, at the beginning of Creation over one hundred billion years ago; and (2) in the form of the world of nature, which was created according to this model. The Veda, somewhat as the Tabernacle is said to have been built according to the pattern shown in the mount (Ex 25:18). Mark the doctrine of correspondence involved. The book of Vedic Scripture agrees with the book of nature, so that the latter confirms the former. Dayānand says: ‘I regard the Vedas as self-evident truth, admitting of no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book, being represented in nature, the Kingdom of God’ (Vivadha Nitya, p. 25).

Note the ambiguity in the meaning assigned to the word Veda. It is (1) God’s knowledge, the content of the Divine Omniscience, which is one thing; and (2) it is the collection of Aryan literature known as the ‘Four Vedas,’ which is quite a different thing. One may believe in the Veda in the first sense, without accepting it in the second sense. The Vedas, then, being regarded as ‘the Scripture of true knowledge,’ the perfect counterpart of God’s knowledge so far as ‘basic principles’ are concerned, and the ‘pattern’ according to which Creation proceeded, it follows that the fundamental principle of Vedic exegesis will be the interpretation of the Vedas in such a way as to find in them the results of scientific investigation. As E. D. Mâlagian remarks: ‘The bases of the Arya faith, the Vedas, represent the Vedic interpretation of the Vedas, and the revelation of God in nature, and the first practical element in this belief is the interpretation of the Vedas in conformity with the proved results of natural science’ (Census of India, 1891, xix. 175). In other words, there is involved the assumption that the Vedas as ‘the books of true knowledge’ must contain ‘the basic principles of all the sciences,’ and accordingly that every scientific discovery and invention of modern times must be found expressed, generically at least, in the Vedas. The science of the West, then, is but the ‘Zeitgeist’ both in their different prismatic anticipated by the seers of the East, over one hundred billion years ago. To the ancient East belonged the faculty of seeing; to the modern West belongs the faculty of doing. The programme comes from the East; the realization from the West. In this way Swāmī Dayānand sought to render to the East the things which belong to the East, and to the West the things which belong to the West. Thus the West, in realizing the principles laid down in the Vedas, is endeavoring to follow the Vedic religion.

The principle that all the sciences have their revealed source in the Vedas is enlarged by the further principle that all religions have their original and inspired source in the same early period of the human race. It results that there is no such thing as ‘primitive revelation given once for all to mankind, and so ‘the fountain-head of religion,’ reminds one of the similar doctrine of ‘primitive revelation’ held by some Christians. Diversities in religion are explained as due to the influence of different environments, or external circumstances, upon the intuitive Biblical revelation, in the other theory, upon the primitive Vedic revelation.

The Arya doctrine of Vedic Scripture may now be summed up: (1) The Vedas are a revelation from God, as is proved by their correspondence with nature. (2) They are the sole revelation from God, since no other books show this correspondence. (3) They are accordingly the fountain-head of the science and the religion of all mankind. Such is the doctrinal basis of the two great duties of the Arya Samāj, namely, (a) to recall India to the forsaken Vedic paths, and (b) to preach the Vedic gospel throughout the whole world.

It is evident from all this that Pandit Dayānand Sarasvāti was a man of large views. He was a dreamer of splendid kind. He had a vision of India purged of her superstitions, filled with the fruits of science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, and honoured as the primeval source of the world’s science and religion.

All will admit that the vision of a regenerated India, which Pandit Dayānand Sarasvāti propounded in the Arya Samāj is a splendid and inspiring one. But what about the means to be employed for the realization of this vision? As above stated, it is a return to the Vedas, but, be it noted, to the Vedas as interpreted, not by the theoretical exegesis of pure Indian orthodoxy or by the critical scholarship of the West, but by the scholarship of the Arya Samāj alone. The Scripture basis of the Arya Samāj then, while formally the Vedas, is in reality a certain interpretation of the Vedas, which is not recognized as legitimate by a single Sanskrit scholar, either Indian or European, outside of the Arya Samāj. This interpretation must be characterized as highly subjective and fanciful, different meanings being applied to the same word according to the caprice of the interpreter. One can readily imagine how much was involved in the attempt to find in the Vedas the programme of modern scientific inventions. Thus Swāmī Dayānand’s interpretation of the Vedas is marked by (1) great emphasis on the etymology and neglect of meaning, (2) the interpretation of irregularity in the Vedic moods, tenses, persons, and cases. For the proof of these statements it is sufficient to consult Swāmī Dayānanda’s Commentary on the Rig Veda. The pamphlets on Pandit Dayānand’s interpretation of the Vedas, written by T. Williams of Rowari (1833-1894), and a pamphlet entitled The Dayānanda Interpretation of the word Deva in the Rig Veda (1897) may also be consulted. In this connexion the opinion of Max Müller is worth quoting: ‘By the most incredible interpretations Swāmī Dayānand succeeded in proving that whatever was new, everything worth knowing, even the most recent inventions of modern Science, were alluded to in the Vedas. Steam-engines, railways, and steamboats, all were shown to have been known, at least in their germs, to the poets of the Vedas; for Veda, he argued, means knowledge, and how could anything have been hid from that?’ (Max Müller, Biographical Essays, ii. 170). In a word, the Vedic interpretation of Swāmī Dayānand is interpretation in the interests of a theory—the theory, namely, that the Vedas teach a pure and exalted monotheism, and contain ‘the basic principles of all the sciences.’ It is as if one should attempt to
find a pure monothelism and a complete programme of scientific inventions in Homer's Iliad or Virgil's Aeneid, this doctrine has no place. Enough has been said to show that the doctrines of the Arya Samaj are based not on the Vedas themselves, but upon an unscientific and unscientific interpretation thereof.

In this land, it is only fair to say that Swámi Dayánanda has shown a sound instinct in rejecting the manifold absurdities found in smruti, or tradition, and in seeking a basis in the early literature for a purer and more rational faith. That in his ignorance of historical and critical methods he set up a method of interpreting the Vedas which must constantly remain the target of the critical spirit, may in charity be regarded as his misfortune rather than his fault. Nor is this all that can be said. For, as in the case of those who are not able to understand Sri Krsna as an incarnation of deity, it is better that they should, by peculiar tricks of interpretation, read into the text a fairly consistent theism, than on the basis of a rigidly scientific interpretation find therein only a vague Henotheism or Pantheism. So much for the Arya doctrine of the Vedas, which from its importance has been treated at length. The other doctrines of the Arya Samaj may be dismissed with a word.

The theology of the Arya Samaj is the religious philosophy of the Sákhya-Yoga. The fundamental principle of the Sákhya is the dualism of prakṛti and puruṣa, 'matter' and 'soul.' The Yoga, or theistic Sákhya, takes one of the innumerable souls recognized by the non-theistic Sákhya and makes it the Supreme Soul. The religious system of the Arya Samaj, which from its importance has been treated at length. The other doctrines of the Arya Samaj may be dismissed with a word.

As regards the soteriology of the Arya Samaj, the great means of salvation is the effort of the individual, and for this a sufficient sphere is allowed through the doctrine of Transmigration, or repeated births. Salvation is conceived as virtually an eternal process. There is no remission of sins. Karma is inexorable. As regards the freedom of the will, the Arya Samaj holds that 'we are not free to will an act, if we were subject to some one else. In order to be free, we must be believed to be eternally acting as we thought best, or as our previous karmas determined the course for us, receiving, according to God's eternal laws, the fruits of our good or bad deeds, and shaping in accordance with the laws of the universe how we are to meet it in our future destiny' (Arya Patrīka, Dec. 14, 1901).

It is evident from all this that the God of the Arya Samaj is conceived as a great Cosmic Executive, whose business it is to preside over the inexorable processes of the universe, and he is regarded as it were, a constitutional monarch, whose reign is limited and defined by the eternal existence of two other 'estates,' namely, soul and matter. Thus 'absolutism is denied even to God.'

In the Arya Samaj, as I understand, there is an attempt to settle the age-long conflict between science and religion. The doctrine of correspondence between the book of Vedic Revelation and the book of Nature is used for this purpose. Miracle is rejected. Ethically, there is one doctrine of the Arya Samaj which is most objectionable. This is the doctrine of Niyoga, which may be described as a virtual recognition of the principle of free love, sanctified by a temporary arrangement. Thus, in the English translation of the Sákhya Prakṛti (ch. iv. p. 159), we read: 'A man may also contract Niyoga with eleven women (one after the other), just as a woman may enter into the relation of Niyoga with eleven men (one after the other). Swámi Dayánanda's doctrine of Niyoga has been correctly summarized as follows by Lélā Rúči Ráñ in the Niyoga Doctrine of the Arya Samaj (p. 34):

The Arya Samaj allows even married men and married women to enter into the Niyoga, or mating with eleven widows and widowers. The Niyoga is solemnized publicly even as marriage is. It is defended by the Arya Prákṛti (p. 174), and thus differs from prostitution. It is evident from all this that Swámi Dayánanda, like Plato, held strange views as to the proper relations between the sexes. In this respect both alike seem to have been theorists. The members of the Arya Samaj have not been slow in practising Niyoga in the manner prescribed. Says the editor of the Arya Prákṛti (Sept. 27, 1902): 'We have to confess with regret that even the Aryas have not been able to set a single example of the higher kind of Niyoga."

Before leaving the doctrines of the Arya Samaj, it is proper to sum up the things also which are commendable in the doctrines and practices of this Society. Briefly stated, they are: (1) negatively, the rejection of pantheism and of some of the doctrines included therein, such as illusion and absorption, the casting over of the Panrání superstitions together with idolatry, and a more or less vigorous fight against certain hurtful social customs such as caste, child-marriage, and incontinence; and (2) positively, the promotion of a fairly conceived and well-defined identity of the soul, belief in prayer and in the need of the social worship of God, and a certain enthusiasm for education and for social and political reform.
applied to the members of the three 'twice-born' castes. As such it was fitted to make patriotic sentiments cultivated in the political mouth of a religious name. In this respect it differs from the names of the other theistic and reforming movements of modern India, as, e.g., the Brahmo Samaj, or 'Society of Brahmans (God)', and the Prarthana Samaj or Society of Prayer.

Some account will now be given of the history, organization, government, worship, methods of work, statistics, and future prospects of the Arya Samaj.

(1) History.—The chief event of the period succeeding the death of Swámi Dayanánd (1833) to the present time is the division of the Arya Samaj into two sections. The two sections are called respectively the 'meat-eating' party and the 'vegetarian' party; and from the point of view of the second, the 'College' party and the 'Gurukula' party. The latter was founded in the name of the Mahatma, or the Mahatma party is conservative. The educational work of each section is carried on in harmony with its special theory. The 'Cultured' party has a College at Lahore, the Dayánaídž Anglo-Vedic College, which it admires as the highest possible, and with a considerable degree of efficiency. The Mahatma party, on the other hand, has an institution at Hardwar known as the Gurukula, in which ancient ideals of education receive the emphasis.

Organization and government.—The organization of the Arya Samaj provides for the local Samaj or congregation, the provincial assembly, and a general assembly for all India. The conditions of membership in a local Samaj are (a) implicit faith in the Arya 'Decalogue', or Ten Principles, and (b) belief in the use of Vedic interpretation laid down by Swámi Dayanánd. The minimum age for membership is eighteen. There is no special ceremony of initiation for members of the 'twice-born' castes, but outsiders, such as Christians and Muslims, are inducted into the Samaj by the approbation of the purified. The members of a local Samaj are of two kinds, proselytes, or non-voting, and approved, or voting, members. The period of probation is one year. Sympathizers are also mentioned as a separate class. The officers of a local Samaj consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, elected by the voting members. The officers, it will be observed, are those of an ordinary secular association. The provincial assembly is a representative body composed of delegates appointed by the local congregations. Each affiliated Samaj is represented by one delegate for every twenty members. Thus, the form of government of the Arya Samaj is clearly representative.

(2) Worship.—The weekly religious service of the Arya Samaj is held on Sunday morning, since the Government offices are closed on that day. It is a long service, lasting three or four hours. Directly in front of the speaker's platform in the place of worship is the Vedic Fire Altar, which occupies the central position. The Arrangement Table in many Christian churches. Religious worship begins with the burning of incense (the home, 'sacrifice'), accompanied by the chanting of Vedic verses. This is followed by prayers, the exposition of the writings of Swámi Dayanánd, hymns, sermons, and the recitation of the Creed. With the exception of the use of incense, the constituents of worship are those of an ordinary Protestant service. The service is Puritan in its simplicity. There is no public prayer, and the service is conducted by the priest or priest who is qualified take their turn in conducting public worship. The prayers are mostly extemporaneous, and the sermon is long. For a very graphic account of the devotional services of the Arya Samaj, see J. C. Oman, CULTS, CUSTOMS, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF INDIA, pp. 152-166.

(3) Methods of Work.—In its methods of work the Arya Samaj follows in general the methods current among the various Missionary Societies working in India. It uses preaching, education, great distribution, newspapers, etc. There are two types of organizations, the local and the party. The local Samaj is an organization of the Arya Samaj which is the minimum number of members, the paid are itinerant. The first class consists of men in regular employment as clerks, teachers, physicians, and other business men, mostly English-educated, and many of them College-bred. The paid preachers, on the other hand, give all their time to the work of preaching, and are, as a rule, educated only in the vernacular. The 'Cultured' party, it is interesting to observe, emphasizes education, while the Mahatma party emphasizes preaching. Each section of the Arya Samaj maintains a number of high-schools in its own enclaves, and also some newspapers and reviews. The Arya Samaj has by this time a membership of considerably over 100,000. The largest number of members is found in the Punjab and the United Provinces, nearly 96 per cent., according to the census of 1901. There are a few branches in Burma and in British East Africa, the fruit of work among Indians who have emigrated to those regions. Lahore is the religious centre and capital of the Arya Samaj, although Ayodhya, the birthplace of Swámi Dayanánd and the seat of the Vedic press, is a close rival.

As regards the future of the Arya Samaj, it is difficult to predict the prophet. It is undoubtedly one of the most popular religious movements in North India to-day. In the matter of female education, temperance, and other reforms, it is in the line of progress. It also ministers to the patriotic spirit through its claim that the Vedas are the original source of all the religion and science of the world. It contains many earnest and good men who sincerely desire the welfare of their country. By its emphasis on education and social reform it is playing no minor part in the regeneration of India. It keeps in close touch with orthodox Hinduism through the fact that comparatively few members of the sect have broken caste. Will it ultimately be absorbed into the aghors of Hinduism, as some think probable, or will it advance to a still more rational and enlightened position?

YUAN CHWANG (Hinen Tsang) (7th cent.), Tsiang (do.), and Taranatha (16th cent.). From these we can gather the following data. He was born of the Kausika family in Purasapura in the north of India. He was the eldest of three brothers, of whom the youngest, known as Vasubandhu (q.v.), was intimately associated with him in religious and literary activities. The school in which Asanga was ordained as a monk was the Mahayana and was an influential school of the ancient Buddhist; but he was afterwards (we do not know how or when) converted to a more idealistic phase of Buddhist philosophy, which is now known as Asanga’s idealism. Still we see that his idealism is much influenced by his former faith.

According to Yuan Chwang, Ayodhya (the modern Oudh) was the chief scene of his activity. Here it was that he taught publicly and wrote books, etc.; and here probably in Ayodhya, on the bank of the Sarasvati, he converted his brother Vasubandhu to the idealistic Mahayana, though, according to Paramarth, this took place in Purasapura, their native town. In any case it is clear that both Asanga and his brother were closely connected with the court of Ayodhya, and that they were contemporaries of King Palladiya and his father Vikramaditya. If we identify this Vikramaditya with Chandragupta II. of the Gupta dynasty, his date can be fixed in the first half of the 5th cent. A.D.; if with Skandagupta, in the second half of the same century. The latter is the more likely source. Yuan Chwang tells us that his master Silabhadra, was 107 years old when he saw him in 633 A.D. Silabhadra’s master, Dharmapala, was a great systematizer of Asanga’s teaching, but he was not his immediate disciple. Thus we have sufficient grounds for fixing Asanga’s date in the 5th cent. of our era.

Many writings (śāstras) ascribed to Asanga are enumerated by Yuan Chwang. They are all handed down to us in Chinese translations. Although not one of the originals has been dis-covered, and there can, therefore, be no question of any strict criticism, nevertheless the authenti-city of their tradition is assured by the fact that most of them were brought to China by Yuan Chwang himself, who was the greatest apostle of Asanga’s philosophy in the East. The most important are the following:

1. Yogacharya-bhūmi (Sanjo, No. 1170). This contains descriptions of the practice of Yoga, and of the stages one successively attains through it. The text is ascribed to the tradition of Maitreya, and though the Buddhist enlightenment consists, according to Asanga, in release from attachment to the objective world, his philosophy postulates the reality of each man’s personality and also of the external world. In this respect his system is very near to that of Śāṅkhyayāna.

Asanga terms mind the alāya, i.e. abode or nidus where all things, both subjective and objective, are latent, and whence they are projected and manifested. This nīrūda produces from and by itself intelligible phenomena (nīrmanakāya) with the three marks (sāyadhyātya, uddesātya, sāyadhyātya) which views (vādānta) in succession. It is, therefore, called the eighth (astānya), just like the Śāṅkhyayāna pūrṇa. Each of the sense-organs projects or manifests its own objects, both line and gross, by virtue of the seed (śūrya) stored up in the alāya; and the world thus manifested or objectified reacts upon the eighth (the alāya) through the seven subordinate mind-organs, by ‘perceiving’ them. The nīrūda, or source of the world, the alāya, acts, in this way, as the physical tabula rasa of the objective world, i.e. of the tādāhāna. Illusion in human life thus consists in regarding the objectification of one’s own mind as a world independent of that mind which is really its source. To get rid of this fundamental illusion, we must study the true nature of our own mental operations. Right knowledge of its true nature, the dharmalakṣaṇa, leads us to the full development of the ‘seeds of enlightenment,’ and, as a conse-quence, to the absorption of the whole world into one’s own self. Following, therefore, on right knowledge, this absorption, first of thought and then of objective phenomena into the inner self, i.e. the yoga-āchāra, is the necessary step to the attainment of Buddhahood (see Bodhisattva).

Asanga teaches seventeen grades (bhūmi) of this attainment, and also the three personalities or bodies (trikṛtyā, see Adibuddha, i. 97), and JRAJ, 1906, p. 943 ff.) of the Buddha (see Tīrīyāds [Br.]); but neither of these doctrines was originated by him. The characteristic feature of his system is the elaborate and scholastic systematization of a theory of mind and of a system of mental categories which account the Buddhist sect founded upon his system is called the Dharmalakṣaṇa, i.e. the wisdom which shows us the true nature of all phenomena. It is, therefore, a philosophy rather than a religion; and religious undertones as we find in it are but loosely connected with the system.

In Asanga’s Buddhism, faith in Gautama Buddha had declined, being gradually superseded by the worship of Maitreya, the future Buddha. This worship maintained its ground for a long time in India and the East, but it was at last overwhelmed by another sect of popular Buddhism, the worship of Amitābha (q.v.), lord of the Sukhavati in the West. In this way Asanga’s Buddhism lost its hold on India and China, and is now preserved simply as a branch of learning among the Japanese Buddhists.


M. ANESAKI.

ASCENSION.—See Assumption and ASCENSION.
ACSE'TICISM.

Introduction (T. C. Hall), p. 63.
Celtic (E. Anwyl), p. 71.
Christian (O. Zöckler), p. 73.
Egyptian (W. Capelle), p. 80.
Hindu (A. S. Gedan), p. 87.

1. INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION AND DEFINITION.—'Asceticism' is derived from the Gr. word ἀσέτις—'training.' The 'athlete' was one trained, and one might be an 'athlete' in virtue (παρά ἀθλητή ἀθλητήν), Diet. Eucr. 559. So very early the ascetic became the spiritual athlete of Church History. He has often been pointed out and variously explained (Neumann, Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie, pp. 50; Kraft-Ebing, Psychopathia Sexualis, pp. 9-11); and in diseased conditions insane impulses to inflict pain and to suffer pain mark the mind controlled either by religious or by sexual excitations. It is not now difficult for the modern psychiatrist to recognize in the standard saints, stories of the Middle Ages many impulses familiar to him from his experience in the Insane Hospital, but which were, of course, at that time regarded only as evidence of pious and disciplined self-mortification, and self-denial as a means of training (Psychology, Vol. ii. p. 392; cf. also pp. 579-592). One of the latter conceptions dis-trusts the body altogether. Asceticism has then as its function not the training but the destroying of the body or the negation of its importance.

1. Pathological elements in asceticism.—From the beginning, we have been in mind that in the history of asceticism we are often dealing with phenomena distinctly pathological. The fact that this has only recently been fully recognized makes a critical investigation of all the phenomena exceedingly desirable. Whether we deal with the 'flagellants' or with instances of perversion vice sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religious impulse, which are instinct almost with perversio vitae sexualis, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-alienation that goes by the name of asceticism.

2. Survival forms in seeming asceticism.—We must not also deal with survivals forms which are falsely called as ascetic. Customs are classed as ascetic even by so critical an historian as Zöckler (Aszetic und Mönchentum, 2, 1897) which may more correctly be connected with the survival of older moralities. Thus the Essenes saw the hope of Israel in desert life and in return to a semi-nomad communism. How far this was ascetic, however, it is impossible to say. To be ascetic this type of communism must be shown to be connected either (a) with a disciplinary process for the attainment of righteousness, or (b) with a complete negation of the body by its mortification. Even granting that the Essenes were ascetics (cf., however, art. 'Essenes' in Hastings' DB, in which this is not emphasized), all their peculiarities are not to be connected with their asceticism. Professional men in our age wear black coats, not from motives of asceticism, but as survivals of past fashions. The robes of the monks, the communism of various sects, the treating of vegetable diet as superior to meat diet, may all be connected with ascetic modes, but they may also be mere survivals of past customs, or a reocurrence of old ideals. In new social and economic situations past moralities see much to blame, and can find hope only in reverting to the outward simpler life of the past and its forms. Such reversion is, however, only in a sentiment, and not in the ascetic. It is, nevertheless, true that the ascetic finds a ready discipline in such reversions; and cave-dwellings, communism, vegetarianism, primitive dress, etc., all play their part in the history of asceticism, but they must be always examined carefully when they occur, for they may be appointed of otherwise the same motive proper can be shown, simply as survivals.

LITERATURE.—Ritschl, Entstehung d. altkatholischen Kirche, Bonn, 1857, pp. 179-203, for discussion of Essenes as ascetics; see also Natüruforscherenarmung, vil. 154, Hamburg, 1893; Boussert, Beim. des Judentums, Berlin, 1906, pp. 494-499; Laclun, Der Essnizes sagen Verhältnisse Zum Judentum, Strassburg, 1881; Schiffer, HJIP p. 188 f.; art. 'Essenes' in Hastings' DB by Conybørse, in DOV by C. Scott, in EBD by Jülicher, in FER by Duhem; JQR vii. 153, vil. 155.

3. Symbolic forms mistaken for asceticism.—Some customs are not ascetic, but are symbolic forms. Primarily asceticism consists in the conviction that sin is the mandate of some higher, or supposed higher, ideal set by the will before the life. Such contradiction involves pain and discomfort for the person, that the body may be disciplined into subjection or removed as a hindrance to the soul's development. Soon, however, such contradictions are symbolized, and the symbols become conventional, the original significance being sometimes lost. Thus the tonsure, shaving the head, peculiar clothing, taking the last place in the procession, etc., may become mere symbols of what was once the expression of an attempt at self-mortification. Here again the student must be careful to mark customs that have become binding through usage or enactment, and that may seem ascetic, as the wearing of phylacteries, or broadened borders to garments (M. 239), but which in truth may have an entirely different motive, this motive being either sanitary or aesthetic, or based on racial distinction, or misinterpreted phrases from religious authority, or the like. Sometimes a symbol with such past signifi-cance becomes a sign of self-mortification. The wearing of sandals had no ascetic significance as it arose in a hot country, but, transferred to the north of Europe, it became a familiar symbol of self-denial among the monastic orders.
4. Disciplinary asceticism.—Every system of morals enforces the discipline of the will, and all systems of developed casuistry suggest methods of such discipline (cf. Paulsen, System d. Ethik, vol. ii. pp. 10–29; ed. 1900; and the 'Spiritual Exercises' of Ignatius). This dictum might be included, therefore, all exercises taken as training of the moral life, and carried through not for the sake of the exercise but for the effect produced upon the person using it. Thus also spiritual exercises may have a mingled motive, on the one hand only abstinence from certain forms of amusement, or it may be the life of Trappist silence, but what determines the conduct is not loving expediency within the realms of a Christian freedom (Gal 5 1), using the world but not abusing it (cf. Augustine, de vera Religione, §§ 21 and 36), but world-flight, as from that which is inherently antagonistic to spiritual perfection (cf. A. Ritschl, Die christliche Vollkommenheit, 1902). This dualistic asceticism always results in establishing a double standard of holiness. The exigencies of social life may require, not only a few ascetics to realize world-flight to any extent; for the average man some symbolic or sacramental substitute must be found. Hence the whole doctrine of merit grows up with dualistic asceticism, as thus enabling a chosen few to flee from the world and impact a blessing upon itself or upon its less gifted followers. In the history of asceticism, upon which we now enter, we shall find many elements mingling, and it is often impossible and always difficult exactly to determine with which special conception we have to do.

Liturature.—Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, i. 276–277; Ritschl, Geschichte der Pietismus, 1839, l. 1–60, and Die christliche Vollkommenheit, 1902.

II. HISTORY OF ASCETICISM.—1. Ancient ascetic customs.—Almost all primitive life is marked by a certain trilingualism, in which devotional or religious manhood must submit. The customs sometimes assume a time of preparation, and priestly or religious direction was only a natural development (cf. Tylor, ii. 302–442; Watzl, Anthropologie der Naturvölker, 1871). So also marriage has its rites, some of which have remained, only a few as memories of past culture, while all of them may become in course of time ascetic, in the sense that they are regarded as a necessary training for the communal life. Thus circumcision became a religious rite for the next generation. We may, as ascetic (cf. Wellhanssen, Prolegomena zur Gesch. Isr. 1883, p. 360). But in a strict sense, as a discipline for the spiritual life, it cannot be classed as ascetic. And the classes of customs gathered by Zöckler (Asklep und Mönchentum, 1897, pp. 78–97) are almost without exception symbolic substitutes for outgrown customs, or they have social and legal significance apart from any true ascetic motive. Training for war and preparation for life's simpler duties produced customs which later became the exercises of asceticism in a more general sense. It may be said that any developed asceticism belongs only to a high and elaborate economic stage. Asceticism proper belongs to an age of reflection. Men in the process of moralization, looking out on life, revert to simple habits in the hope of restoring a morality that seems to them endangered. Thus the forms of asceticism have their history in customs that were in no sense ascetic. We have here to do with that variation of purpose of which Wundt rightly makes so much (Ethik, pp. 97–103, ed. 1886). A famine was viewed by primitive man as a national symbol of the demons. To ward it off, self-inflicted periods of hunger, i.e. fasting, were the natural remedy. The punishment was thus anticipated and the demons were conciliated. There was no ascetic
motive until spiritual man sought in this form of religious custom a means for self-discipline. To the semi-nomad Amos the luxury of a commercial capital was immoral, and his hope was a return to the nomad, the pastoral, and the home. The artificial music, ivory beds, etc. (Am 6:4), were hateful to him because connected with the luxury of a commercial development whose moral strains his people were standing but badly. The motive in his denunciation was, therefore, not aesthetic, but dualistic and primitive. A tribe sees itself threatened with extinction, and to appease the wrath of gods or demons offers one of its members in human sacrifice (Iphigenia, Curtius, etc.). Later a *sacrificium* was found in animal sacrifice, or the devotion of things which was even precious to the deity itself (the Judaean-Prophetic story of Abraham, Gn 22:9). So at last the painful parting with possessions becomes by a process of reflection a means of spiritual discipline in vows of poverty. At the same time the ascetic motive must be sought for in a primitive development. Hence the student must watch with care the unritual collections of evidence for asceticism in primitive history. It is, to say the least, doubtful if, outside of the highest civilization, asceticism in the strict sense of either discipline or renunciation of the worldly passions can be shown anywhere (cf., however, Zöckler, op. cit.).


2. Persian and Indian asceticism. —Geographical and racial factors in the development and later exposition of the population of Persia, India, and Egypt to a long succession of oppressive tyrannies by physically superior, but often mentally and spiritually inferior, races (Mongol, Muhammadan, English). The Orient has brought the human form typical for religions of despondency or even despair (cf. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, ii, 704-705). Although in the Avesta fasting and mortification are forbidden (Spiegel, *Avesta*, ii, ivii.; cf. especially *Vendidad*, iv, 47-49), and a great many of the alleged original songs for a primitive asceticism in Persia will not stand a critical investigation, yet Mani and the very prohibitions of ascetica are evidences that in Persia as well as in India and Egypt spiritual suffering gave rise to a sort of Christian Orthodoxy, with decisive movements of asceticism as characteristic features. The forms of this asceticism are those of world-flight, the hermit life, the mortification of the body by unnatural inhibitions of all its desires. The most imperative of these was the sexual impulse, and hence, as it was also linked with the continuance of a hated existence, the mortification of this impulse became primary. As Indian religion became fully self-conscious in Buddhism and Jainism, it deliberately opposed the ascetic to the legal, and the life of contemplation to rituals and sacrifice, and democracy to caste-aristocracy (cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i, part* «Buddhism»). The asceticism of Brahmanism aimed at absorption into God. It was a training for spiritual vision. The asceticism of Brahmanism, as awakened to full self-consciousness in the Buddhist reformation, was a negation of all life, the denial of the will to live (cf. Max Müller, op. cit., part «Nirvāṇa»). This is the logical outcome of dualistic asceticisms, the perfection of world-flight. Even the monastic system is a compromise; and although it sprang up in the persecutions, the monastic life as a matter of fact, the hermit and the faqir are the real types (cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1878). The relatively mild asceticism of Buddhism depends due rather to the good sense of Gautama Buddha than to the logic of his teaching, and the result has been that ever increasing sects have pushed the logic of asceticism to its limits.

**Literature.**—Besides works quoted, cf. Kuennel, *Hillen Lesarten*, National and Universal Religions*, London, 1882; Monier Williams, *Dictionary of Hinduism*, London, 1889; *Silberaegel, Der Bud- dhismus nach A. F. Klug*, Munich, 1891; *Oldenberg, Buddha, Eng. tr., 1882*, p. 61; T. B. S. Ratter, *The Higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity*, 1900, p. 255. See also the articles, "Hinduism and Asceticism," by Max Müller in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 7, pp. 70, 420 ff.; L. Roth, *Geschichtsweis Kunst, indischen Philosophie*, 2 vols.; or was an introduction from without. It rapidly developed from the teachings of Plato (cf. *Philebus, 41*; *Phaedo, 66-67, 82-83; Apology, 40*), whose dialogues contain all the germ of the future Neo-Platonic development (consult treatment by Zeller, Weber, and Ueber- weg-Heinso in their *Histories of Philosophy*). The cosmological speculations had their real religious interest in the assertion of the increasing badness of the physical world, the spiritual reality. Nor is it essential whether this arose on the soil of Greece independently of the Orient (so Zeopen on the view of pure specul-ative activity). In Neo-Platonism the Oriental mysticism was united definitely with Greek metaphysics (cf. Ueberweg, i, § 64, pp. 312-369). The Hellenistic-Judaic and the Neo-Pythagorean schools found their final expression along ascetic mystical lines in Plotinus and Porphyry. God and the world were definitely separated. God as pure being was abstracted from all phenomenal manifestation. Salvation was in the beatific vision. Asceticism was the way of freedom from the earthly. God and the world became mediators, and revelation was in philosophy and ecstasy. Thus the waning faith of a homeless Greek culture found refuge, just where India found it, in ascetic despondency and theosophic speculation.


4. Asceticism and Judaism. —(a) Canonical Juda-ism. —All early religions resort to various forms of self-induced privation or suffering to appease the assumed wrath of gods or demons. Famine is anticipated by fasting (cf. above), and wounding the body becomes a *sacrificium* for the punishment of the offended powers would otherwise inflict with more terror. The fatal realm of the holy books, however, not strictly speaking ascetic. The spiritual life is not being trained, nor is the body being destroyed as a thing evil in itself. Disting- guishing, as we must in the interests of clear thinking, asceticism proper from such survivals of ancient thought, Judaism is seen to be a distinctly
non-ascetic religion. The fasts and the days of humiliation (‘afflict your souls’), as in Lv 25:32-33, are no more ascetic in the strict sense than a day of prayer in a Protestant community. Some of the directions about the relations of sex may seem at first sight to be ascetic, as in Lev 15:17 etc., but a close examination shows that they are not really ascetic, but had to do with the conception of a physical uncleanness (perhaps sanitary in origin) before Jahweh. This magical conception of impurity led to washings, lustrations, certain sexual inhibitions, but we find no trace of ascetics or ascetic practice proper in the gradual evolution of the Jewish ritual. The dualistic asceticism of the Orient seems to leave no trace upon the canonical books. The fundamental conception of God, indeed, excludes it. Nor does it obtrude itself even as a foreign element, as it does in Muhammadanism.

In spite of national disaster, the eschatological hopes of the Jews (cf. Boussfeld, Die Religion des Judenstaates, 2 Bde., Berlin, 1906, pp. 245-346) continually counter-balanced any beginnings of despair, such as we may notice in Job, Ecclesiastes, and Malachi. For the spiritual discipline the Jew turned to the study of the Torah (Ps 119), or submitted with great ease to the burden of a legal system. In all ages, however, the mystic world-view that lends itself to asceticism is sooner or later at war with any development of legalism, and the works inevitably against the mystic-ascetic type of religious thought. The evidences cited by Zöckler for an undeveloped asceticism (Askese und Monchentum, 2 Bde., pp. 115-120) will not bear critical examination. The Nazirite vow is not a real mark of strict asceticism (cf. art. ‘Nazirite’ in Hastings’ DB). They were vows of special consecration to Jahweh for a longer or shorter period, and represent survivals of primitive Semitic religious customs; but spiritual or ethical training was wholly lacking (cf. the story of Samson), and they had no marks of any desire to destroy the body. The abstinence from wine is a survival of nomad morality protesting against the agricultural stage (Herrmann Schultz, Alttest. Theologie, 3, 1896, § 111). The priestly regulation of the Nazirite vow has so destroyed its primitive and contemplative character, that completely re-construct it in the light of the stories of Samson and Samuel and the allusions to the Rechabites (cf. art. ‘Rechabites’ in Hastings’ DB). Jahweh as the storm-god of the desert had those who, by his grace, renounced the material stage were His earnest champions and the maintainers of more primitive types of conduct. Thus the forms were given in which asceticism might begin to develop, as perhaps in John the Baptist, although even here again we deal with other spiritual phenomena (cf. next col.) and only when the influence of the Orient and Greece can be historically traced in Judaism do we find undoubted evidences of the ascetic ideal. The story of Jephthah’s daughter has no real bearing on the question (cf. the story of Samuel and the Rechabites, Comm. of Budde and Moore, ICC). The fasts, feasts, and ceremonial regulations of Jewish religion proceeded upon a supposition which excludes Oriental asceticism, for the nation is holy to Jahweh, and the body can and must be kept ceremonially holy. This is binding on all; but priests and Nazirites, who come into closest contact with Jahweh, must be especially holy, i.e. ritually clean. The religions of the Oriental centre in the negation of the body; Judaism insists upon its physical and ceremonial cleanness as an element of the deepest cultus and is the thought of the relation of the physical to the spiritual. So that we may put even more strongly than Zöckler his closing words: ‘Only the closing period of the pre-Christian Jewish history gives us real historical parallels and anticipations of nonasceticism,’ and add that only in this period does ascetic practice proper have any place at all.


(b) Hellenistic Judaism. — The distinction between fasts that have as their object the training of the spiritual life and those intended to propitiate a sacred God must be constantly borne in mind. The first type is ascetic, the second has no necessary ascetic motive underlying it. The national fasts of Judaism, connected also as they generally were with times of special rejoicing, were intended to ward off the displeasure of the worshipped God. The non-ethical quality of these very fasts led to their entire rejection by the ethical prophets (Hos 6, Am 5). As custom hardened into a formulated legalism, neither work-flight nor spiritual discipline can be recognized as free spiritual life. The training, however, of Oriental and Greek elements with Judaism began early (cf. Schürer, Gesch. des jüd. Völkels, 3, i. 187-190, ii. 21-67). The influence was probably wide-spread, but it reached its climax in the work of Philo at Alexandria. Here we find the full formation of the legalistic training, the bridging of a later day (Grätz, Gesch. der Juden, iii. [1856] 295, Eng. tr. ii. [1891] 211; Schütz, Die jüd. Religionsphil. bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems, 1884; Ludau, Der Esseniismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judentum, Strassburg, 1881). God is dragged down by the material; the highest life is that of contemplation; and abstraction from the body is the essential thing in religion. Holiness is also a negative thing. The dualism between God and nature is spanned by the Logos. The dualism between the flesh and the spirit is resolved in the contemplative life, where the spirit frees itself from the flesh and rises to the vision of God. The Essenes (cf. art. by Conybeare in Hastings’ DB) are, as we have seen, doubtfully to be considered as an ascetic development. The communism is the simple expression of this contemplative interpretation of all Israelite life in early times. The marriage customs are hidden in evidently inaccurate estimates of them, and the asceticism reported by Philo may well be imported from his preconceptions into his treatises. It must be noted, however, that in so many ways suggests a recurrence to primitive type should become a medium for carrying a Greek culture (cf., however, Zöckler, Askese und Monchentum, 3, pp. 125-127). The reports of Philo and Josephus are always open to suspicion when they see in Jewish customs bonds between the Greek world-view and Judaism. The food and clothing of John the Baptist (Mt 3-17, Mk 1-4) nor have any asceticism as their motive than the poke bonnets and grey colour of the Quaker costume; but their practice points to a return to a primitive simplicity. John the Baptist is the revulsion to the semi-nomad, prophetic type. He proclaims no asceticism, but faithfulness to everyday duty (Lk 3-14). Only when Plotinus and Porphyry and Iamblichus leave the assumptions of the OT, and by symbolic interpretation read Greek and Oriental thought into Judaism, do we get a system of contemplative asceticism well developed. This asceticism is not a Jewish product and has left little trace upon Jewish life, but it has profoundly influenced the Christian development.*

* Muhammadanism has borrowed from old Christian sources an asceticism which, however, often resembles far more the non-ascetic excesses and resolutions than characterized the world-flight. Indeed, this latter is wholly strange to the Qurān, although in Persia it may be noted (cf. sep. art. ‘Muslim’ below).
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5. The Church and Asceticism.—(a) The Early Church and Asceticism.—Very early in its history the transformation of Christianity from a Jewish to a Gentile church was accompanied by a kind of life begun (cf. Warne, Anfänge unserer Rel., Tübingen, 1804, 322–346). The marks of this change are already upon several of the NT books, notably the Ep. to the Heb., where the influence of Philo and Alexandrian Judaism is marked (cf. Sieg, Philo von Alexandria, Leipzig, 1879, p. 332 ff.; a child-, Das Urchristentum, Berli., 1887, p. 629 ff.; McGillert, Apost. Age, Edin. 1897, pp. 477–482). Thus the Judaism with which the Christian Church found herself dealing was often not that of the OT, but a Hellenistic Judaism which was indeed no longer on the ethical monotheism of 8th cent. prophecy, but on Greek dualism (cf. Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte [ed., 1883], vol. i. § 7, pp. 93–101). This distorted the whole conception of the relation of the body to the purpose of the Kingdom: body might be expected, realized because the faith in a catastrophic introduction of a new age seemed in itself to minimize the importance of the existing world. Upon this distortion grew up the conception of world-flight, and asceticism of the purest Oriental character was linked with it by way of the whole movement. The ascetic character of the life-work of Philo, de Vita Contemplativa. This document has been pronounced by P. E. Lucas (Die Therapeuten, Stuttgart, 1859) and by Mitchell, has been defended by Conybear (Philo: about the Contemplative Life, Oxf. 1855) and P. Wendland (Die Therapeutten und die philonische Schriften vom beschaulichen Leben, Leipzig, 1866). It is certainly impossible to cope with the whole history of asceticism. The so-called Therapeuten, described as a Jewish monastic order, probably never existed, but the invention reflects the ideals of the highest holiness of certain circles profoundly influenced by Hellenized Christianity. Body might be expected, in the Oriental Churches that the most negative type of asceticism flourished. Egypt became the home of men and women fleeing from the world to find in ascetic solitude the holiness they longed for (Neisser, Kein in Alten und Neuen Franken, Thuses, 1891). The attitude of St. Paul to marriage had nothing fundamentally ascetic in the Oriental sense. Abstinence was a matter of expediency, for the stress was great and the time was short (1 Co 7:14 sq.), and marriage brought cares which hindered the bishop's main business of proclaiming the coming of Christ. At the same time, the willingness and licence of the period made contemnience, even to the denial of marriage, a very distinguishing mark of superior enthusiasm. In opposition to Marcion, however, the Therapeutten (cf. Neisser, op. cit., i. 20), and he was not the only one to do so, against the rising tide of ascetic denial of marriage, urging that Christian liberty must be preserved (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 23, iii. 12; Eus. H.E. iv. 29). Moreover, self denial gave a stamp of asceticism to such religious life whose basis was really not Christian at all, as in Manichaeism, and this religious life compelled the Christian communities to rival its earnestness by denials as dramatic: so that Tertullian, whose dicta inevitably repudiate asceticism in principle (Apology, 32), is nevertheless proud of the self-denials he is able to set over against the claims of the ascetic Marcionites (Apology, ed.). Thus, in Egypt and Africa world-flight and asceticism were paralleled, and Christian and un-Christian celibates came more and more to mark the ecclesiastical development. It culminated in the world-flight of Paul of Thebes, whose retreat to the desert was, however, only the logic of the transposition of Christian values. Manichaeism and Gnosticism had really conquered, and, opposed with true instinct by the Church, had yet forced upon the Church the dualistic Oriental conception of life (cf. H. E. B. H. O. Church, vii. pp. 152–164, for a slight modification of this view). And logic went to the fullest extent in the hermit seclusion and the absolute isolation of the individual, as in the case of Antony and Simeon Stylites. The grouping of the priests of the world into monasteries is sometimes regarded (but see O. Zöckler's article below, p. 75°) as the model for what now sprang up as a modification of this hermit isolation. The monastery was at first a mere group of hermits gathered about some conspicuous example, or banded together for the sake of life in the desert. But the Church and its institutions had seemed, and martyrdom became rarer and rarer, the enthusiasm that went thus in this last evidence of zeal and sincerity began to express itself in ascetic practices. The spiritual athlete proved his constancy by self-inflicted deprivations. (b) The Oriental and Greek Communities and Asceticism.—In general it may be said that the negative, contemplative, mystic type of asceticism had its largest development in the Oriental Greek Church. From the time of Evagrius and Antony the contemplative withdrawal from life into the desert was indeed bound up with extraordinary limitations of diet, etc., but the life of contemplation was the cold end sought by these fasting. The first expression, and, in a sense, the organism of Greek asceticism a means to the contemplative self-abstraction. This is seen clearly in the rules of Pachomius and their subsequent development (cf. Zöckler, Askese und Monachismus, 1891; p. 201–203). The influence of Origen and of the Neo-Platonic conceptions on the Oriental Church, as it ceased to be intellectually quick, was to emphasize dogma and details of ritual on the basis of an extreme literalism in the use of Scripture (cf. K. Müller, Kirchengeschichte, 1. 206). The ritual development was excessive, and the monastic community reflected the most negative type, an aggregate of hermit cells. It was only when, in 1883, the Russian organization and education called out the best that was in the monastic development that it exhibited any signs of life and growth. Cyril and Methodius, the two monks from Constantinople who gave Russia (to the Greek Church, represented the spirit of missionary service (cf. J. M. Neale, History of the Holy Eastern Church, 1873). Yet asceticism in the true sense of the term was overlaid by formalism and ceremonial. The negative conception of holiness was even forgotten amidst the mass of superfluous externalism. The monastery was seen at Mount Athos or Mount Lebanon (cf. articles on the, Brookhans, Konversationslexikon) reflects the older type of con-
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moral life; but the asceticism, save in the absolute banishment of women from all participation in the life, is not extreme. Nor has asceticism proper experienced any new development in the Russian brand since the 11th century. Yet Russia, ardent with extreme and fanatical views based upon a bald literalism, as the sect of the Skoptzys, who interpret Mt. 19th literally, and of whom 176 were in the years 1839-71 sent to Siberia for obedience to this supposed command (cf. Loos, Symbolik der Glaubensfeinde [1854]). Yet Russia emphasizes the pathological and the superstitious overshadow the ascetic motives; and, indeed, genuine ascetic development in the various branches of the Orthodox Greek Church there is almost no trace similar to what is found in the East.

The primary interest of the Christian Church as an Imperial organization was neither in dogma nor in the negative conception of holiness fundamental in ascetic monasticism (cf. A. Haranack, Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte, 1691, p. 90 f.). Her interest was in the re-organization of the Eastern Church by the service of Imperial ecclesiasticism. At the same time, in the creeds and literature which the Western Church took over for her Imperial purpose, there were both dogmatic elements which she had to formulate and adapt, and ascetic elements which she had to use and regulate. Under the leadership of Rome, asceticism became a handmaid of inestimable value. It was the great monk-pope Gregory VII, who forced on the whole of the clergy the ascetic celibate as an ideal (Synods of Erfurt and Passau, 1074), and in his efforts to destroy the anti-clerical ideals, the world-ruling of the world by an institution whose ideal was world-flight. The missionary activity of the monastery in Northern Europe had changed its character, and while bringing a mass of evils connected with the holding of property (cf. K. Müller, Kirchengeschichte, i. 352-358 [Freib. i. B. 1829]), was at the same time the bearer of order and culture, and even of literature, to the relatively barbarous North. It had, however, of necessity drifted away from the ideals of Oriental asceticism. To the task of re-force, a large number of reforms and movements of the period from Otto I. (936-973) to Gregory VII. (1073-1085) were directed. The monastery of the Western Church was up to this period largely dependent on the great land-holders, and vows were not made for life. Only in the 7th century was the retirement from a cloister visited by penalty, and only under the vigorous reforms of Bernard of Cluny and the Abbot Hugo were the monasteries compelled to conform to the ascetic ideals of the past (cf. K. Müller, op. cit. i. 317 f. [1851]). In the 11th century the lower orders looked with suspicion on the agricultural and literary work which marked the less ascetic monastic institutions, and exulted more and more the life of contemplation and ascetic negation (cf. H. Benter, Gesch. der relig. Ausblü. ii. vii. 24-29, Berlin, 1877). From this period onwards extreme forms of ascetic life—scurring, wearing of chains and haircloth garments, no longer as survivals of primitive life, but planned to inflict pain and discomfort—as well as extreme seclusion, becoming the standard of the great training order of perfection; and the ideal of perfection was world-flight, and the negation of desire. At the same time, the linking of these ideals with Churchly ambitions gave peculiar form to the ascetic conception. Everywhere the monastic reform set before itself the same ends:

'Re the revival of monastic institutions, the recovery of lost lands, and the acquisition of new possessions, the establishment of a new ecclesiastical order and the acquisition of new novitate, introduction of stricter discipline and cultivation of piety, as described in the older stories of monastic life, and especially in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nyssa, patience and self-inflicted pain of all kinds, contemplation in solitude, human experience, the cult of saints, the employment of confession and the sacrament, homage of the saints and relics, pilgrimages, search for the miraculous, asceticistic jubilation and the world-flight, the destruction in general an abnormal raising of the emotional life, increased sensibility, and, above all, a high estimate of the "grace of tears" (K. Miiiller, op. cit. i. 321).

Each new attempt at monastic reform of necessity but revived this negative idea of holiness, and hence it is no accident that the circumstances which originally produced the pessimistic world-flight type and generally mark its revival in the Western Church. The times of revived asceticism are periods of national disorder and social disruption. Gentle and thoughtful souls found world-flight the only seeming refuge amidst the wrecks of all that makes life really attractive, and in the extreme symbolic self-renunciation of self-torture the only hope for the devoted lives of those who saw the evil. It is impossible for any religious development to be wholly without the note of service and self-sacrifice. For the father, yet for the monarch, and more and more into the background the more self-consistent the pursuit of the ascetic ideal becomes. To save one's own soul by retirement from the dangers of life is the chief goal, and the selfishness of this goal is only partly hidden by the fact that service on behalf of others may become a means to this end. Even the asceticism that marked the great monastic revival under St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) made the great services rendered by the order often a source of real corruption (cf. Life of St. Francis, by Thomas de Celano, 1229, by Bonaventura, 1229; cf. Dollinger, Skoptzy [1891]).

The complete impossibility of making the negative asceticism a universal demand upon all Christians, while still maintaining Imperial world ambitions, has always led in the Western Church to compromises with the 'lay' world. Hence each revival of the extreme emphasis has also led to 'lay-brotherhoods,' to modified vows for those who cannot altogether flee the world, and to an extension of ascetic symbolism. This ascetic symbolism plays, therefore, a large part in the reforming of the Church and its organized protest to the sin of the world and the evil of the day. And that it is not confined to monasticism, but has been developed in the world-organization of the Church it is impossible to deny. From the time of the Reformation onwards the Roman Church has been on the defensive, and the militant character of her great organizing force, inherited from Rome, has driven the negative and ascetic conception of holiness into a secondary place. In the Jesuit development, asceticism has a distinctly different place from that occupied in the older orders. It is a training for service under the ecclesiastical Imperialism of Rome (cf. Dollinger and Rensch, Geschichte der Moraltheitungen in der römisch-katholischen Kirche [1899], particularly the 'Einleitung'). The goal the Jesuit order set before itself was world-conquest rather than world-flight, and thus again is clearly seen the old struggle between two distinct ideals of holiness, while both are maintained within the great historical communion of the Roman Church.
triumphs of the Jesuit policies since the great Jansenist controversy have therefore steadily relegated asceticism to a secondary and disciplinary place, and its recent history shows no new development within the Roman communion, while it still maintains its place as one of historic legitimacy.

Regarding the characteristic of asceticism, the following may be mentioned: Zieckler, Askese und Monachismus, Frankf. a. M. 1897; Lobstein, Maurice de Molard, Privatblicke und Geschichte des Mönchtums, 1859; Jessopp, Coming of the Friars, Lond. 1901; Montalemont, Moines du West von St. Benedict zu St. Bernard, 7 vols., Rechamps 1898-1923; Gedichte aus der Blüte der Ancestral Monachismus, Berlin 1901; Harnack, Das Mönchtum (Eng. tr. Monasticism, Lond. 1881); and the Standard Histories of the Church in the various age groups, e.g. of the Oriental Churches, the Roman Church, the Reformation, the Catholic Church, etc.

(7) Protestantism and Asceticism.—In a true Protestantism there is no room for Oriental asceticism based upon world-flight (cf. Luther, Von der Freiheit Christenmenschen, 1520). The place asceticism can properly have is as a training for the life of service, and it is only a matter of loving expediency whether the Protestant shall prepare himself for service by fasting, deprivation and negation of legitimate desires, or by the simple and often enviable charge of daily life. In the Matthew tradition (Mt 6:6) Jesus certainly anticipated fasting; but in actual fact His disciples did not emphasize it during His lifetime (Mt 9:44), as is seen also in the Mark tradition (Mk 2:19; 6:29); and St. Paul's doctrine of Christian freedom has ever been a logical argument of the other way. Also, permitting, indeed, any act that may prove for spiritual edification, excludes any emphasis upon such practice as necessary. Hence the Reformers admit it. Fasten and lieblich sich bereiten is no term of Zieckler, says Harnack in Smaller Catechism, and he urged it as a pious and useful exercise; as did also Calvin, with, however, the old primitive motive appearing, for the Church was to fast to appease the wrath of God (cf. Zieckler, op. cit. p. 555). All the ascetic practices have dropped away, or been actually combated by both Lutheran and Reformed Churches (Augsburg Confess., Art. 27; 1 Helvet. Confess., Art. 28). In the form of world-flight Protestantism has overcome asceticism. Only in the forms of a legalism can we trace remains of the Catholic conception of a negative holiness (cf. A. Bischof, Gesch. d. Pietismus, i. 36-80, Bonn, 1880), and even the legalism that forbids dancing, theatre-going, wine-drinking, and card-playing dates so now on the basis of the expediency of the Christian life, or on that of the Christian community, and thus removing the discussion of them from the sphere of asceticism. It is therefore a source of confusion to confound these two separate motives. With Protestantism, therefore, Oriental asceticism may be said to have been theoretically overcome.

Lutheranism.—The best histories are those of Zieckler, Askese und Monachismus, Frankf. a. M. 1897, a new edition of his Kirch. Geschichte der Aeksen, 1863, and J. May, Die christliche Askese, ihr Wesen und ihre historische Entwicklung, Freiburg i. Br. 1881; see also article 'Askese' in PPR. Interesting material may be found in the works of J. C. F. Fühner, a work on the Askese, ihr Wissen und ihre historische Entwicklung, Freiburg i. Br. 1881; see also article 'Askese' in PPR. Interesting material may be found in the works of J. C. F. Fühner, a work on the Askese, ihr Wissen und ihre historische Entwicklung, Freiburg i. Br. 1881; see also article 'Askese' in PPR. (6) Protestantism and Asceticism.—In a true Protestantism there is no room for Oriental asceticism based upon world-flight (cf. Luther, Von der Freiheit Christenmenschen, 1520). The place asceticism can properly have is as a training for the life of service, and it is only a matter of loving expediency whether the Protestant shall prepare himself for service by fasting, deprivation and negation of legitimate desires, or by the simple and often enviable charge of daily life. In the Matthew tradition (Mt 6:6) Jesus certainly anticipated fasting; but in actual fact His disciples did not emphasize it during His lifetime (Mt 9:44), as is seen also in the Mark tradition (Mk 2:19; 6:29); and St. Paul's doctrine of Christian freedom has ever been a logical argument of the other way. Also, permitting, indeed, any act that may prove for spiritual edification, excludes any emphasis upon such practice as necessary. Hence the Reformers admit it. Fasten and lieblich sich bereiten is no term of Zieckler, says Harnack in Smaller Catechism, and he urged it as a pious and useful exercise; as did also Calvin, with, however, the old primitive motive appearing, for the Church was to fast to appease the wrath of God (cf. Zieckler, op. cit. p. 555). All the ascetic practices have dropped away, or been actually combated by both Lutheran and Reformed Churches (Augsburg Confess., Art. 27; 1 Helvet. Confess., Art. 28). In the form of world-flight Protestantism has overcome asceticism. Only in the forms of a legalism can we trace remains of the Catholic conception of a negative holiness (cf. A. Bischof, Gesch. d. Pietismus, i. 36-80, Bonn, 1880), and even the legalism that forbids dancing, theatre-going, wine-drinking, and card-playing dates so now on the basis of the expediency of the Christian life, or on that of the Christian community, and thus removing the discussion of them from the sphere of asceticism. It is therefore a source of confusion to confound these two separate motives. With Protestantism, therefore, Oriental asceticism may be said to have been theoretically overcome.

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The English reader of translations from Pali and Sanskrit will find the word 'ascetic' used to denote any person who from religious motives has 'renounced the world' (cf. e.g. Dialogues of the Buddha, i. 313, n. 2; The Jātaka, vi. Cambridge, 1887, Index, s. a. 'Ascetic'). This is due to the English poverty for such terms as religious and its synonyms. It does not, however, follow that, beyond renouncing home, property, and marriage, the so-called 'ascetic' is to be understood as engaged in systematic personal suffering. Actual ascetic practices were spoken of collectively as topas (Pali tapa), i.e. 'burning,' 'glow.' Parallel with, but usually independent of, sacrificial rites, they constituted, no less than the latter, a systematic line of action pursued to gain a distinctive end. That end was essentially the guarantee of re-birth under relatively happier conditions than the present life could afford.

For instance, in the paradise of the log drifting down the Ganges, the Buddha, discussing the chances of its arriving in due course at the open sea, and enumerating the various obstacles, said that it might be seized by human or by non-human agencies. From this he illustrated the fate of a religious brother, drawn back again into the world, or captured by long-suffering gods who will not let the good be destroyed by some absurd of the gods and conforming to some discipline (brahmacharya) with the notion of existence, and asks (tapa), or discipline I shall become a god, or godlike being (Shining) in the life of the world, or (this) is the great delusion, etc. (Gotama's Ethics, p. 297, n.)

Of the more usual object of topas, according to the Vedas—the attainment of magical powers—but slight traces remain. The Buddha, for instance, tells, as an ancient legend, of the failure of certain Reis to blast away the obstacle which explained that their topas was proved futile and their discipline fruitless (Mayhjima, ii. 155).

The way in which topas was held to guarantee the end sought after was not, as in sacrificial rites, by the propitiation of a god or gods, but by satisfying, as a sign that the faith and also the mind of karma conceived as impersonal, eternal, moral energy. Painful experience and the absence of pleasant experience was to work as a set-off, in the balance of fate, against the weight of pleasant

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self-indulgences in the past, and of possible pleasant experiences in their near future, respectively.

There are, brethren," the Buddha's discourse runs, "certain recluses (Ashekas, Ajivkas, Nigaghats, etc.) who thus preach and practice. They live in the enjoyment of individual experience, whether happy, or pleasant, or neutral feeling, all has been caused by previous actions. And thus, from the cancelling of old actions by that, and by what is done from now on, the effect of such is infused into future life: by this non-indulgence karma is destroyed, and so ill is destroyed, and so feeling is destroyed, and so all pain of becoming is destroyed. Thus, brethren, what he calls the Nigaghats (Jaime) says: . . . Is it true, I asked them, that you believe they practice? They replied: They practice the path that Nipatutta, is all-wise—out of the depths of his knowledge he tells us: Ye have done evil in the past. This ye do wear away this hard and painful cord of action. Others dispute that here and now, by thought, word, and deed, is wrought, is a minus quantity of bad karma in future life . . .

The recorded interviews between the Buddhists and the Brahmanas yield no such efforts to muster and forestall destiny. But one young Brahman names tapas as one of five conditions declared by the priestly class to be requisite for the achievement of 'merit' (Majjhima, i. 199). And current verses commending tapas are here and there gathered into the Buddhist canonical anthologies (Suttanta, 337-372, Suñña Nikāya, verse 77; Anguttara, i. 346).

Now Buddhism was frankly eudaimonistic in its ethics. It hardened to reduce the evil of the world to its ultimate term—dakkha; 'pain, sorrow, misery.' III. It spoke of nirvana as absolute happiness. Its cardinal tenets were to be an organ for the root eradication of any deliberate infliction of pain, or discontinue, as such, on one's self or on others. One of those categories into which the canonical books delight to divide human beings into two classes, self-mortifiers, or 'fathers of tapas,' tormentors of others, tormentors of both self and others, tormentors neither of self nor of others (Majjhima, i. 541, 541, ii. 169, Anguttara, ii. 22). Under the first head come the votaries of tapas; under the second, butchers, fowlers, huntsmen, self-mortifiers. Under the last, great functionaries who, when holding sacrificial ceremonies, perform rites involving some personal discomfort, and also have herds of animals slaughtered, and keep their slaves in fear of punishment. Under the fourth head come those who have left the world and the home for the purpose of a recluses. These are, or should be, filled with charity and compassion for all living beings; they own no property in animals or in personal service. They harm no one, meanest, one and, have thrown off the cares and ties that torment the world. And, as we were in antithesis to the word 'burning,' they were also in antithesis to the word 'tormenting.'

The latter term, sīthihāth, would seem to imply renunciation of tapas, as well as of those professions and practices through which a man would become, as it were, a cause of burning or torment to others. Hence, of course, to cultivate, even if lie be a bhikkhu of ten, or of twenty, or of one hundred, (Majjhima, i. 469), the virtue of hiri-ottappa, conscientiousness and fear of blame. These will often entail, ere he graduates in sanctitude, states of mind called 'burning-producing' (tappeniya dhamaññ), to wit, 'I have left undone those things that I ought to have done, and I have done those things that I ought not to have done' (Anguttara, i. 40; Dhamaṇa-sangāyi, §§ 38, 1390, 1323). Nor was he to be 'cool' in pressing forward to complete emancipation and self-conquest; but, on the contrary, abundance of 'ardour' (āṭivāriya) is prescribed. The arhat is described as wholly sīthihāth, as one resting on a summit, or by clear waters beyond the jungle (see art. Aññātutta).

Buddhism, again, claimed at its very inception, in the heavens and by conferring power, the jungle of life, as a jungle smile, as the thick-set path and the fired-out path, they are opposed to the middle course of the brother who are opposed to the middle of the practice (of the Four I nstructions) 'ardently surveys body, impressions, thoughts, and feelings, that he may enable such grieves arising, in contemplating the things of the world (Anguttara, i. 295).

The Buddha's twofold objection to the practice of asceticism is really one: dukkha is evil and must be removed. Excess is dukkha. Tapas is a form of excess of violent mortification. It not only lead through suffering to any gain; it is unprofitable. This futility of tapas, and not any shrinking from pain, was the moral of his own strenuous essay in austeries. This he said, in his address to his son, the young Brahma, who maintained that happiness was to be won only through suffering (Majjhima, ii. 93) ; also to a young Brahman, who questioned him on the originality of the system he put forward (Majjhima, ii. 212); and again to a young Jain, who doubted whether the Buddha's disciplines studied bodily as well as mental control (Majjhima, i. 237). When almost worn out by his austerties, he came, he said, to the conclusion: 'Not by this bitter course of painful hardship shall I arrive at that separate and supreme vision of all-sufficing, noble (Aryan) knowledge, peace, which can lead me to be another path to Enlightenment?' Whereupon he once more took reasonable care of the body, (whereby his fellow-ascetics, who had expected great results, lost faith in him), and chose, for the meditation that brought him high, 'dakkha which is both pleasant and pleasant, and which in the natural environment was of a kind to soothe and brace the spirit.

A little poem in the Sāriputta Nikāya (i. 103) represents him, at this stage, as having below passed from the world and from faith therein. Before his complete enlightenment he sat by the river Nemanjā, at the foot of the Gotthari's Banyan tree, muttering: 'Oh! but I am freed from all that difficult toil! Wholly steadfast and mindful now I seek to [booth enlightenment].' Hereafter I am to be, tried to shake his serenity: 'Tapas and sacrifice hast thou abandoned, whereby the Brahman youths are distinguished? The impurity of essence is pure, when he hath lost the path of purity.' And Gautama replies: 'I who have discerned the uselessness of [my] tapas and of all tapas whatsoever—bear along with it, as it does, all that is useless, even as a punting-rod and steering-rod may bring along a watersnake—I, practising the path to [booth moral conduct, meditation and insight—have won the Parity supreme."

The foregoing allusions define the attitude of Buddhism to man, his body, his desire, his aims, and his discipline of the course of a painful penance, privation, injury, toil, or titum inflicted upon the person. But in the sense of the Greek askētēs, or way of life, in which some channels of activity are barred and others developed by special training, Buddhism was the most thoroughly ascetic of all the religious systems of the world. The body, as method of asceticism, but it is no mortification of the senses. It is just the power to refuse a lesser good for the sake of the greater. Such asceticism, an alert and constant effort after betterness, is a tonic, a strengthening of fibre, an added increment to life.' Dr. Jane Harrison's words (Albanian Decision, Jan. 1908) apply no less to the Buddhist. Of the lay-disciple a less high standard of training was expected. His whole duty may be said to be laid down in the Sigalovāde Suttantā of the Digha. But any deeply serious movement must always concentrate its energies and its care at first on a nucleus of whole-hearted devotees, who alone will tolerate it over initial difficulties, and propagate it. These can no more live like the rest of the world than an army when making the ascent of a high mountain. With the end it had in view, the Buddhist asceticism is in some respects in affinity with the Christian, in some, again, with the Greek. For the earnest student (śekha) the body was something to be analytically studied and kept in cleanliness and good health. Clothes were worn, medicine taken, massage, shelter, regular food, rest, and medicines were prescribed. But it remained, religiously considered, a fount thing (piṭikīgyo); and the senses
were so many opportunities and channels of malevolent impressions and impulses. Susceptibility to beauty of preservation can be correctly perceived in contempla-
tion or imagination of bodily transience, decay, and putrescence. The bodily condition of the Order amounted very much to what would now be called 'the simple life.' Needs (which would else provoke pain) were regulated by reducing new and unnecessary wants. The recurring explanation of 'moderation in diet' is typical:—

'Then when any one takes food with reflection and judgment, not for any purposes of excess, personal charm and attraction, but so as to suffice for the sustenance and preservation of the body, for alloying hunger and for aiding the practice of the right views; for that which has been feeling, and shall cause no new feeling to arise, and maintenance shall be mine, blamelessness also and comfort'—this condition of diet is called 'moderation in diet' (Dhamma-sangati, 1343).

Compared with the ascetic excesses, as well as with the imaginative and speculative obsessions, of the age, the Buddhist standpoint was markedly hygienic. As the Buddha is recorded to have said (Majjhima, i. 569), to consider that health means merely that nothing ails the body is to lack all noble (Aryan) vision. On the other hand, a healthy and efficient body, when properly inhabiting it, is not only indispensable to a healthy and efficient condition of mind, but was an integral part of sound training (Majjhima, i. 299, 473 ff., 425; Dhamma-sangati, §§ 40-51). There does not appear, in the canonical books, any glorification of the intellectual or spiritu-
al superiority of the body over the sentiments of individuality were ranked on a level, as being each and all important, channels of suffering, and void of Atman. But then this body-and-mind individuality, 'poor thing' though it might be, was potentially the vehicle of nirvâna, of sabbhat-shakti. And hence the training of the body, as a symbol of the first importance—training by no means of a negative, paralyzing character. The pupil of a great Brahman ascetic school is asked by the Buddha whether, and how, Parâsaryâna teaches the cultivation of the bodily faculties. The answer was, 'Yes; with the eye he sees no object, with the ear he hears no sound.' 'On that system,' is the re-

joiner, 'the blind and the deaf have their senses best cultivated.' And the supreme faculty—culture (udayana-bhiksho) of the noble (Aryan) discipline—its purpose is to bring to their consciousness in training, moreover, is often represented as gradual, just the 'bit placed in the colt's mouth' to begin with (Majjhima, ii. 2): 'Come thou, brother, keep the sâla and the precepts and acquire the range of moral culture; and when the lamps are guarded, that no indulgence of impressions bear thee off thy feet, be moderate in diet, keep vigils, be mindful and heedful, cultivate self-collectedness in solitude, puring the heart of the five hindrances and practising the meditation raptures'—these are given as seven successive grades. But in proportion to the distance from graduation, that is, from 'emancipation,' was the training to be strict and unintermittent. Certain brethren, who asserted that a number of daily meals kept them in better health than the one most sacred meal of the Master, were gently reminded that there were such far from 'attaining' to emancipation to let themselves go (Majjhima, i. 473 ff.). To one who had attained, such questions sank into insignificance. You say,' the Buddha asks an appreciative friar, 'that my disciples hold the road: but, why do they do so?' 'For five qualities: your frugal diet, contentment with whatever raiment, food, and lodging you have, and your love of solitude.' 'That can hardly be,' is the answer, 'for while some of my disciples in one or other of these things practise austeritys, I exhorted my monks to trade, or wear lay rags, or accept invitations to dine, or dwell indoors, or among my fellows.' And he goes on to reveal the deeper basis of their trust in him (Majjh. ii. 5 ff.).

It was not to be expected that the Buddha's fol-

lowers, even when they were advanced in training, would all appreciate the quasi-Pauline 'liberty' of his own high standpoint. In Dr. Neumann's words, 'ascetic simplicity is a characteristic of humanity and ineradicable, finding new and new form and new application in the Order became elaborated into a scheme of thirteen extra vows or burdens (dhutanga), more discussed, perhaps, than carried out (SBE xxxvi. 267-269). But they were at variance with the spirit of emancipation, both in their cause and in their effect, bringing to a healthful simplicity for those who had set their faces toward the highest, sifting, in its own metaphor, to give them the liberty of the bird, which in flying 'hears with it but the power to fly,' (Udyâgiri, i. 41.)


C. A. F. RHY'S DAVIDS.

ASCETICISM (Celtic).—I. It has been sug-

gested (Fisher and Barrow) that at the cor-

ner of the Christian and 'British Saints' that the monastic system of Ireland and Wales was a continuation of pre-Christian ascetic practices; but this statement is unsupported by evidence. Herodian (A.D. 197) mentions the hairiness and scantiness of clothing of the Britanni; but this had no ascetic significance. On the other hand, Strabo (vi. 190) states that the Celts were pleasure-loving (hôswos), and Diodorus (xxvi. 3) says of the Galatae that they were fond of wine. At the same time, it has to be admitted that our information as to the Celts in antiquity is very meagre, and especially insufficient for the relatively barren Celtic lands where Christian coëvolution and asceticism afterwards flourished.

2. The Christian asceticism of Celtic countries in the 6th and 7th centuries, undoubtedly owes its own development to the influence of Eastern writers of a more moderate type in Egypt, (Marseilles), a port which under the Empire had a vigorous Egyptian trade. Massilia and Lérins (Lérins) in the South and Tours further North became active centres for the dissemination of the Origenian and Basilian ideas. The asceticism of the Scottish St. Ninian is said that the saint had met St. Martin of Tours, and held him in such respect that, when he heard of his death, he dedicated to him the church called Candida Casa at Whithorn, which he was then building. With the monastic system of Southern Gaul, John Cassian was closely associated, and it has been held by Professor H. Williams (in Trans. Cymr. Soc. 1893-4) that the monastic system of Britain and Ireland was more akin to that of Southern than that of Northern Gaul. In the latter district monasticism was more marked progress after the death of St. Martin of Tours (A.D. 400), and it may even have spread from this source to Britain, as is suggested by the story of St. Ninian; but the main impetus to the growth of the monastic movement in these islands undoubtedly came through the anti-Pelagian mis-

sion of Lupus and Germanus (429). At Lérins a church and cloister were built by Honoratus, and it was here that Lupus, bishop of Troyes, became a monk after giving up his see and his family life. There was probably some rivalry between the Northern and Southern ascetic systems of Gaul, for Sulpicius Severus (Life of St. Martin, cxvii.) says that the institutions of St. Martin were...
in some respects on a higher plane than the Egyptian institutions of John Cassian, the founder of the monastery of Mârselles. That there were links between Lérins and Britain is suggested by the fact (attested by Sidonius Apollinaris) that Ricord, a native of Gaul who is described as a saintly Celtic, visited that monastery twice in A.D. 450. The probability is that both of the Gaulish movements made contributions to British and Irish monasticism.

3. Celtic asceticism, however, in spite of its relation to the general movement, remained a feature of British and Irish life in certain well-marked features of its own, which were mainly conditioned by the tribal organization in which it took root (Willis-Bund, Celtic Church in Wales; Fisher and Baring-Gould, op. cit.). The heads of the cenobitic communities of Celtic countries were members of tribal families, and the headship of these communities and participation in their property and privileges continued (in some cases even to the 12th cent.) to be limited to those who, by means of their valid pedigrees, could show kinship with the founder. A monastic or a cenobitic community in Wales and Ireland was probably directed not only by religious but also by economic considerations, owing to the pressure of population and the insufficiency of cultivable soil.

The monasteries were largely centres of co-operativeness and of self-sufficiency; but in the pursuit of learning and the arts, while the pursuit of learning and other amenities of civilized life were thus rendered possible. Lay interests probably had a larger place in the life of these communities than the later Lives of Celtic saints, which, under Benedictine influences, might lead us to suppose. It was natural enough accordingly that these communities, as such, should take no account of clerical orders (Willis-Bund, op. cit.).

Prof. Hugh Williams (loc. cit.) gives the following as the causes of the development of monasticism in Wales, and the development in Ireland was in the main parallel: (1) A Life of seclusion, self-denial, prayer, and meditation (and it may be added, industry, to a large extent manual), in a common life of obedience to a superior, the abbot. There were similar institutions for women, and a Celtic monastery was sometimes double. The life of this stage appears to have been modelled on the teaching of Cassian in his de Institutus Conobitorum and Conditiones Patrum. (2) A stage when the asceticism was comparatively simple and emulous in the case of the Welsh saint Illtud. When children were sent to a monastery of this kind, they were regarded as the foster-children of the Church, and a fee had to be paid not only for their spiritual care, but for the needs and education of the orphaned children. That of the Eremites, or Anchories. In Egypt this stage came first, but in Celtic countries it grew out of cenobitism.

In 595, when Columbanus wrote to Gregory the Great, this movement was at its height in Ireland, and was also characteristic of Gaul and Britain. It was doubtless largely due to economic pressure upon the monasteries. The settlements of those who left the monasteries were often named after the saint who was head of the monastic community that they left. In all Celtic countries the hermits of this stage showed a marked predilection for islands, at first in lakes and streams, then in the sea. (4) The stage of monastic pilgrims or missionaries. These combined the work of itinerant preaching with that of tilling the soil in the districts where for the time being they settled. Among the most important of these were those monasteries established by Welsh and Irish saints in Britanny, and notably the following important communities: (a) that of Iona, founded by St. Columba in 563; (b) those of Anseger, Luxeuil, and Cluny, founded by St. Gildas, and those, founded by St. Columba in the end of the 6th cent.; (c) that of Llobriga in Italy, founded by the same saint in the beginning of the 7th cent.; (d) that of St. Gall, founded by a disciple of St. Columba. Other monasteries on the Continent were Lagny, Féronne, Fosse-la-Ville (near Liége), Lure, Beaufieu (in Artois), Wieringerweer. Some of the other Celtic monasteries were important centres of learning in the Dark Ages, and the Irish monks especially were distinguished for their skill in copying and illuminating MSS (cf. Epîse. 813, 860). The recent stage in life in the monastic communities gave rise to the formation of Penitentials and Rules. Some of the former, as, for instance, that of Gildas (see Hugh Williams, Gildas), show that drunkenness and worse vices had to be kept in check, and the Lives of the saints themselves sometimes give similar indications. The rule of Columba was in some respects severer even than that of St. Benedict (Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church).

So far as the celibacy of the clergy, however, was concerned, it is probable, as Warren points out, that in many cases it is either known in certain places and at certain times. St. Patrick appears to have been the son of a Deacon and grandchild of a priest, and one Irish canon speaks of a cleric and his wife ('uxor ejus'). Gildas in his Inserpato in succedentibus seems to imply a marriage among the clergy. The first note clerical celibacy in Wales in the 10th cent. met with considerable opposition, which continued into the two following centuries. Gildas (Epist. xxii. 21) speaks with approval of the celibate life, and quotes Elejah, Elisio, and Jeremiah as examples ("Virgini sanctae, filii filiorum prophetarum"); in de Excid. 80 he says, 'Hieremia quoque virgo prophetaque'; but this was probably in opposition to the current ecclesiastical practice of Wales in his time.

The lives of these saints sometimes describe their ascetic practices in terms not unlike those of Indian yogis or faguis, and it has been suggested that the principle underlying this self-torture was analogous to the Celtic legal remedy of 'fasting against a person,' a practice whereby the person 'fasting against another' to whom he had preferred a request, could bring his blood upon the other person's head, if the fasting led to the faster's death through persistence in refusing the request (Fisher and Baring-Gould, British Saints, Introduction).

Some of the austere practices recorded of Irish saints are as follows:—St. Finchus is said to have spent seven years suspended by iron shackles under an arbor, 'so that he might get a place in heaven,' in lieu of sin he had committed, and that he had spent his time there and St. Ciaran is said to have caused his bodies to be eaten by crows or stinking beetles. St. Finian is said to have worn a garve of iron that cut to the bone. Of St. Ciaran we are told that he mixed his bread with sand, and of St. Columba that they slept on the ground with a stone for a bolster. Of St. Mochua it is said that he lived as an itemus in a prison of stone, and that he had only a little aperture left for letting food down to him. Of the Welsh saint Brychan we are told that he lessened his need for the luxury of clothing by dipping his body daily into the coldest water, and that he is said to have stood for five days and four nights on one foot, and that he had been wasted with fastings. Further, of the Irish saint Kevin it is said that he remained for seven years in a standing posture without sleep, with his arm held up in the sand, and that a blackbird laid and hatched her eggs in his palm. Some of these tales are obviously exaggerations, but doubtless the Celtic monks underwent a few austerities both necessary and voluntary. An ascetic attitude towards women appears to have been reflected in some ritual observances of the Celtic Church, as for instance in the laterised buildings in which the altar was in the form of a vine (the Latin 'conventus'; Irish 'cumhains') that women were to be veiled at the reception of the Eucharist. In this Church, too, there was an established custom, mentioned by several Irish historians, that St. Patrick and St. Brigit, shows that the ascetic ideal had an honoured place in Celtic monasticism; and St. Patrick says of himself in his Colloquies that he prayed six times a day (as many as at a Colonia), prayers a day, and the same number at night. Neither snow, frost, nor rain could prevent him from going before daylight to his woned place of prayer. In spite of these later features, it cannot be doubted that Celtic asceticism was essentially part of the same movement as that which showed itself in
Christendom generally, and was governed in the main by similar ideals.

One of the best known names connected with Celtic asceticism is that of the Culdees (Ir. Céill Dé, 'the companions of God'). This term was sometimes Latinized into Celtdi ("God-worshippers"). It is probable, according to the view taken by historians, that this was a name used from the 9th to the 12th cent., did not denote the regular successors of the Irish monasticism of the 6th, 7th, or 8th cent., but the followers of a new movement, which dated from the 8th century. Zimmer suggests that it was probably the influence of books which had been brought to Ireland after living at Metz under the rule of Chrodegang (A.D. 749). It was not in Ireland, however, but in North Britain where the Culdee movement attained its most important development.

Many of the terms of Celtic monastic nomenclature were derived from Latin, but a few were of native origin. The following are the chief terms of Irish: abb (the "abbot"); ascymb (i.e. secundus absbas, 'the prior'); fer logid ('the lector'); mac leig ("the lector's pupil"); cenmuidh (the "warden"); manach ('a monk'); mac dair ' ("a young monk"); ben-achithemn ("the priest"); caitech ('a nun'); uac-caitech ('a young nun'); berrad ("boulevard"); manach man ("the tounse", in Celtic countries, the head of the house); berrar man ("a monastery"); manach mainn ("a monastery"); manach anachrie; annachra ("a soul-friend", 'confessor'); olo ("church"); no- ("heaven"); sudh ("the last abode", 'heaven', an "anarch's cell"). In Welsh the following are the some terms employed: abad ('an abbot'); mani ("a monk"); abat ('a monk'), abad ('an abbot'), mani ('an abbot'), mani ('a monk'). (Lat. mainn, 'a monk', manach, 'a monk', manach, 'an archdeacon', manach, 'a monk', manach, 'an abbot', manochlic hosus, 'a monk's cell'); manychlag ('a monastery'); cuinf ('a convent'); dmryl (lit., 'a holy temple', 'a sanctuary'); dmr ('a servant of God', 'a hermit'); cuinf ("cathedral", 'a hermit's cell"). The Breton and Cornish terms are practically identical with those of Welsh. The place name Dyserth in Flintshire is probably identical in meaning with the Irish diocese. The derivative of celt was in Irish celt, in Welsh cheld. Cheld is in Welsh place names as a proper name; e.g. Llanwelud, Llansilin, Llanarth, Llandaff. The Welsh term Plany, Breton Plou, Clyned ('a cell', "mob of caillech", Welsh women), now means 'a cell' or 'a hermit's cell' in medieval Welsh 'a congregation'.

6. The general fusion of Celtic Christianity with that of Rome led to the assimilation of the monastic institutions also, and the foundation of new monasteries and nunneries by the leading orders of the Continent. In Wales some of the medieval abbeys, such as Neath, Margam, Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, M大小, and Vaux, were aided and patronized Welsh literature; but from the 14th cent. onwards Welsh poetry, largely under the influence of the love-poet Dafydd ab Gwilym, shows an anti-ascetic tendency. Unlike Ireland and Brittany, Wales has become thoroughly Protestant in the official and merely Protestant Nonconformist. So far as the Nonconformity of Wales may be said to have an ascetic bias, it is in the direction of temperance and total abstinence from the consumption of alcohol; and this tendency has left its trace in legislation in the Welsh Sunday Closing Act. 1 The Calvinistic Methodist Church, especially, views the sale and use of alcohol by its officers and members with marked disfavour; and its regulations are strongly hostile to all forms of card-playing, dancing, and the drama, but the spirit of Welsh Nonconformity in general is practically identical in these matters with that of that of denominations. 2

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E. ANWYL.

ASCETICISM (Christian).

I. INTRODUCTION: ASCETICISM IN ITS RELATION TO BIBLICAL REVELATION.—The word 'asceticism' (Gr. ἁρκασμός, from ἀρκέω = 'to exercise or practice'), when used in the sphere of religion and ethics, denotes self-preparation for a virtuous course of conduct, the zealous practice of acts of devotion and morality. This practice of virtue in the narrower sense, of the ascetic ideal, in which moral gymnastics, may consist in exercises of an inward kind (prayer offered in the heart, examination of conscience, and the like), or in acts of self-discipline passing over into the outward life (self-mortification, mortification of the flesh, continence, etc.). Both forms of asceticism, that pertaining to the spiritual sphere and that of a physical and external character, were already known to classical antiquity, especially in the traditional teaching of its philosophers from Pythagoras and Socrates downwards (cf. Sextus Empiricus in Plato, for instance Rep. vii. 536; and in Aristotle, for instance Eth. Nicom. ix. 9; as well as the mention of ταλαι and παραστασα δίκαιους διήγεσιν in Isocrates, p. 230 C, etc.). A specially high value was set upon the ascetic habit of life in the schools of the Stoics (cf. especially Epictetus, Περὶ ἀπαλλασσόντων, Diss. ii. xii. 6), the Cynics (cf. κυνεῖς ἄρσενις in Jos. Ant. vi. xii. 6), and the later Platonists beginning with Plotinus (cf. the latter's Moral, p. 608 E). Owing to the great and widespread influence of these in the Roman Imperial period, 'philosophy' and 'asceticism' (τὸ ἁρκασμός, Epictetus, Diss. ii. xii. 6) were employed almost as synonymous terms. Abundant evidence of the essential identity of the connotation of the terms 'asceticism' and 'philosophy' was furnished especially by the philosophers of Philo Judaeus, as well as by those of numerous Christian Fathers from the time of Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria onwards. When Philo hails the Jewish religion, and the Fathers hail Christianity, as the true philosophy, both have in view a certain ascetic element in their respective religions. The moral strictness and earnest demand for virtue found in both, when looked at from the viewpoint of asceticism, formed the connecting link which rendered possible such a combination of the Jewish and Christian ideal of life with the 'wisdom' of the Graeco-Roman philosophers.

As a matter of fact, there does appear to be inherent in both the OT and the NT stages of revelation an element of asceticism. This consists in the3 abandonment for an ascetic life and a complete resignation to the holy will of God. In its ritual legislation the Old Testament also prescribes fasting—sometimes strictly obligatory and universal (especially on the Great Day of Atonement, Lv 16th 25), at other times optional and limited by temporary or personal conditions (e.g. LF 114th 29), Jer 36p, IS 75, 2 12pp. 12P, Eze 44p;
in particular, it imposes upon the priestly order certain temporary forms of abstinence; and is accepted with as a form of vow in the Church of which certain persons abstain all their lives from the use of wine (Nu 6:2, Js 13, 1 S 18v, Jer 25). And the New Testament religion not only takes cognizance of these and similar ordinances of the Old Testament; his preference in some respects made stricter demands (cf. the above-cited passages in 1 and 2 Cor. as well as the Epistle to the Galatians, etc.) than even the stern legalist St. James; but an injustice is done him when the attempt is made to reduce him to the simple Christian commendation of monastic withdrawal from the world or of fanatical maintenance of virginity. He was and continues to be the preacher of true evangelical freedom, even in all those instances where he deals with questions of individual or of social asceticism, for freedom was the NT stage in the corresponding ascetic course of conduct. While not prescribing fasting as a matter of obligation, the NT clearly assumes that this practice will occasionally be followed by members of the Christian community (Mt 6:17, Ac 15:14-15, 2 Co 11:7 etc.): it is a form of contraction or of asceticism drawn from the sexual continence (Mt 10:19, 1 Co 7:2), or of the renunciation of earthly possessions (Mt 19:21, Ac 2:45-50), or of temporary submission to a vow (Ac 21:23-25), and the like. In short, acts of ascetic discipline and training in virtue are contemplated in the NT as allowable, nay, even as necessary, according to time and circumstances, in the sphere of Christianity. In the interests of the kingdom of Christ, the Apostle Paul submits himself to fastings, watchings, cold, nakedness, etc. (2 Co 6:11). He deplores the attitude of the Christian which prevailed in the Donatist Church in his time (1 Th 2:10-12), and cites his way of life as an example to the Christians (1 Ti 2:5). Even in the solitary passage in which he uses the word ἀκρομα to religious and moral conduct (in his speech before Felix at Caesarea, Ac 24:27 ἄκρομα ἁπάντωσαν ευνοίαν εἰς τὴν ἱδρυμα, Ἐκκ., κ.τ.λ.), the practice of virtue he has in view is that which he champions (1 Th 5:23, a practice marked by the characteristic freedom of the Gospel, and as far removed from Pharisaic narrow-mindedness and legal bondage as it is from unnatural self-torture after the fashion of Indian floggers or of ascetic Syrian priests of Asia Minor. II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO ASCETICISM.—In spite of the condition of things described above, which forbids us to regard asceticism as an element of the religious and moral life belonging exclusively to the essence of Christianity, or presumed in its original body of doctrine as necessary to salvation, the ascetic principle early made way for itself in the development of the Christian Church. Nay, in the course of this development, asceticism soared to heights and produced phenomena which have been everywhere made contributions of inestimable value and of abiding significance for the furtherance and elevation of the mental life of mankind. And the source from which the Christian spirit derived this element of culture—so far as it did not lie in the religions and cultural life of the OT—can have been none other than that from which formative influences and impulses mainly flowed in the departments of art, poetry, politics, and law. The beginnings of asceticism in the Christian Church, especially as organized in the form of communities—monasticism—constitute another chapter in the history of that process which is usually spoken of as the 'Hellenization of Christianity.' No other place can be assigned to the thought within the sphere of this process, which embraces the history of the Church from the 2nd to the 5th century. For the stage upon which the phenomena of a fully developed and socially organized Christian asceticism in the Church is found in those lands which constituted the world of Greece-Roman civilization: and the religions and philosophical traditions of this same cultured
world form the point to which the asceticism of the Church, with its ideals and efforts, primarily and mainly attaches itself. Per se another supposition might appear possible, namely, that spiritual influence upon the ascetic and monastic tendencies of the ancient Eastern Church proceeded from a religious civilization which in the matter of asceticism was so richly developed as that of India (with ascetic systems like Jainism and Buddhism, which is some centuries older than the Christian era). Or an attempt might be made to trace the earliest ascetic and monastic movements in Christianity to kindred phenomena in the religions of Babylonia (and Syrophoenicia) or of Egypt. But when the various religious movements and sects are pitted against one another and their share in the result before us examined, none can dispute the palm with Greece. India is far too distant, and was always much too widely separated from the mental life of the peoples of Western Asia, to be seriously taken into account. Towards the religious usages of Babylonia and Syria, which might certainly be considered with a view to the solution of the problem, the people of God in OT times—and primitive Christianity in like manner—consistently assumed an attitude only of disapproval and rejection. The monasticism of the Greeks, on the other hand, is ready (on 1 K 18) again, the analogies with early Christian asceticism, which have been sought in the religious system of the Egyptians, prove, upon closer critical examination, to be merely apparent. This remark applies especially to those alleged ascetics or priests-mono of the temple of Serapis whom H. Weingarten (art. 'Mönchum' in PEB, 1882; and previously in Der Ursprung des Mönchums im nachchristl. Zeitalter, Gotha, 1877) sought to represent as the real models and teachers of the New Testament Christian asceticism—a theory which has been completely shattered by more recent investigation (see E. Preuschen's monograph, Mönchtum und Serapiskult, Darmstadt, 1890 [2nd ed. 1905], in which the existence of Serapis priests of a monkish type is disproved, and therewith the utter impossibility of Weingarten's hypothesis demonstrated). Thus we must abide by the view that the beginnings of early Christian asceticism and monasticism go back to essentially Greek influences, or, to put it more exactly and briefly, to the asceticism of the Jewish and Judaeo-Hellenic schools of philosophy, to which we have already referred in this connexion. The religions of the ancient East can at most be credited with only an indirect share (the result of the influence of Alexander the Great) in the formative process we are considering. [Cf. on the one side, Edwin Hatch, Influence of Gr. Ideas and Usages upon the Chr. Church (Germ. tr., Preuschen, Griechentum und Christentum, Freib. i. B. 1892, p. 101 ff.); and A. Harnack, Das Mönchtum, seine Ideen und seine Geschicke, Giessen, 1895, esp. p. 15 ff.; and, on the other side, the literature (No. II. cited at the end of the present article, dealing with the history of asceticism prior to and outside Christianity.] Long before the rise of monastic organizations, by which asceticism was elevated to the rank of dogma, that is, a formal characteristic of Christianity, many forms of ascetic practice and endeavour had made their appearance within the sphere of individual ethics. Some of these had their model in Jewish customs. This was the case in particular with the Jewish rituals of the Pharisees, who, according to the Talmud, observing fixed daily hours of prayer. For both of these practices, the so-called 'station' fasts on Wednesday and Friday, and the habit of praying at least three times a day (the gem from which the later conventional institution of 'hours' developed), there is evidence in writings as early as the 2nd cent. (Didache, viii. 3; Hermas, Sim. v. 1; 3; Aristides, Apol. 15; Tertull. de Jejun. i. 10, de Orat. i. 19; Clem. Alex., etc.). And at the root of both there is not only the Pharisaic Jewish model, but also asceticism as such, which developed in the Christian no less than in the Jewish tradition. The phenomena of pre-monastic early Christian asceticism may be assumed to have found their models and motives mainly in pagan Hellenism. So with the custom (to be attributed to the influence of Montanism) of partial fasting for several weeks before Easter (the xerophagy, or Fast of the Passion); the disposition (attributable to the same source) to increase the severity of Church discipline against those who for a fixed period (and to parallel the ascetic practices in Egypt) ventured to contract a second marriage (cf. especially Tertull. de paenit., de Publ., ad Uxor., de Monog., etc.); as well as the high or exaggerated value (to be explained partly from Montanist and partly from Gnostic influences) set upon voluntary virginity (magdalenia, cypriaca) as an ideal.

We see the corephyri of all the leading schools of theology, Greeks and Latins, Alexandrians and non-Alexandrians (cf., in regard to these last, not only the already oft-cited Tertullian, but also the Latin writings of H. de Haro, Monchtum et Monach. Domin., Lectantius, Inst. Div. vi. 23; and M. M. M. Madonna, Conviv. vii. 3, viii. 1), participating in the endeavour to commend such ascetic practices. The ascetic element was most prominent, to be sure, in the theology of that school which, as the founder of an ecclesiastically orthodox gnosticism in opposition to that of the heretical Gnostics, ventured to draw most boldly and most deeply from the treasury of the traditions of Greek philosophy—the Alexandrian, which far surpassed all other theological schools of the early Church in the matter of establishing and promoting new teaching—a task which, although he defends the right to hold earthly possessions (Quis div. saec.), and upholds the sanctity of the married condition (Pasch. i. 10; Strom. ii. 23, iii. 12), gives expression to very rigorous views regarding the Christian attitude to fine clothes and various worldly pleasures and enjoyments (Pasch. ii. 1 ff., iii. 2 f., 7 f.), and even pleads at times in favour of an almost Stoically conceived ideal of aghaty (Strom. iv. 22, cf. iii. 7 and vii. 12). Origen, even after he had learned to repent of the hyper-ascetic excesses of the Gnostics, especially the idea of self-emasculation (Euseb. HEE vi. 8), still remained an enthusiastic panegyrist of all forms of world-renunciation and mortifying of the flesh. He went still further in the matter of fasting and other mortifying forms of asceticism (cf. Tertull. ad Martyr., etc.), and especially in recommending virginity (on this last point, besides passages like c. Cels. ii. 26, viii. 48, viii. 55, see especially his Con. on Ro 12', where he commends three kinds of living, holy, God-pleasing sacrifices, namely a martyr death, voluntary celibacy, and abstention from sexual intercourse on the part of married persons; similarly Hom. 23 in Nom.).

It is not surprising that, when an advance took place from the practice of asceticism by individuals to its practice by bodies of people, the earliest signs of the monasteries. For whereas this Christian-Gnostic theology made its influence first and most powerfully felt in Egypt, the home of the Alexandrian theology, became also the mother-land of early Christian monasticism, or, to designate it as a whole, of monasticism (whether the word 'monastery' or 'monaster' is properly 'a hermit,' 'one living alone'; it is the living together in community that stamps the ascetics as monks in the modern sense of the word). It was in those circles in Egypt in which theology and church stood in the closest connexion with Origen that the impulse towards more intimate
association, with a view to a common ascetic life, appears to have set in earliest. The adherents of the Original Life of Antonius, of which a short account is given in No. 67 of his Catalogue of Heretics describes as a sect under the name 'Ippokranta, may in many respects be regarded as one of the earliest societies of ascetics. But in their case, as previously in that of the Egyptian party of Tatian, the element of theoretical traditional teaching or mystic Gnostic speculation probably predominated to such an extent that the name 'school' or 'sect' fits them better than such designations as 'Mönch- verein' or 'Klosterbriiderschaft' (cf. art. 'Hierakas' in *PBD*. The word Hierakon, which does not take sufficient account of the peculiarity which distinguishes them from the comelite societies of the following period). Like these Hierakites, who may have belonged entirely to the 3rd cent., the 'solitaries' (μοναχοί, also μονοχάριοι, μονόχαιροι), described by Eusebius in two passages of Commentary on the Psalms (on Ps 67 and 83), were also still without the closer social organization. The latter may yet have been wanting also to those 'bond brothers' or 'sons of the bond' (Συνάνθροποι) of the Egyptian skete life, in the final decades of the 4th cent., and whose dwelling-places should probably be sought in Palestine and Syria rather than in Egypt. What here again forbids our identifying them with monks proper or comelites is the lack of more definite information as to principles of organization or rules that may have belonged to them. This characteristic of being bound together by a fixed principle or rule of life is not wanting, however, in those societies of Middle Egypt which from the early part of the 4th cent. began to make their appearance in the Eastern Church, and as the founders of which St. Antony and St. Pachomius have gained superlative fame. The former (born 251, died 336) lived for some decades (from about 270) as a hermit in the mountain wilderness of the Oxyrhynchus persons and by the right bank of the Nile, opposite Arsinōe and Herculæopolis. Then, shortly after the year 300, a number of bodies of associates in his ascetic mode of life, who had taken upon their abode in the same region, were the subject of the Letter of Pachomius to the bishops of the first two centuries about the cases of monastic exercises in common, and thus—though for a time without written rules—a kind of monastic life was established. The sites of two of the κοινατα, or colonies of monks, established and directed by St. Anthony down to his death (i.e. for a full half century) can be fixed with tolerable certainty: Pṣirîr, or the 'outer mount of Antony,' lying close to the right bank of the Nile, and the 'inner mount of Anthony,' lying farther to the east, near the Red Sea. While this older patriarch of Egyptian monasticism still refrained from committing his rules to writing, his younger contemporary Pachomius (born c. 290, died 345 or 346) provided the hosts of ascetics who gathered round him in southern Middle Egypt, between Akhmîn [Panopolis] and Denderah, with a rule of life, and moreover in detail their devotional exercises and their work. This body of rules was, no doubt, reduced to writing by himself or by some of his immediate associates. By the authors of the earliest accounts of his life and work it was undoubtedly considered as a revelation, of which, having, it was alleged, been given to him written on a tablet of brass, by an angel while he sojourned in a cave. Its prescriptions regulate in the most minute detail not only the daily round of work and prayer, but also everything relating to the food, the clothing, and the living of the monks. They comprise much that is original and characteristic of the national Egyptian monastic usage, but also some things which the later tradition did not accept at all (so, especially, the division of the inmates of each establishment into different categories classified according to age), or accepted only with considerable modifications (for instance, the prescription of 3 x 12 daily acts of prayer). Partly independent of the models offered by the creations of these two great monastic fathers, and partly with the help of the asceticism already extant, there arose even during their lifetime various large and afterwards influential settlements of associated bands of ascetics. Thus we find (1) in Lower Egypt, the monasteries, or, to be more correct, the hermit-villages of the Nitrian mountain, founded somewhere about the year 529 by Arnon or Ammonius, as well as those of the desert of Skate to the north of this hill country, founded about 330 by Macarius 'the Great' or 'the Egyptian' (died 390); (2) the South Palestinian hermitages and monasteries, of which the most notable is Tell el-Farag or Hilarion's (written Hilarion II. of St. Anthony of the 2nd cent. (c. 320-350); (3) the Syrian and Mesopotamian monasteries called into being about 325 in Nisibis and its environs by the Egyptian Awgin (a monkish saint who received his training at Tabennisi, the principal monastery of a considerable size founded by a saint of the name of Hierakus in the 3rd cent.), and established about 350 still farther north, in Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, by Eustathius of Sebastia. Only a little later are the phenomena which mark the laying of the foundation of a joint practice of asceticism in the West, especially the essentially monastic activity of St. Martin (c. 370-400) in Western Gaul. Regarding the majority of these fathers of the monastic system we have more or less detailed and in the main reliable historical information. In his *Historia Lavrae* (written in the beginning of the 5th cent.), Palladius has collected sketches of the lives of some 70 notable ascetics and founders of monasteries. These sketches, while not devoid of certain features of embellishment, are never pure fictions, but rather embody reports by eye- and ear-witnesses of the events narrated, and of them; the life of the saint applies to the historical value of the still older *Historia Monachorum* by Rufinus, and to Athanasius's *Vita Antonii*. Here, again, this last-named biography of the most famous of all the Oriental patriarchs of monasticism, treated in the same fashion of the information which, while it is enriched with not a few legendary additions, represents in the main the authentic testimony of contemporaries. Against the attacks of modern hyper-critics (esp. the above-named Weingarten) on these and other sources for the history of asceticism and monasticism during the era of Constantine and the following period, see, in general, the discussions by C. Butler and the author of the present article in the works cited below (esp. Zöckeler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, pp. 188 ff., 200 ff., 212 ff.).

III. DEVELOPMENT OF ASCETICISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES. — The Church of the Middle Ages added scarcely anything that was essentially new to the forms of ascetic effort and action that had become usual in the Early Church period; but in the middle ages the practice of asceticism began to systematize these forms it went far beyond what had been done by the Ancient Church. The development in question was accomplished in the course of the following four periods:

1. The transition period from the Early Church to the Middle Ages proper (c. 400-800).—During this period the labours of a number of monastic legislators in East and West gave permanent form
and binding force to the traditions of the era of Constantine with reference to the living together of ascetics in monastic establishments. Basil the Great of Caesarea (died 379) drew up a set of rules, which Oriental ascetics by complete arrangements attained to permanent influence, for the monastic system of the Eastern Roman Empire and partly also of Lower Italy and Sicily. Suppression of the hermit or anchorite form of monastic life (which was still frequently preferred by the earliest Oriental ascetics) by complete arrangements, transfer of monastic settlements from remote deserts to the neighbourhood of cities, rejection of hyper-ascetic excesses (e.g. in such matters as fasting and the number of daily times of prayer, which latter in the earlier days and generally an increasing mildness of disposition, directed to the discouraging of excessive ascetic enthusiasm—such are, upon the whole, the characteristic features of this organization which derived its origin and its name from Basil. In the Latin edition of the Rules of Basil, which Palladius copied and prepared to serve as a constitution for the lower Italian and Sicilian branches of this monastic family, provision is made even for the establishment of double religious houses, i.e. the erection close to one another of monasteries under an abbot and a prior, 'the monasterium and gynæcum'. The foundation of these double houses indicates a shrinking from the veneration of the older sexual asceticism. A similar custom prevailed frequently in the West, even independently of the influence of Eastern models. Such houses were founded, for instance, in Spain by Fructuosus (died 670); in the British Isles we have examples in the Irish Scottish religious houses founded by St. Patrick and St. Columba; and still later in the orders of Robert of Arbrissel (died 1117), Gilbert of Sempringham (died 1141), and Blaise of Sweden (died 1157); cf. Zeckler, l.c. pp. 290, 379 ff., 419 ff., 541 f. More or less important developments continued to be undergone by Basil's monastic legislation in the Byzantine East till towards the middle of the 11th century. These concerned especially such matters as the placing of the rejoiced houses under the bishop's superintendence, increased severity of discipline within convents, an organic union whereby anchorites (κελαδόραι, 'innates of cells') lived with comedies within the cloistered community, and the distinguishing of the monks' right of penitential discipline from the pastoral charge exercised by the secular clergy. Most effective for this development were the ecclesiastical prescriptions of Justinian's civil code; the canons of certain synods of the 7th and 8th cent., especially the Trullan Council, ii, 692; the influence of the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (died 703), of the abbot Theodorus Studitas (died 826), of Athanasius of Trapezus (c. 900 f.) who founded the oldest principal religious house of the monastic republic on Mt. Athos, and of the Constantinopolitan monastic prefect, Simeon the younger (c. 1040; cf. Zeckler, l.c. p. 290 f.); and, in regard to the last named, K. Holt, Enthuasismus und Bissagewalt beim griechischen Monachismus, Leipzig, 1898.

The close connexion of the monastic system and asceticism of the West, we discover the most influential legislator and most famous founder of orders in the person of Benedict the Great of Nursia (died 543), the founder of Monte Cassino. A number of his works have been lost (in particular Joh. Cassianus [died 435] and Caucasus [died 542], the former the composer of rules for monks, the latter the author of a system for nuns) had sought to adapt the ascetic traditions of the East as represented by Egypt and Syria to the needs of the inmates of Western religious houses. In relation to these attempts it is to be noted that the course followed by the Regula Benedicti, which became the fundamental code of the greatest of all the orders of monks, is partly to summarize the practice of former orders and partly to condense and simplify previous results. The Regula in its present form is divided into 73 chapters, and though perhaps not free from some later additions, may be regarded, certainly up to ch. 66, as genuine. It exhibits no small degree of legislative wisdom in its enactments, which are marked on the one hand by strictness and on the other by humanity and mildness. It wears the aspect of strictness in its insistence upon the maintenance of the custum stabilitatis, and in its measures for ensuring a strict discipline. A position to all unprofitable and disposition on the part of the monks about without restraint; so also in its demand that there shall be no holding of private property by any inmate of a religious house; in short, in its enforcing of the three fundamental monastic principles of obedience, poverty, and chastity. But, on the other hand, it evinces relative mildness in its dietary prescriptions (the eating of flesh food being prohibited, but a moderate quantity of wine allowed), its regulation of dress, its enjoining of silence (τυπανικόν) at fixed times, and its directions as to the fashioning of the beard. Such things were indeed prescribed, but excessive length being avoided by reducing the number of Psalms to be sung in each 'hour' to three. The Regula of the patriarch of Monte Cassino knows as yet nothing of the more modern restraints of discipline, such as self-flagellation, wearing the hair shirt, temporary inclusio, or confinement of monks in their cells, etc. It was reserved for later epochs in the Middle Ages to give birth increasingly to such aggravations of ascetic practice until an unnatural development was reached.

2. The period from the beginning of the 9th till towards the end of the 11th century (from Charlemagne to Hildebrand).—This period is characterized, on the one hand, by the beginnings of that rigorous reaction, within the bosom of the Benedictine order of monks, against the frequent laxity or disuse of monastic discipline, such a reaction as is exhibited in the reforms of the younger Benedict (of Aniane, died 821) and the 'congregation' of Cluny (especially from the time of its second abbot, Hildebert). On the other hand, by the constant effort of the Church, through the instrumentality of penance, to carry over ascetic principles and habits of life to the lay world. Amongst the literature serving this purpose (the Liber Pontificalium), one of the earliest and most prominent places should be assigned to the works of Columbanus of Luxeuil (died 615), who composed not only a book of penance for laymen, but a rule for religious houses (regula concubilis) which contained a severe penal code. In this class of literature we find prescribed not only a number of the ordinary forms of penance for sins that have been confessed (money fines, almsgiving, pilgrimages to distant shrines, intensified fastings, etc.), but with special frequency also the penalty of flagellation. In connexion with the rigorous movement emanating from Cluny, there were many monasteries in which, from the commencement of the 11th cent., this flagellation was practised in a specially severe form, and with all sorts of refinements added to intensify it. Thus arose the practice of self-flagellation, frequently in certain religious houses of Central Italy (Clusium, Pompousa, perhaps also at Camaldoli near Arezzo, the original seat of the Camaldulensian 'congregation' founded by Romuald [died 1027]), and reduced to a fine art in Peter Damiani's establishment, Ponte Avellana, by Dominicus, summoned
Loriciatus (c. 1050), who added to the self-inflicted flagellation yet other methods of mortifying the flesh, notably the performance of numerous genuflexions; or "flagellants" of the 13th century, who resorted to self-torture in Divine worship, and so became a much admired hero of the self-torturing hyper-ascetic discipline (see the literature cited below).

A more harmless form of the joint practice of asceticism, likewise developed first in the religious houses that were influenced by the reforming movement of Cluny, and showing itself almost simultaneously in Central Italy and in South Germany, consisted in the institution of lay-brothers or "outside brothers" (fratres exteriores or lay-friars). These were kind of half-monks, who, because they were subject to only part of Benedict's Rule and were not bound to wear the monastic habit, did much to diffuse the spirit of monastic piety even in lay circles, and at the same time to extend the political influence of the monastery. Starting from Guibert's "congregation" of Vallombrosa near Florence (c. 1038), and from Hirsau, the monastery of abbot William the Holy (died 1091), this institution of lay-brothers gradually established itself in other congregations as the model for those brotherhoods of Penitents or Tertiaries which were afterwards (from the end of the 13th cent.) affiliated with the mendicant orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, and from whose activity results of great significance followed.

The period of the Crusades and of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages (c. 1100-1517).—The characteristics of this period are an ever-growing effort on the part of the religious orders to extend their manner of cultivating piety to the Church as a whole, and an increasing tendency to multiply associations to that end. About the 12th cent. the monasticizing of the secular clergy by the imposition of celibacy—a movement which had the fashion set to it in Rome from the time of Gregory vii.—had been accomplished in almost all the countries of the West, both the great rival "congregations" of the Benedictine order, that of Cluny and that of the Cistercians, lending their services to the Curia for this end. Still greater results were reached by the above-mentioned mendicant orders, which from the 13th cent. became, not only in their preaching in the language of the people, and to the self-sacrificing character of their pastoral activity, especially in times of severe national calamities, they gained for themselves a degree of popularity which threw all their predecessors into the shade. Many phenomena of asceticism as well as hyper-asceticism still prevailed side by side with the influences emanating from these regularly constituted chief representatives of monastic piety. Such, for instance, was the practice, much resorted to by both sexes, of inculcating, or allowing themselves to be shut up in narrow cells, caves, or huts, sometimes in remote districts, sometimes in the vicinity of much frequented churches or religious houses. So with pilgrimages to places of devotion and miracle-working shrines, the latter increasing in number especially at the end of the Middle Ages. To the same category belong the processions of flagellants, which after the year 1349 repeatedly poured over great tracts of country, and whose practices about the beginning of the 16th cent. were condemned by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (1415) and Strassburg (1418). Finally must be mentioned the numerous instances, amounting almost to a general epidemic of asceticism, in which, from the time of the "stigmatization" miracle connected with St. Francis (1224), visible copies of the wounds of Christ were, it was alleged, miraculously produced on persons of both sexes, sometimes within the pale of the two rival orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, sometimes outside it.

The above and kindred phenomena betray a widespread religious demoniacal tendency which manifested numerous symptoms of moral decay, particularly in the discipline of most of the religious orders, old and new alike. An attempt was made to counteract this degeneration by the mystical and inward tendency which marked some ascetic groups, esp. the "Brothers of the Common Life" (q.e.v.), who spread from the Netherlands over North and Central Germany; but this effort to lead men to spiritual religious exercises and to a spiritual following of Christ failed to make any deep and lasting impression upon any large number of people.

IV. ASCETICISM IN MODERN TIMES.—The Reformation of the sixteenth century led to a return, on the part of all that portion of Western Christendom which adhered to it, to that limited measure of ascetic practice and to a certain form of mortification which was the norm for primitive Christianity, with its freedom from the Law. In other words, an attitude of disapproval was adopted not only towards the hyper-asceticism of the Middle Ages, but also towards those intensifications of the ascetic-monsastic ideal which had appeared in the Church, but also in popular groups, and which we find in the ascetic movements of the first centuries. The Reformation did not introduce this, although it did contribute to them at the same time. The ascetic ideal, however, remained a part of the religious life of all Christian societies, and was renewed in the ascetic and self-mortifying movements of the protestant sects. The ascetic life was particularly emphasized in the new religious movements of the middle ages, and was thus preserved in its essence. We shall have occasion to refer to the ascetic life of the Middle Ages, the asceticism of the Crusades, and the asceticism of the early church.

1. The Greek-Rusian Church.—This Church, which had been more or less untouched by the exaggerations of asceticism that had shown themselves during the medieval period, in the West, and which, as we shall see, was the Russian Church, took the lead in the matter of their ascetic practice now set in.

2. The Roman Catholic Church.—Along with the celibacy of the clergy, this Church retains almost all the other intensifications of the ascetic principle which the medieval development added to the Early Church traditions. Nay, in the interest of its contra-Catharistic purpose, it went beyond its predecessors' points gone beyond the Middle Ages. New forms of ascetic discipline and self-torture could indeed
no longer be invented, but all that was possible was done in order to give more effective form and more refined manner to the creations of earlier days. This will be seen if, for instance, Loyola’s Exercitatio精神aelia be compared with their embryonic types in the monastic mysticism of the Brothers of the Common Life, or the school comedies and the performance of oratorios in the order of Neri be compared with the crudities of the clerical plays of the closing pre-Reformation period. Of the unnatural extravagances of the later mediaeval asceticism, some, such as flagellants, inquirers of the Common Life, or the dead, etc., were, if not wholly suppressed, at least somewhat mitigated and more discreetly ordered. The tendency to multiply the forms of joint practice of asceticism was still maintained. And especially in the frequent formation of new religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods outside the orders proper the more recent Catholicism exhibits an inventive genius and a productive power which have been able to defy all counter-forces, including even the revolutionary storm at the transition from the 18th to the 19th century. Even of the present century to exhibit the same capacity as during the first decades of the counter-Reformation. The Society of Jesus forms the chief centre. Within its bosom is constantly produced that inexhaustible supply of ascetic vital energy which is the inner triumph of the ascetic spirit. The uniqueness of this most important and original of all Catholic orders consists neither in an unexamined severity of self-mortification nor in unusual zeal in performing deeds of loving self-sacrifice, nor yet in a superstitious degree of scientific industry. In none of these points, least of all in the last-named, is the order of Loyola content to hold a secondary place; but it seeks its chief glory in an intensifying of the monastic virtue of obediencé, whereby it far surpasses all that has been achieved in this matter by earlier ascetic societies. The secret of its greatness lies in the blindly obedient devotion on the part both of its individual members and of its superiors to the command of the Pope, and all with a view to extirpating Protestant heresy. To the vow of obedience it has imparted, especially by that sacrifice of intellect to which it trains its pupils, a military precision which secures for it an incomparable superiority over all the other militant orders of the Papal Church. And, owing to this essentially military character and organization, though it has reached its goal in the extirpation of Protestantism, it has gained other successes of the utmost importance. Instead of the Churches of Protestantism, it has completely conquered its own Church, and secured for itself within it a position of influence which, to all appearances, is destined to continue for decades if not for centuries.

3. The Protestant Churches. — These reject, as their reforming instruments and Confessions declare with practical unanimity (cf. Conf. Aug. art. 26, p. 581; xxxv. 26, 27; Conf. Helv., ii. 18, 24, 29; Scotch Conf. i. 14, 15, and ii.), the Roman demand for the celiacy of the clergy, just as they oppose the claiming of special merit for ascetic displays of virtue. A certain number of wonted ascetic observances, especially in the matter of fasting and abstinence, have been continued in the practice of Luthernans, Anglicans, and some of the other Reformed Churches in the times immediately following the Reformation, but have survived in only a very limited measure down to the present day. The asceticism to be seen in the lives and practices of strict asceticism in the matter both of fasting and of abstinence from worldly pleasures and enjoyments, evincing in general a tendency to withdrawal from the world, was aimed at and in some measure achieved by the Continental Pietism of the 17th and 18th, as well as in England and her colonies by Methodism and some of the Methodist and Baptist sects (especially the Tunkers [from c. 1724] and the Shakers [from 1774]), both of which favoured the principles of celibacy and con- bustion of worldly goods. When the attempts for these led for the most part to no permanent results. The Pietistic bodies in Germany, in so far as they survived the Spener-Franke and Zin- zendorf times, introduced important modifications in their opposition to a more secular form of Christi- anity. An increase of the ascetic efforts of many branches of British and American Methodism. Particularly in the sphere of the crusade against alcohol not a little success has already been achieved, whose substantial influence is likely to extend to the life of other doctrines as well, and from which still more may be looked for in the future. A similar remark applies to the work of the Salvation Army. Its Self-Denial Efforts, i.e. abstinence from a number of the pleasures of life with a view to being able to give all the more to the spiritual life, is carried on with these forms of ascetic action whose survival and wider diffusion within the pale of Protestant Christianity are in general to be wished and prayed for. Similar in character and aim are the Weeks of Self-Denial which have recently become common among the Evangelical Church, from which an account is given by R. E. Thompson, the historian of that denomination, in American Church History series, vol. 159.


V. WESTERN CATHOLIC ASCETISM: Max Heimbucher, Die Orden und Konvente der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Freiburg, 1897; E. Spreitzenhofer, O.S.B., Die Entwicklung des alten Monstums in Italien bis zum Auftreten des heiligen Benedikt, Vienna, 1894; G. Gritzmacher, Die Benediktiner, Neuwied, 1895; J. Spreitzenhofer, Geschichte der Benediktiner, Vienna, 1895; cf. also Zöckler, Askese und Monastik, pp. 10-29, 1897.
ASCETICISM (Greek) — We find asceticism even in ancient Greek life, and there, in fact, its unseemly beginnings go back to the 7th and 6th cents. B.C. Sundry anticipations of the practice are traceable in various religious cults, as, e.g., the rigorous fasting enjoined by the Eleusinian Mysteries, the fast-day in the sacred calendar of the Attic Thragetas, preparing for incubation in the cithorian courts, etc. But some of these went ever beyond the embryonic stage, as they did not emanate from any systematic religions conception of the world. Asceotic movements of real signification make their first appearance among the esoteric seers and partiers of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Thus Alarct, whom Findal (frag. 270 B) names as a contemporary of Cresus, is said to have carried the golden arrow of Apollo over the whole earth without taking food. In Strabo, v. 2, 5, he appears as ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, a religious ascetic, thus being an embodiment of the esoteric Mysteries. This is, in fact, confirmed by the account given in Hesych. Synes. Socr. c. II (Litt. ii. 654 B.). The rule of abstinent practices was generally observed by the archons and by the lepers. The purpose of these regulations and ceremonies was to purify men from the contaminating touch of demons. And, indeed, the practice of cathartics in general arose mainly from the dread of demonic powers, with their standing menace of pollution. Such ideas had not yet taken shape in the Homeric age. These germinal notions, however, could not develop into a genuine asceticism until men had become conscious of an opposition between body and soul. No such opposition is supposed to exist apart from the body belongs to the remote past, the phenomena of dreams, the trance of possession, as also the frequent abrupt transition from life to death, all bearing evidence that the second element—soul—had not yet been of small account, as contrasted with the soul. Of small account, as contrasted with the soul, of small account, as contrasted with the soul, of small account, as contrasted with the soul, of small account, as contrasted with the soul, of small account, as contrasted with the soul. The outstanding feature of early Orphic asceticism was the prohibition of animal food (cf. Euripides, Hippolyt. 352 = Diels, Frag. 471, No. 8).
Mysteries Pythagoras was undoubtedly acquainted, and when we find unmistakable traces of the ascetic mode of life even among the oldest Pythagoreans, we need hardly hesitate to infer that the founder of the school was himself an ascetic. Even Herodotus (II. 81) speaks of the prohibition of burying the dead in woollen clothes as being not only an Orphic, but also a Pythagorean, ordinance; while, again, the doctrine of the ἀρχαὶ ἐφύσοι was attributed to Pythagoras by the geographical tradition. The curious opinion expressed by Aristoxenus is really meant to apply only to contemporary Pythagorean scholars with whom he was intimate. The interdict against the use of bees seems likewise to belong to the early school. It cannot be doubted that other Pythagoreans were distinguished by their simple life. A peculiar feature in their asceticism, from the 4th cent. at least, seems to have been silence, originally resorted to, no doubt, as a means of avoiding sacrilegious or ill-intentioned language in their religious practices; compare what is said by Isocrates (Busiris, 29) regarding the Pythagoreans of his own time. It should also be noted that anticipations of sexual asceticism, or continence, are apparently found in connexion with the primitive school.

Meager and notices as they are sufficient to show us that purity (ἀγερία, ἀγερίται) in the ceremonial religious sense was the ideal of the 'Iatic' philosophers no less than of the Orphic cults. Moreover, when we compare with them the teaching of Pythagoras regarding morality and the transmigration of the soul, and that of Philolaus regarding the human body as a house of detention wherein the soul expiates its guilt (frag. 14D), it would appear that early Pythagorean asceticism sprang from the same fundamental sources, and had the same view, as that of Orphism, the influence of which upon the former is unmistakable. Pythagoreanism, further, had also an ethical tendency; thus one of its characteristic virtues was ἀσφοιτισία, which was supposed to be promoted by asceticism, and which unquestionably had a place in the system before the days of Aristoxenus.

3. Empedocles. — While we may thus deduce from a tradition, fragmentary at best and overgrown with later traditions, the fairly definite fact that among the early Greek philosophers Pythagoreans intimately associated with mystical theories about the soul, the same conjunction of ideas is brought out in strong relief in the case of the last great purifier of ancient Greece, viz. Empedocles of Acragas, who likewise belonged to the West. Further, the moral and religious views of Empedocles resemble some of the Pythagoreans in the circumstance of their having no organic connexion with his philosophical or scientific

In Aristophanes, Frogs, 1032, Ἀσκησία ὃς ἐν οἰκετείᾳ has probably been initiated into the Orphic mysteries says: ὁ ὁρφικὸς μὲν γὰρ τάκτεσθαι ἥμων κατέθετο. Cf. Euripides, Hecuba, 767, ἀσκήσεως τὴν ἠγορασμένην ἔργα ἀπέχειν. The practice of fasting (εὐρέμα) seems also to have had a place in Orphic asceticism.

As a matter of fact, the things and conditions from which they really kept themselves unsnared were those which represented in the symbolism of religion, rather than involved in actual practice, a dependence upon the world of death and immortality. See op. cit. II. 120.

The Orphic asceticism, however, like the ὁρφικὸς βίος in general, probably had, even in its early stages, an ethical import as well. This is certainly not the opinion of Erwin Rohde, who, speaking of this asceticism, says: 'It does not join in the practice of the civic virtues, nor is discipline or transformation of character required by it; the sum-total of its morality is to bend one's course towards the deity, and turn away, not from the moral lapses and aberrations of earthly life, but from the profane (frag. II. 120, cf. ii. 102).

On the other hand, Conzeper writes: 'What distinguishes the Orphic branch of the Greek religion from the other Mysteries is the extraordinary emphasis it laid upon morality, an approximation to which is found only in the Apolline cult centralised among the Attic Eleusinians. This deepening of the moral consciousness may well be regarded as the true source of the most important and most characteristic element in the Orphic teachings about the soul' (Griech. Denker, i. 107, cf. 434.) It would certainly seem to be the case, that with that of Rohde, is so far the right one, though the former has possibly somewhat exaggerated the moral factor.

2. Pythagoreanism. — Orphic ideas exercised a vast influence upon the succeeding period. In the first place, cognate practices and views are found among the early Pythagoreans. It is, of course, impossible to determine precisely how far such ideas are traceable to Pythagoras himself, as the oral traditions of the school are all we have to go upon till the time of Philolaus, i.e. the middle of the 5th cent. B.C.; but general considerations seem to favour the theory of their being so derived. With regard to Pythagoras, indeed, we are certain of only two of his cardinal tenets, viz. the immortality of the soul, and the transmigration of souls.

While we can bear in mind how intimately these two tenets are connected with asceticism among the adherents of Orphism, with whose

* Porphyry, Vit. Phth. 7 = Diels, Frag. 392, 24 ff.


† Diels, op. cit., 429, 27 ff., where for frag. 473 read frag. 475.

Ehon, Orph. fr. 320, lambertschmurr. 8 ff. 

Endorsed by Ernst Mans, Orphicus, 167 ff. 

Φράγματα τοία παραγόντα, ὅτι τοῦτο ἔχονται κατὰ ἐπιστήμονα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δένομεν, τοῖς ἔθεσι τοιαύτα: ἔστι τάξις ἐν τοῖς θυγατρίσιν. Diels, LXXI. 123, i. 181, 182. 

Diels, op. cit., 429, 27 ff. On this see Diels, Orphische Denkembusse, 8 ff.

surely the problem of burying the dead in woollen clothes is already noted by Herodotus, ii. 81; cf. Rohde, ii. 123, 1.

But we cannot bear in mind how intimately these two tenets are connected with asceticism among the adherents of Orphism, with whose


† Diels, op. cit., 429, 27 ff., where for frag. 473 read frag. 475.

Herod. ii. 123 = Diels, Frag. 2 i. 22, No. 1; Xenophanes, frag. 7 d: cf. Empedocles, frag. 129.

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theories. In his poem called Ἀσκησις, abstention from animal food, and, in fact, avoidance of blood-shedding in general, are very specially inculcated, and are based upon the theory of transmigration and that of the close affinity of man and animal—a concatenation of thought which we may perhaps suppose, though we cannot prove, to have obtained strength from Orphic and Egyptian motives.

So Hippolytus, Refutationes, viii. 29, 349—Diels, Frag. iii. 2, 296 f. 1: ἦν δὲ τὴν τοιοῦτον ὁπὸ τὸν θεολόγον νεώτερα ἐλεγμένον τοῦ τοιοῦτος μεγάλου πόλεμον πεπέμβας ὁ Πλάτων, ὃς τοὺς μεγάλους μαθητὰς παραδόθηκε ἐν γὰρ κόσμῳ τὰ συμφωνία τῶν φυσικῶν κακολογίων ἐκπίθηκα.

Infrag. 140 is also worthy of note, as exemplifying the variability of the laurel (on this cf. Rohde, ii. 181, 2). The case of the Pythagoreans of the 7th cent., may be said in one sense to reach its end, but in another to arrive at its culminating point, in the Platonic philosophy. In Plato, the founder of the idealistic view of the world, philosophical asceticism and theurgy combine with one another in a wonderful way. The Divine origin of the soul, its pre-existence, its fall into corporeality, its judgment after death, its expiatory wanderings through the bodies of animals or men, according to its character, its final redemption from the cycle of rebirths, and its return to God—all these various doctrines, in their main features at least, were borrowed by Plato directly from the 'theologians,' i.e., in a special sense, the Orphics. The manner in which he amalgamated them with the rest of his philosophical system is, however, all his own.

In the early stages of Plato’s thought the two worlds of becoming and being stand in the relation of sheer opposition: here, the world of sense, with its unresting flux of ever-changing phenomena; there, the supersensuous world, world of idears, identical and absolutely unchangeable realities, of the ‘ideas,’ of what alone truly exists. The human soul, however, occupies a peculiar position between the two; it is of Divine origin, and while not itself an idea, it is ‘most like’ one, and partakes of the character of existence in the supramundane sphere it has gazed upon the Ideas, but, having fallen into the state of corporeality, it has forgotten them; and only by its recollection thereof (ἀνάμνησις) can it possibly attain to true knowledge. Such leading principles must of necessity result in a pessimistic attitude to the world and its supposed goods, that is, in a world-renouncing morality. Withdrawal from the life of the body, which only impedes and constrains the soul; the utmost detachment of the soul from its prison-house in the other (philosophical) ‘dying’ so impressively depicted by Socrates in Phædo (especially p. 64 ff.); disengagement from the world of sense in general, with its phantasmaria of delusive appearances—these things go to form the end which the friend of wisdom must know in view.

In the Thetis, 170 A we read: ἦν καὶ παρθένος, χρή εὐθέντος (from this world) εἴκος (to the gods) φυγὼν ὅτι τίταρτον. Similarly, philosophy becomes καθαρός: ὁ πάθος, 67 A: ἴδος ἦν ὁ σῶμα άνωτέρως ἐστάσις, ἐὰν ἂν μέλλει μετὰ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄφαντα πάντα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐμπεσθεράνειν. Such, similarly, becomes the soul: ὁ ἀνδρός τοῦ θεοῦ καθαρός ἐστιν. In the Academy, however, it is another case, ὁ θεὸς, ἐν τῷ πέποντι τὴν ἐνεργήν ἀσέρπην ἑκάστην καθαρός, ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ ὡς καθάρος ἑν τῷ πολιτείαν καθαρός καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολιτείαν ἐστιν καθαρός καὶ ἐστιν παλαιότερον καθαρός ἐστιν οὐκ ὡς καθαρός ἐστιν οὕτως ὡς καθαρὸς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ [οὐκ] θεοῦ καθαρός ἡταῖρος ἐστιν καθαρός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καθαρός καθαρός.
The philosopher also will therefore stand aloof from the enterprises and pursuits of his fellow-citizens, in so far as the community is not large, will give himself entirely to the task of becoming holy.

On its positive side, however, this katharsis from all that earthly implies a turning towards God. By renouncing the present world the soul becomes free to the highest degree of all relativity in the sense of the ὑποτέλεσις, the vision of the Ideas, and especially the Idea of the Good, the highest of them all. But the Ideas constitute the realm of divine realities. Thus the soul which, though of heavenly origin, had been cramped and delayed throughout its life by the body, is enabled by the possession of that highest knowledge which is identical with virtue.

 Cf. Theat. 176 B— In connexion with the passages given above; ὑπότελεσις (cf. Republic) B η ὑποτέλεσις αὐτῆς ἡ προσέφεραν ὑποτέλεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑποτέλεσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀλήθους, τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀλήθους, τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑπερτέλεσιν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν ἄλλως ήσε πάντα τοῦ δικαιοσύνης καὶ σίγου ἄριστου ἄλλως ὑποτέλεσιν τοῦ ὑπερτέλεσιν τὸν ἀληθινόν τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀληθινόν τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθινον τὸν ἀλήθι...
render himself as independent of the external as possible, the Cynic endeavours to reduce his wants to a minimum; and in order to win his inner freedom (άτάδια), he exercises himself in combating and overcoming the affections (so Diogenes, cf. Dio, ix. 12), more especially in fighting against ἀθάνατος (Diogen. frag. 99, 100. IX. 12; cf. Lucian, Vit. aur. 8; Teles, frag. v. II).

This world-abjuring in Cynic ethics found its chief expression in a negative attitude towards the family, the State, and the idea of nationality, and towards the great traditions of Greek philosophy, even those of the Peripatetics; and in the position the Cynics assumed towards Greek religion, art, and science. This is to be explained in part by the fact that Antisthenes was but half Greek by blood, and that Diogenes sprang from the lower classes. Even in their boasted countermilitant the Cynics were in earnest only with the negative constituent, viz. their detachment from State and nationality.

The real asceticism of the Cynics showed itself, above all, in their mode of life, which they reduced to the simplest possible form. They consisted chiefly of lupines, dried figs, peeled barley and water; their clothing was practically limited to the τρίβων, their feet being ἀνυψωτότα, while their place of abode, i.e. their lodging by night, was the shelter of the pillars of the temple in summer, and in the bathing-houses in winter. By inuring the body to the extreme of rigour, they—more especially Diogenes—sought to strengthen their power of will (Diog. Laert. vi. 29, 34).

The significance attached to asceticism by Diogenes, who had already distinguished two kinds of ἄσκησις—one purely physical, the other both physical and psychical (Diog. Laert. vi. 70 f.)—is shown by his apothegm: Οὐδέν γε τα παράσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χωρὶς ἀθάνατος καυροθυλαῖθα, δόοην εἰ τά παρών ἂν ἐνευκείη. A significant, and characteristically Hellenic, feature of Cynic ethics, however, was its attitude towards the sexual impulse. To the Cynics this appeared to be no less natural than hunger itself, and therefore likewise to require satisfaction—though in the simplest and least expensive way. Thus Diogenes is in no way scandalized at either masturbation or illicit intercourse (marriage had, of course, no meaning for him); in fact, as the gratification of sexual desire was reckoned sacrilegious by the Cynics, many of them—viz. Zeno and Crates, Diogenes the Cynic (Hippar-" chia), had no scruples about indulging even in the presence of others, thus showing a gross lack of modesty, to say nothing of good taste. Nevertheless, those who indulged beyond the requirements of nature were looked upon as the slaves of pleasure (φραγατι), and this they reckoned the worst of evils. *

Antisthenes did not himself lay so much stress on the external aspects of the Cynic mode of life; while he did, however, it would seem, to make a virtue of necessity. Very much more, indeed, externals weigh with his gifted pupil Diogenes, as also with Crates, his wife Hipparhia, her brother Metrocles, and others. † The asceticism of the Neo-Cynics during the Roman Imperial period will be dealt with in connection with the later Stoics.

Primitive Cynicism reproached even innocent enjoyment. Further, from the time of Diogenes at


least, the Cynics tended to make too much of the external aspect of their mode of life. But an asceticism which sprang from an ethical standpoint so grossly individualistic could be of no permanent value to human society. Still, in putting to the test of actual practice the dictum that man’s true happiness does not depend upon hiscircumstances, the Cynics made a valuable contribution to human progress; while, from another side, their belief that moral volition is an essential constituent of virtue was pregnant with significance for the future.

6. Stoicism.—Of the leading principles of the early Cynic ἄσκησις* only one was of exceptional importance, viz. the idea that virtue can be acquired only by unremitting practice. In this particular point, which involved an emphasis of the volitional factor in virtue, the Cynics made an advance upon Socrates; it was, in fact, a thought destined to be fruitful for all time, and in the further development thereof special credit is due to the Stoics. We must not forget, indeed, that the Stoas was preceded by Aristotle, who in his Ethics had also distinguished virtues from vices, viz. the ethical and the diatonic (e.g. Eth. Nicom. ii. 1. 1103 A, 14 ff., i. 13. 1102 B, 33 ff.). Ethical virtue is ἀθανασία εἰς τοὺς πάθος καὶ πάθεις (Eth. Nicom. ii. 6, 1106 B) εἶ θεον περίγεγραμμεν (i. 1106 A, 22). Since the Cynics, however, in insistent desire, is often stronger than the volition which springs from φραγατι, it is only by means of exercise that the individual can acquire that φραγατικά which enables him, even in opposition to the stronger desire, to do what he recognizes as right. Now, φραγατικά is a sub-species of αὐτοτροφία, which, again, is one of the ‘ethical’ virtues. But the idea of a psychological independence of the will—apart from the intellect—was foreign to Aristotle.

It must certainly be admitted that among the early Stoics, so closely related to the Cynics in many other things, the volitional moment in virtue does not stand out very prominently, though this may be due partly, of course, to the fragmentary character of our available sources. Unmistakable traces of the idea, nevertheless, are still extant, and yeoman service has been rendered by Adolf Dyroff in bringing these to light. The personal ideal of the Stoic doctrine of virtue—the wise man—has, of course, no further need of practice; but all the more is it necessary for the neophytes, theory and practice, ἐν διατοις. The founder of the school valued practical example more highly than arguments against pleasure (frag. 241); witness also his significant utterance: οὐδέν ἡμιοστέον τέσσαρα τό χρόνον. Βρεθεὶς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἡ δίκη, δὲ τέχνῃ μακρῇ, καὶ μέλλων ἡ ταῖς τῆς νοημονίαν ἐναγαίνει (frag. 323). His successor Cleanthes likewise places moral conduct higher than theory, and that he recognizes the element of volition in virtue is shown by frag. 503. It is accordingly easy to understand why Cleanthes, like Antisthenes, placed his highest rewards as ἀγαθοί (frag. 611), while frag. 129 (Gercke) furnishes special evidence of the fact that Chrysip- pus, * the second founder of the Stoas, * appreciated the value of practice and habit in the attainment of virtue. The task of becoming virtuous, or—since only a few finally attain that end—that of coming as near to perfect virtue as possible, belongs

* No doubt, the doctrine of the absolute worthlessness of earthly goods was taken over by the Stoics, but it was sub- sequently slightly modified by some of the different sects, i.e. by the Epicureans (κατὰ διάδοσιν, viz. προφητεύομαι, μάξα, καὶ ἀπορωσίαμαι), whereby at least a certain respect for the value of material goods is shown. On the other hand, the φραγατικά of the Cynics was spiritualized by the Stoics, who put no special value on the ascetic mode of life. One of the cases of this regarded the πόρος of a Stoas, such as Musonius, and, in some degree, also Epictetus, did a change in this respect take place.

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to the will, and cannot be performed without practice (cf. also frag. 294, 275 A). Chrysippus gave full reproof to this, and the period of effort in the work of attaining perfection. True insight is shown also by Aristo of Chios in his remark that 'much practice and much fighting' is demanded by the struggle both against pleasure and against the asceticism of today. It is manifest that nothing now remains of the work of Herilus, who, like Dionysius Metathemenus, wrote περὶ ἀκρόσιας (Diog. Laert. vii. 166 f. [Diels, 410 f. A]), especially as he deemed ἑκάστην to be the supreme good. A further proof of the fact that the value of the distinction was the most being given to it, and more highly appraised by the Stoics, appears in their doctrine that many (apparent) evils are allotted to man for the purpose of calling his moral energies into exercise, and may therefore be utilized for his welfare in whatsoever degree he may choose. This idea was already mooted by Chrysippus, but it was especially in the middle (though probably also in the middle) period of Stoicism that it became fruitful.

The early Stoics undoubtedly felt that the will must be trained in the exercise of virtue, but they gave the thought neither clear articulation nor adequate recognition. An advance in this respect was made during the middle period. Thus Panetius, whose ethical teaching was unquestionably influenced by Aristotle, draws a distinction between ἀκρόσια (vt. 152, 1) and καταπόρτα (vt. 152, 1) virtue and holds that the latter, requiring, as it does, a coherent action, is attainable only by practice.* Discipline of the body is also necessary (Cicero, de Offic. i. 23, 70). The practical virtue, which consists in the voluntary, is ἀκρόσια, the virtue whose significance was first fully realized by Antisthenes, and afterwards very specially by Aristotle. Posidonius likewise distinguishes the two aspects of virtue. Inasmuch as practical virtue consists in the subordination of the irrational to the rational part of the soul, especially in the repression of the bodily impulses and passions, it is to be acquired, Posidonius believes, by the cultivation of the body, and habit, which must carry out the process of subjugating impulse begun by education. But this point of view, which at first sight is hardly distinguishable from that of Panetius, or even that of Aristotle, is in the case of Posidonius most immediately related to a mystical Platonic conception of the nature and destiny of the human soul: the soul is a part of the Divine πνεῦμα, and, coming down from the heavenly to the earthly sphere, enters the body which is its prison, and which seizes and defiles it with desires. To preserve this divinely begotten soul, this δαίμον, from earthly guilt and defilement, and by means of a virtuous life to effect its return to its celestial home, the Εὐθυς, where alone full knowledge can be its portion—such is the aim of all truly wise and great men. The influence of Plato is here quite unmistakable, though Posidonius was doubtless congenitally inclined to the idealistic point of view.

It was in later Stoicism, however, that the importance of practice in virtue, as in moral life and especially morally, first gained full and adequate recognition. Seneca, it is true, emphasizes this particular aspect in an incidental way at best, but this was due not so much to any lack of insight on his part, as to the defects and the weaknesses of the age, which in the main takes the form of contempt for the body, the body being regarded as but a letter upon the Divine soul, which amidst her sombre, insecure, changeful, earthly existence longs for her Divine home (cf. also i. 29, 32, 20). With regard to the attitude of Epictetus towards corporeal asceticism, see ii. 12, 16 ff.

The moment of ethical asceticism, however, reached its highest development in the Phrygian freedman Epictetus, in whose hands the idea of 'asceticism', became finally spiritualized, representing, in fact, the unswerving endeavour of the individual soul towards its own moral perfection. Of a multitude of relevant passages we note only the more important.† That which was openly taught and practised by Epictetus was put to the proof in private by Marcus Aurelius, the last Roman who sat upon the throne of the Cæsars.§ Amid the tumult of the world's capital, or by night in his lonely tent at Carnuntum, Aurelius laboured ceaselessly in the depths of meditations on the world, towards the purifying and perfecting of his soul. He is never able to satisfy himself, but never falters in his effort to come nearer and nearer to the ideal (pp. 127, 14 ff.; 131, 18 ff.), and throws himself bravely into the conflict between soul and sense (pp. 93, 18 ff.; 01, 9 ff.; 131, 12 ff.; 162, 4 ff.). But apart from other profound differences between Aurelius and Epictetus, though both were Stoics, they were fundamentally unlike in their spiritual outlook. Thus, while Epictetus, alike in thought and action, is wholly concerned with the present, the Stoics, on the other hand, as we have seen, look towards the remotest future, and would willingly subordinate the present to the future, and in so doing they look upon the world as something that has no real existence (e.g. i. 17, viii. 3). He despises the goods of this world (iv. 48), even fame, and often all but grows weary of life itself (p. 1, 9 ff.). His apocalyptic utterances seem to be haunted by the pathos of life and the yearning

* Cicero, de Offic. i. 18, 60; Schmeckel, Phil. d. mitt. Sta. 216 ff.

† e.g. Epì. 16, 11 f.; 18, 55 ff.; 75, 7 ff.; 82, 16; 90, 46; 94, 47; 95, 45 and 57. In Epì. 5, 4 he deprecates the extravagances of Cynic asceticism.

‡ Quoted. Nat. prolog. 33 ff.; ad Marcianum, 23, 1 f.; 24, 5, 25.


* Cicero, de Offic. i. 15, iii. 3, iii. 12, 4 f. 111; cf. also i. 20, 32, 20. With regard to the attitude of Epictetus towards corporeal asceticism, see iii. 12, 16 ff.
ing for death. He certainly has no belief in a future life, but his eye turns away from earth and from human effort, and is directed toward the All and the Eternal. Though he is an adherent of the masculine philosophy, more especially the Neo-Platonism of the Pythagoreans, he is not consistently maintained by Aurelius, any more than by Seneca and Epictetus—yet the fundamental qualities of his great soul have an admixture of the spirit of renunciation and mysticism. Leaving his anthropology out of account, we see that the most unmistakably in his conception of the Deity.

7. Neo- Cynicism. Of an entirely different nature from the view of life entertained by Aurelius, is that of the Neo-Cynics, for whose teachings there was a lively interest, and even a certain sympathy, among theLater Stoics, such as Musonius, Seneca, and Epictetus. The representatives of this Neo-Cynic tendency revive the asceticism of Diogenes and Crates, and, while laying the main emphasis upon the actual practice of asceticism, the contribute nothing whatever in the way of fresh thought. For fuller information see art. NEO-CYNICISM.

8. Neo- Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism. The tendency towards renunciation of the world, which forms the basal element in the temperament of the Pythagoreans, was reconstituted in a variety of forms. Stoicism, but was rather a product of the time, and, one may well suppose, of his own experiences and fortunes. It was, however, organically related to the philosophy of the Neo-Pythagoreans—that school, which emerged in the Arians of the first century B.C., perhaps in the Alexandria. No doubt the greater part of the literature of this school is pseudographic, and we know by name only a few of its adherents. Apart from P. Nigidius Figulus and Valentinus, contemporaries of Cicero, and Sotis, the early Christian author, perhaps the most important representatives known to us are Apollonius of Tyana and Moderatus of Gades (1st cent. A.D.), Necomachus and Numenius (2nd cent. A.D.), and Philostratus (3rd cent. A.D.).

The moral and religious views of life promulgated by the Pythagoreans is in part traceable to the Mysteries of the ancient school, but in a still greater degree to Platonism, especially to that form of Platonism set forth by Posidonius in his commentary to the Timaeus. The characteristic of the soul, which was preserved from the old, viz., the mind and body. Spirit is the principle of good (the Deity being conceived as pure Spirit, and regarded as utterly transcendent), while the body, like matter in general, is the principle of evil. Between the two stands the Demiurge, or world-former, and the demons, whose kingdom lies in the sphere between the earth and the moon. The soul, which is formed of the Divine essence, is meanwhile confined within the body as in a prison, and her deliverance from the body and its impulses, in order that she may become conformed with the Deity, is the most urgent task of mankind—a task which finds its positive side in a holy and devout life, since the Supreme can be worshipped in a truly spiritual manner only with purity of thought and piety of conduct (cf. the fragment of Apollonius in Ennead, Prop. Ennead, iv. 13). Mankind is exposed on all sides, however, to contamination by demons, and the means employed to cleanse from this defilement is asceticism. The most effective forms of asceticism are certain specific aablations and expiatory cere-

numinous, and abhorrence from every kind of sin, more particularly from flesh and wine (among the Later Pythagoreans), sexual temperance, or even abstinence (as is said to have been counselled by Apollonius), silence on the part of neophytes, etc. But as man is of himself unable to realize this end, and since between him and the supramundane Godhead there yawns a great gulf which requires to be bridged, the Deity reveals His will through the medium of a special messenger, the Deity of the Pythagorians formally, and now Apollonius, as also in the art of divination, in order that man may possibly be helped in his dark endeavour to reach his heavenly home and the deification of his being.

Sources for our knowledge of Neo-Pythagoreanism are the account of Alexander the Great by Diod. Nurt. viii. 22 f., the large fragments of pseudo-

nymous literature written under the name of the old Pythagoreans (particulars in Zeller), the fragments of Numenius, Philostratus's Vita Apolloni, and the Lites of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus. In Neo-Pythagoreanism the mysteries of the older school are resuscitated in a spiritualized and morally nobler form. The real significance of the later development, however, lies in the fact that, in conjunction with the Christian, the last great system of ancient philosophy, viz. the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus. It was the aim of Plotinus to get beyond the dualism of Neo-Pythagoreanism on both metaphysical and ethical principles. In his nobly planned and profoundly studied system he has created an emanation from the Deity, who is supersensual, supramundane, and exalted above oppositions, even that between spirit and body. He is Pure Being, the Absolute, and from Him issues the world in a series of gradations, returning again to the same. The principal stages of this emanation are three in number, viz., Spirit, Soul, and Matter. Just as light eventually fatigues the eye, and its radiance is changed to darkness, so does the final irradiation of the ineffable and inscrutable Essence, so that the living being traversed in the medium of the Deity, Deity and Soul, become Matter (Enneads, iv. 3, 9), which, however, never attains the metaphysical independence that belongs to the Absolute. Matter is the μόριον, and, as the αφωνίων τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, the ἐκτός καθότως. Man, too, is an effluence from the Absolute, and in the human soul are distinguished a supersensual or Divine, and a lower or sensual part. Just as pure spirit in its final expression becomes matter, so the human soul with equal necessity is metamorphosed into body. The supersensual part, the soul, which was preserved in the Deity and remained in union with God, has suffered disaster from having entered the body (iv. 3. 15 ff., v. 1. 1). From the union of soul and body springs all the irrationality and depravity of the soul. Our great task, therefore, is the extirpation of everything that binds us to sensuous existence, the complete withdrawal of the soul from the outer world to its own inner life. Hence, virtue is neither more nor less than the work of purifying the supersensual soul from all its relations with the world of sense (cf. Timaeus, 51 ff., 60 ff.), that is, the way in which all this that Plotinus should set no value upon taking part in earthly affairs, either of a scientific or a politico-ethical nature. This complete detachment of the soul from all ties with the external world, however, appears on the positive side as its surrender to the Supersensual, to the Deity, the yearning for whom becomes ever more intense as the bonds of sense are more and more transcended. So far as union with the Divine is concerned, the external mode of life is of no importance. What counts is, in the opinion of Plotinus, not the outward but feeling; and accordingly he attributes no value to asceticism of the common sort, however it may have concurred with his own inclinations (Zeller, iii. 522 f.). Of greater importance is the thinking consideration of life, and, still more, pure intuition; but the full and blessed union is voidful only to
ASCETICISM (Hindu).—In India ascetic practices have been very widely prevalent from the earliest times. The mortification of the body, and the self-inflicted penances associated therewith, have been habitually carried to lengths beyond every reasonable limit. The ascetics were, in all ages, looked upon by the learned and unlearned as the ideal representatives of the spirit of India, and the ascetic world has been the cradle of the Hindu religious system. Among the ancient and the modern Indian sects the ascetic ideal has been maintained, either in the form of the kshatriya, or as the root of all religious thought.

The ascetic view of life, the sense which we attach to the Hindu ascetic life, is determined by the asceticism which is to be found in the Greek world; nevertheless, as a consequence of its being embraced, deepened, and spiritualized by two of the greatest thinkers of Greece, Plato and Plotinus, its influence has been enormous. Of no less importance, however, than the asceticism of the other two personalities, to which we have just called the ascetic world, which discovered, and to some extent developed, the significance of the will in morals. Both of these tendencies, which, moreover, were in some degree combined in Posidonius, exercised a profound influence upon early Christian thought.


II. Joel, Der edel u. d. xenomphatische Socrates, i. (Berlin, 1889); ii. (1901); E. Zeller, Phil. d. gr. aff., ii. 57, 66, 69, 155 ff., 182 f.; Gomperz, Griechische Denker, ii. 113 ff.; Windelband (works cited under i.); Winckelmann, Antithens fragmenta (Turin, 1841); Diels, Poeti Philologu Greci (Berlin, 1901); v. Wilmowski-Möllendorff, * Der kynische Prophetes Teleis in Antiphonos von Korinthos (Berlin, 1896); R. Heinze, de Horsato Bionis inspirator (Leipzig, 1893); E. Weber, de Diene Chrestos (Berlin, 1895); E. Schloss, Die Philosophie der Diogenes (Leipzig, 1897); H. Dümmer, Antithens (Halle, 1892); Tschetschel, ed. O. Hesse (Halle, 1895); Schiller, Gesch. d. alt. Phil. (Berlin, 1901); A. Dreyfou, Die Kretin der alten Stor in Berliner Stud. d. klass. Phil. Phil. u. Archäol., new ser. ii. (1887); J. de Armin, Studien zur alt. Philologie, 2 (1891); F. Capelle, de Conocrinum Epistulae (Hanover, 1890), Epiletta Handbuehlein der Moral, eigens u. uberr. (Jena, 1896), and Zur synthetischen Theorie in J. Schiller’s * Chrysippe in Jahrh., Phil. and philos., Suppl. xiv. (1855); Schnecken, Die Philosophie d. mittleren Stor (Berlin, 1892), 291 ff.; R. Eucken, Die Philosophie d. mittleren Stor (1892), 291 ff.; J. Schlägel, * Plato und Aristoteles in J. Schiller’s * Chrysippe in Jahrh., Phil. and philos., Suppl. xiv. 619 ff.; Wendland, op. cit. 84 f.; Marcus Aurelius, * S.C. (1861), ed. Stiel, (1890); Epistle Dissertations, ed. H. Schenk (Leipzig, 1898).


The present writer has in preparation (1868) a monograph, Die Askese in dem Leben der apostolischen kleriker, with the object of showing that the ascetics of the Sixties, the Essenes, Philo, and, in particular, early Christianity.

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practise of tapas also was, in great part at least, adopted from the aboriginal or other tribes among whom the new-comers settled. Theirs was the darker, gloomier view of religion and of life, to which asceticism was congenial. To the bright, joyous spirit of the Aryans—the spirit that finds expression in the Hymns—the sad and despairing outlook which is the motive-power and inspiration of ascetic practice was repugnant. To them the goals were opened wide, and for the spirit there was no right of being forced or enjoined by human suffering; and life was not yet clouded by the pessimistic tendencies of a later age. It is noticeable that all the instances quoted from the Rigveda of the use of tapas in its technical sense are taken from the late tenth book, where the rule of life appears both in the literal meaning of 'warmth,' 'glow' (e.g. x. 16. 4), and metaphorically of the glow of feeling, passion (e.g. x. 83. 2). Tapas, however, is also pain, suffering, voluntarily endured (iv. 109. 4, 104. 2, 167. 1).

2. \textit{Tapas} in Indian literature.—(1) Rigveda. — In the earliest Sanskrit literature, the Hymns of the Rigveda, neither the word nor the conception and thought that underlies it is of frequent occurrence. It would not, however, be a legitimate inference from this fact that ascetic habits were unknown to the primitive Aryan communities. Nevertheless, the absence or rarity of reference does not necessarily suggest that such habits belonged to the lower side of the religious life, the

Other philosophers bore the name 'Phramani' (Πραμανή, probly a corruption again of ἱβραϊκά, ἱβραϊκά), and were opposed to the Vedas and the rituals in general. They lived on the hills or plains, others as frequenting the cities. Others, again, were known as Γραμανικοί, and were therefore probably Jews or Samaritans (e.g. the 10th century father of Pantagruel, at the age of seventy-three; with reference to this act Megasthenes is quoted to effect that the self-destruction was caused by an old age following his ambition, and that thus acted were regarded as rash and rash confounded (rareness, ib. xx. 69).

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The representation, however, as might be expected, is not always consistent. In addition to the view most usually adopted, which sees in tapas a real, though less commendable and direct, means to the attainment of a knowledge of Brahman, the two extreme views, as of those great ascetics, so declare the practice of austerity indispensable to such knowledge, and those who refuse to acknowledge in asceticism any virtue or efficacy whatsoever, and maintain that only in the way of knowledge and by no other means may the final end be reached. Elsewhere, and the Vedas as a whole, the Vedic authors are placed side by side as the essential conditions of a true insight; and those who in the right spirit with faith practise asceticism in the forest ascend on the way of the gods.

Tapas also is indefinitely associated in the Upanisads with the third ātman (p.r.v.), and the life of the anchorite in the forest (vānaprastha). On him the practice of asceticism is especially obligatory, but even he must add to it faith, or the mere outward observance and self-mortification will not suffice. Only gradually, and quite clearly or definitely, will the Upanisaded period was a distinction drawn between the third and a fourth higher stage, the essential note of which was not mere bodily self-mortification, but the voluntary and entire surrender of all worldly possessions, and the ascetic is represented twice as the vānaprastha and the sannyāsī, is completely carried out, and the duties and obligations of each clearly defined. (3) Manu and the Law-Books.—It is in the Law-Book of Manu, ch. vi., that the formal conditions and rules of the ascetic life are set forth; and these are in large part repeated, quoted, or amplified in the later Dharmasūtras. How far some of the more strict and exacting of these regulations ever became matters of literal observance, or how far they were observed only as a mark of the ascetic, is uncertain, but, of course, remain uncertain. But, in view of the capacity which Indian ascetics have always exhibited for almost heroic endurance of self-mortification, it would seem by no means impossible, or even improbable, that in some instances at least the utmost extremes of bodily torture were submitted to, and the rules of the books carried out in fullest detail. It will be noticed that Manu confines the rights and privileges of an ascetic life to the twice-born.

A twice-born śākta, who has thus lived according to the law, is entitled to the āsura, or ascetic, if from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses. The great fire of ascetics, as we find in the rule, with various kinds of pure food for ascetics, or with herbs, roots, and fruit. Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment, let him bathe in the evening or the morning, and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped). ... Let him be always clean and be reciting the Vedas; let him have patience of hardships ... ever Liberal ... and compassionate towards all living creatures.*

Then follow directions with regard to the sacrifices the ascetic must offer, and the kind and quantity of meat. When he bathes at the three Sabanas (sunrise, noon, and sunset) let him offer libations to the water and the names and the gods, and, practising harassed and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily life, and live without food, water, air, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit . . . chaste, sleeping on the grass, and controlled at all times; he thus passed the third part of life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all the household attachments, the only objects of his concern and subduing his senses ... an ascetic gains bliss after death.†

Departing from his house . . . let him wander about absolutely contented, and enquiring for employment that may be offered. Let him always wander alone without any companion, in order to attain (the spiritual state). . . . He shall neither possess a fire nor a dwelling, he may go to what is everywhere, firm of purpose, meditating and concentrating his mind on Brahma. Let him neither possess alms-bowls, nor trees (for a dwelling), course worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained this spiritual state. Let him not lose his desire to live, let him walk for his time, as a servant for the pay of his wages . . . let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, let him not become anybody’s enemy for the sake of this body . . . entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final emancipation).‡

Carrying an alms-bowl, a staff, and a water-pot, let him continually wander, and the ascetic is also a hermit.

Rules are then given for begging and the manner of eating, subjects of meditation, etc. The ascetic is to beg daily once in the day, and when he goes to any house for that purpose it must be after the time of the ordinary public meal. This has been concluded (cf. Brāhmad, ii. 22; Vas. x. 7, 8).

Three suppressions of the breath even, performed according to the rules of ascetics, are associated with the repetition of the mantras, om, and the ascetic, as it is well known, must know to be the highest austerity for every Brāhmans.§

When by the disposition (of his body) he becomes free, when he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death, he who in this manner gradually given up all attachments, and is freed from all pain of opposite uncleanliness (of body), and alone . . . a twice-born man who becomes an ascetic ... shakes off sin here below, and reaches the highest Brāhman.‖

Elsewhere, in the sadra sūtras and the other books, there are incidental references to the ascetics, which lay down further rules for their conduct and life.

Ascetics and students are to receive alms from the Brāhman household after the performance of the Bali offering (iii. 94; cf. vi. 7; and Brāhmad. ii. 5, 11; Vas. xi. 5; Āpast., ii. 4, 10, 11).

For sacred cows with female ascetics a small fine is payable (viii. 502; cf. vi. 5, 7, and v. 5, 10); and the Brāhmans are not to meddle with the wealth of another. An ascetic, a hermit in the forest, and Brāhmans who are students of the Yeda shall not be made to pay toll at a ferry (viii. 407; cf. vi. 15, 22).†

Hermits (tapasākṣi), i.e. those who practice tapas, ascetics (śākta, those whose passions are under control), Brāhmans, the crowds of the Yāmānīkī delights, the lunatic, and the ascetics are the first (i.e. lowest) order of existence caused by Goodness (as above, xii. 45).

Additional directions in the Law-Books are to the effect that a householder must turn back if he meets an ascetic (Vīṣṇu, lxxii. 36). An ascetic from religious mendicancy shall become the king’s slave (ib. v. 132). Cf. Gāndharvas (iii. SBE ii. 152–153; vi. 164; xvi. 56); Brāhmad, in. 17, 16, 17, ill. 3; eight mounthful are the meal of an ascetic, this being that of a hermit in the woods, thirty-two that of a household, and an unlimited (quantity) that of a student (Brāhmad. ii. 13. 7; cf. Vas. v. 20) ; let him (the hermit) not injure even gaddis or gants, let him bear cold and perform austerities, let him confound the inhabitants of a Brāhmanī (xi. 549).†

* Manu, vi. 1-8 (SBE xx. 195 ff.).
† ib. viii. 33, 1, 17, 41-49. § 10, 95-94.
‡ i.e. the three mystic syllables bhūr, śvā, śvār (cf. vi. 7, 78, 81); the virtue of their recitation, with suppressions of the breath is so great that it frees the gree from the sin of murder of a Brāhmanī (xi. 549).
¶ Manu, vi. 70. ** 10, 63-66.
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stantly reside in the forest, be contented, and delighted in (dresses made of) bark and skins (in carrying) water (in his pot)" (Baudh. iii. 3. 19; \*Vas. vi. 28). As a quallide by which a (true) Bráhmapi may be recognized are the concentration of the mind, austerities, the subjugation of the senses, liberality, truthfulness, purity, sacred learning, compassion, worldly learning, intelligence, and faith (Vas. vi. 29); he is worthy to receive gifts who is ever restrained by austerities (vi. 30); 'to suppress the breath is the highest austerity' (x. 5; cf. Ápastamba, ii. 21. 7-21, 22, 23. 1, 2).

(4) Bhagavat Gītā.—The 'Song of the Blessed' reopened, by some, a symposium between the two views of an idealistic part and the practical devotion demanded by a theistic creed, salvation by conviction and knowledge alone, or salvation through faith and works. It is a subject of dispute which of these views is the earlier in the poem, and forms the original kernel, and which has been superimposed upon the other.* In either case tapas, in the form of renunciation, self-devotion, is the highest form which 'action' can take; and in the thought and teaching of the Ṛṣis the essence of ascetic practices is not painful mortification of the body, but the negation of selfish desires and the sacrifice of selfish inclination and love of ease in the cause of right and devotion to the Supreme God. Passages which enfore renunciation and the duty of earnest and purifying itself is the basis and the practical theistic strata of the poem. Attempts, however, to reconcile conflicting views, or at least to recognize what is good in both, are not wanting.

There is a twofold path, that of the Śūkyās by devotion in the shape of knowledge, and that of the Yogins by devotion in the shape of action. A man does not attain freedom from action merely by not engaging in it; nor does he attain perfection by mere renunciation (Bhag. Gītā, 2. 10).

The 'asetic' is one 'who has no avarice and no desire... Children, not wise men, talk of svādhyāya and poṣa as distraction. One who pursues either well obtains the fruit of both... I say, casting off attachment, performs actions dedicating them to Brāhma, is not tainted by sin' (Gītā, 3. 25).

'Some by concentration see the self in the self by the self; others by the Śūkyās and poṣa; and others still by the Karmāṇis and poṣa; others yet, not knowing how, practice concentration after hearing from others. They too, being devoted to hearing (inner action), cross by death' (Gītā, 24. 1).

'Renunciation is devoted to (poṣa) for one becomes a devotee (poṣa) who has not renounced (all) fancies... The devotee whose body is contented, and therefore not bound by material things, ammowed, who has restrained his senses, and to whom a soul, a stone, and gold are alike, is said to be devoted... He should restrain his mind; never let it flicker, and never engage in devotion, regarding me as his final goal. Thus, constantly devoting his soul to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained, gains an unshakeable and eternal immortal bliss in his mind's self-restrained becomes steady upon the self, then alone, he who, being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is re-strained, and who devotes himself to abstraction' (vi. 22f.).

The indestructible seat... is 'entered by ascetics from whom all desires have departed' (vii. 11).

'Whatever you do... whatever you eat, whatever you make, whatever you speak, whatever penance you perform, do that as offered to me' (vi. 27).

'This threefold penance (i.e. bodily, vocal, and mental) practices, is called good. He who is not engaged in the same, unacquainted with the self, and not restrained from action, who has no renunciation, and who is not restrained, is a godless man, and that is nought both after death and here' (vii. 25).

'One who is self-restrained, whose understanding is unattached everywhere, from whose actions there departs in final renunciation and assimilation with me... When his mind well-restrained becomes steady upon the self, then alone, he who, being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is re-strained, and who devotes himself to abstraction' (vi. 22f.).

Those who, restraining the group of the senses... meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived... they, intend to be free from (all) calls because, necessarily, necessarily attain to tell' (vi. 8).

Who is able to know and be, as also in honour and dignity, who is alive in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike... who is homeless, and of a steady mind and full of devotion, that man is dear to me' (cii. 3. 14).

Similar quotations might be easily multiplied. In the Bhágavad Gītā the plastic philosophy of asceticism, as it presented itself to the Indian mind, appears in its loftiest and purest form. To the earnest-minded śādhu this book is his Bible; and the nobility of its thought, and the charity and breadth of its outlook, render it not undeserving of the name.*

(5) Epic poetry.—The Epic poems add little to the general conception of tapas, although they offer many examples of its practice, and contain narratives more or less marvellous of ascetics who are preserved in their own circumstance of power (see below, p. 91). Rāma in his hermitage on the banks of the Godāvari is the type of the peaceful, gentle hermit who has renounced the world, and lives retired from its strife and care, true to duty, true to virtue.' In the Mahābhārata descriptions of the hermit (svāmipyāra) and of the ascetic (svāmyāsā) are found, which agree almost verbally with those of Manu (Mahābhā. xii. 191 ff., 243 ff.; cf. above, p. 89). And in the same book, true and false tapas are distinguished from one another: 'If one is engaged, though that ordinary men count for tapas, is merely a castigation of the body, and is not regarded as tapas by the good; renunciation and humility, these are the noblest tapas; he who practises these virtues fasts uselessly, and his virtue is never found wanting.' 'Study of the Vedas and avoiding injury to any living being, men call bodily asceticism; the true spiritual asceticism is control of speech and thought.†

In the Purāṇas and later literature the extravagances of asceticism are not uncommon in the same; renunciation of worldly possessions and the voluntary endurance of bodily pain are means to an end, viz. deliverance from the sāṃśāra and the acquisition of supernatural powers. The essential principles, however, are overlaid with a mass of extravagant fancy and repellent detail; and the stories of the lives of the ascetics, and the descriptions of their self-inflicted tortures, present few features of attractiveness or interest.

3. Asceticism in modern practice.—The most general term for the Hindu ascetic is śādhu, a 'good' or 'pious' man, a saint, or sage, of which the feminine śādhī denotes a woman who has taken ascetic vows. Svāmyāsā, one who has 'cast off,' i.e. home and possessions, is also frequently used of any monk. "The Bhágavata is properly restricted to a particular sect (see below, p. 93 f.) but is a Muhammadan term, expressive of poverty of spirit, but is sometimes, though incorrectly, applied to a Hindu beggar or ascetic. India has always been the home of asceticism, and from the very earliest times this feature of Indian life has attracted attention. Śādhu have formed the shifting itinerant element in a population for the most part stationary and rooted to the soil. In spite also of their general aloofness, by their numbers and by the respect paid to them they have always exercised a considerable influence in the land, and, in the absence of more direct methods of conveying intelligence, have formed a fairly constant though unimportant means of communication between the different parts of the country. Present everywhere, although rarely purely naked, they are yet a familiar sight, and are often as likely to be met with in cities as in the remotest parts. They are to be seen as the commonest and most usual of the characters who make up the Indian crowd' (Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1905, p. 610).

* Cf. the interesting account which Dr. T. L. Pennell gives of the śādhu whom he overtook on the road from Ludhíana, and who was recomte to have obtained some experience and manner of life. 'When my heart is lonely I read in the Bhágavad Gītā a consolation, and I like that better than any other book because it makes my heart glad' (Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1905, p. 610).

† Mahābhā. xii. 271, 221; cf. Deussen, Allg. Gesch. der Philo-

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stay in one place, they brought to the settled inhabitants the consciousness of an outside world, and wrought effectively, though probably unintentionally, against the narrowness of a merely local and parochial spirit. Whether the sādhus were more numerous in ancient times than at the present day it is difficult to determine. They occupy a larger place in the ancient than in the modern literature of India; and the same is true also in all probability of the thought of the people.

There is, in form, however, an appreciable though small percentage of population who still adhere to it. At the census of 1901 the total number of beggars and religious mendicants was returned as 4,914,000, or nearly five millions, a decrease of about 63% during the decade preceding. The decrease, however, is attributed to the heavy mortality of the famine years, and not to any lessened attraction in the profession of sādhism. Probably by far the greater number of these, if not all, were true ascetics, bound by vows to a life of self-renunciation and poverty.

More, also, perhaps than in any other country asceticism in India latterly, a Kṣatriya, and a member of the Kshatriya and Durbar class, was no more and a member of the warrior caste. It was held to be a mark of the Brahmān to move and live and not determine.

As to the practice of tapas in the first instance by the example of the greatest saints and heroes of old, and of the gods themselves, who are represented as enduring self-inflicted tortures for thousands of years in order to secure a higher rank or enhanced power. The rāja of old, the demigods of legend and story, the dwellers in heaven as well as on earth, engaged in the practice of tapas to secure dominion for themselves, or to confound their foes. Without tapas, or being himself endured age-long austenities in order to erect. And Siva, in the character of an ascetic named Sanāyāsin practising austenities of almost unimaginable severity for thousands of years, is the type and patron of the ascetic, who by the grace of Śiva is granted power to attain all his desires. There was no limit to the power of self-mortification; all things were possible to tapas.

The classical example and the most convincing to Hindu thought was found in the story of the rivalry and hostile encounters of Vaiśeṣṭha and Vivasvāmitra. Their dispute, and a battle, for the possession of a boundless and powerful and wealthy king, was overthrown and put to confusion at every point by the might of the Brahmān's incantations and magical devices. Humbled and beyond measure enraged, Vivasvāmitra hastened to Siva, and said, "O Brahmān, if septennial and protracted austenities compelled the gods to grant him the birth and rights of a Brahman, thus placing him on a level with his Brahman adversary. The story undoubtedly represents the rivalry of the two great orders or castes, the priestly and the warrior; but it also expresses the conception of the omnipotent strength of tapas, which could bridge the gulf, and lift the Kṣatriya, inferior though a king, to the level of the proud and domineering Brahmān.

On the power of tapas see also Mann, xi, 329 ff.; 'Whatever is hard to be obtained, whatever is hard to be attained, whatever is hard to be reached, whatever is hard to be performed, all may be accomplished by austerities; for austerity (possesses a power) which is difficult to surpass. Both those who have committed mortal sin and all other offenders are severely freed from their guilt by means of well-kept and practised austerities. Insects, snakes, moths, bees, birds, and beings bereft of motion reach heaven by the power of austerities. Whatever sin men commit by the mouth, their penance will burn away their sins, if they keep penance as their only riches. The gods accept the offerings of that Brahman who has purified himself by penance and grants to him all desires.

By Gods, discerning that the holy origin of this whole (world) is from austerity, have thus proclaimed the incomparable power of austerity' (SBE xxv, 473 ff.). See also J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, I, 358 ff., who quotes the words from a twofold form of the Mahābhārata (Adiparvam, 6628 ff.), and supplements them with a very similar language (51-65) in the narrative of Nahum, who by tapas won for himself the rank of Indra (Mahābhārata, Adip. 3194; Muir, op. cit. p. 207 ff.).
of Megasthenes (see above, p. 88), and that of the true sannyásî, the homeless wanderer, was never very clearly drawn even in theory, and was in practice as loose as his habit permitted. Ascetic habits at least were common to both; and the dweller in the forest-hermitage, no less than the man who had "cast off" possessions and earthly ties in favour of a vagrant life through the cities and country, emblazoned by means of topas to break the fetters which bound him to an earthly existence, and to secure final rest and bliss.

(1) Clothing and habits.—Numerous also as were, and are, the sects of ascetics, varying in the details of costume and habit, they all possess certain characteristics in common, and certain features in common, and to the eye of the comparative student a similar and specific appearance by which their profession may be recognized. All sâdhâs carry a begging-bowl, which in its simplest form consists of a hollowed-out coconut or gourd, but is sometimes of brass, figured or otherwise ornamented, and furnished with a lid or handle; a water-pot also, and usually a staff. Theoretically, and as individuals, they are without worldly possessions, but the monasteries in which many of them take up their abode during the rainy season, and for longer periods, are studded with riches beyond debate. Such monasteries, which are very numerous all over India, owe their existence to the liberality of pious founders, and have at different times been the recipients of gifts of money or land, whereby merit has accrued to their owners and the religious houses have in many instances become endowed with great revenues. They are not, however, in most cases, places of permanent residence, but their inmates wander through the country as sâdhâs, or ascetics, living on the alms of the people. The monastic quarters are ordinarily salmon-coloured, but sometimes other colours are met with, according to the sect or order to which they belong; many also go practically naked. On their bodies they rub ashes—a practice which is supposed to have been originally intended to protect the skin against the insect plagues of India, or as a defence against the hosts of the demons.* The forehead is marked with the tilaka, the variously shaped sign or symbol, made with coloured earths, indicating their sect or the god under whose protection they hold themselves; and the hair hangs down from the head, long and matted, but in other cases is formed into a rough coil at the top, or is entirely shaven off, the head being left bald. They sleep on the ground, reclining in the mode of the holy men of humanity, or they go round to collect food and alms, for which they must not ask, but contentedly receive what is given. According to the stated rule, they must not approach a house to beg until the regular meal-time is past; what remains over is the portion of the mendicant.

Other objects usually found in the possession of a sâdhâ are a rosary, the material of which and the number of the beads vary with the different sects. Saivite rosaries are composed of the berries of the rudrâksha tree (Elæogýrus glandíscus), thirty-two or sixty-four in number; sometimes, however, such asetics wear a rosary of human teeth (dantâyáti) or the skin of a snake round their neck. Vaisnavite ascetics carry a rosary of a hundred and eight beads of tulasi wood, the holy basil (Orysssum sanctum), or occasionally, though it is not common, the skull of a human being. The purpose of the rosary is for use in the recitation of prayers, or to enable the devotee to repeat the name of his god a definite number of times without effort.† In all probability the Christian use of the rosary was derived ultimately from India. Many sâdhâs will also be found with fire-tons, the iron of which is supposed to be a protection against evil spirits, and, as an article of diet, bhang, with a pestle and mortar, and a pipe, which are brought into constant use. Many of them carry on their person small idols, or sacred objects, or talismans as the liṅga or bilâgrâma, reliefs also from the places of pilgrimage they have visited, and seals or certificates issued by the priests in charge. They are supposed to spend their lives in meditation, withdrawn from the thoughts and interests of the world. For a similar reason, because he is believed to be in sâmrâti, * profound trance, a state of intimate and universal communion with the Divine, the body of a sannyásî is under ordinary circumstances buried, not burned; he is in reality not dead, and may revive at pleasure to a consciousness of external things.

(2) Mortifications.—The distresses and self-mortifications to which the Hindu ascetic submits himself would be almost incredible if they were not certified by the accounts of many eye-witnesses from the earliest times to the present day, and by the well-known capacity of the Eastern to endure with stoicism hardship and pain that would be intolerable or fatal to a European. For the purpose of describing the varieties, and describe the various kinds of self-torture invented and practised by sâdhadus would be impracticable. Among the more usual and prominent which attract attention is the so-called 'arrow' or 'spike-bed' (śavâtsâks) of the Pârśuva sect, a flat board studded with iron nails or spikes, on which the ascetics sit or lies at full length, and which he is supposed never to leave night or day. The practice is in imitation of the sufferings of Bhûshan, the leader of the Kurus and chief antagonist of Arjuna in the Mahâbhârata. For the space of two years the arrow is thrust by Arjuna with so many arrows that, falling, it did not touch the ground, and Bhûshana lay thus supported for forty-eight days and nights before his death, during which time he discoursed on high topics before the assembled armies.* The Brâhman ascetic at Benares is said to have used one of these couches, on which he lay naked, for thirty-five years.† Another common form of self-torture is to raise one or both arms above the head, and to hold them there until stiff and atrophied, when they cannot be drawn down again (kâta). A very different process is that of the ascetic who, having shaved off his head, becomes a sâñyâsî (see bk. 39), and depends for support on the reception of alms, of which they are allowed a certain amount, and which vary in different places. If they stop at a village, which they do not do, they will request the alms of every person, to be distributed among the poor. In the course of collecting a little money and food, they might find a very considerable sum for themselves; but this is a rare event, as the ascetics themselves sell their begging-bowls as soon as possible, and keep very close to the roads and highways. If they are allowed to pass, these mendicants are not to be feared from their looks or the attacks of wild beasts. Other sâdhadu undertake prolonged fastings, or place themselves under vows.

* W. Crooke, Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India, i. 291.
† Monier Williams, Brâhmanism and Hinduism, p. 871.
‡ The number of the beads is said to vary, or not to be very strictly observed; see J. G. Oman, Myâsics, Ascetics, and Saints of India, 1905, p. 291.
* Mâkâbh. bk. vii.
† Monier Williams, Brâhmanism and Hinduism, p. 560 ff.
of silence for years. Some display their powers by chewing live coals, or their endurance by thrusting knives or skewsers into their flesh, treading on beds of glowing ashes, sitting immersed to the neck in water, allowing themselves to be trampled alive, or hung with the head downwards (vārđhavajachārya). Tricks of self-hypnotism of a most remarkable character have been without doubt known to and practised by Indian ascetics for centuries.\(^{4}\)

(3) **Aśātic sects.**—Hindu *sādhus* are of various kinds. Many Hindus, especially the uneducated and unenlightened, believe that the *sādhus* are superhuman beings. There is quite a different sort of ascetic, however, one whose character can with certainty be compared with that of the Buddha. This sect of ascetics is known as the *śramaṇas* (see art. SANYĀSIN). The remaining sects are of less importance. *Brahmācharins* are all men, and most of them are Brahmins. The name is derived from *brahma*, *that which is not destructible*, and *cāra*, *to go*. It is applied to ascetics who have, in their own estimation, an exceptional capacity for moral and intellectual growth. They have a rule of life, but they are not bound to observe it. They are believed to have all the powers of demons, and they are thought to be capable of doing wonderful things. They are in general of low social position, and are therefore not considered as being of much importance. They are known as *brahmanichāryas*.

The sect of the *Aśātins* (see art. Aśātins) is the most important of all the sects of ascetics. It is the chief of all the ascetic sects, and is the only one that has any claim to be considered as a true ascetic sect. It is the sect of the *sādhus* or holy men, who are the chief of all the sects of ascetics. They are known as *brahmanichāryas*.

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ASCETICISM (Hindu)

ASCETICISM, the Rbputed and Visnu the There the all gourd, for Some Other refrain of displayed the ones, them See more this Ramanuja. native. They Madhvas,poverty Madhavacharya. Mahendranath, as cast the and and perhaps the cast of ascetics. The ascetics wear the robes, and sometimes yellow thread. There are numerous factors, and the usual tulasi rosary and necklace. There are several subdivisions, the moral reputation of some of which does not stand high (see art. BENGAL, CHAITANYA).

The Kośīr Panthins can hardly be said to affect asceticism in any real sense of the term. They wear no distinctive dress, cover the usual necklace and beads, and on their foreheads the distinctive mark of Viṣṇu. The wandering monks of the order are numerous in northern and central India, and bear a high character for simplicity and purity of life.

The remaining orders of sādhus have originated among the Sikhs. The three most important are known as Akālins, Nirālins, and Udāsin. There are others less numerous and active. Generally the dress of the Sikh sādhu is more complete than that of the ascetics of other, or at least of Śāivite orders; and he bears less prominent and obtrusive marks of his ascetic profession. The Akālins, or Nihangs, are the militant monks of the Sikh faith. They dress in blue garments, and travel over the country fully armed, on horseback or riding on camels, and their requests for alms are said to be preferred with a tone and manner that secures instant compliance (see art. AKALINS). The Nirālins are for the most part quiet and inoffensive students of the sacred books, whose only outward marks of their sādhu profession are their reddish-yellow garments and long hair (see art. NIRALIN). The Udāsin dress in salmon-coloured robes, with a peculiar pointed cap, and a black cord round the neck; and in addition to the water-pot, usually a gourd, carry a bag over the shoulder, and a small black mat or carpet, which they spread on the ground when they rest. Some Udāsins shave the head, while others allow the tuft of hair to grow, and in this form, in addition to meat or spirits, and not smoke, and are pledged to poverty and continence (see art. UDĀSIN).

There have also been at all times a few sādhwis, or female ascetics, in India, who have emulate their more numerous male companions in their devotion and the rigour of their ascetic practices. The publicity, however, which the profession of sādhuism entails is an obstacle to its frequent adoption by Indian women, and any general observance by them of ascetic habits or vows would be opposed to the national sentiment. The practices of the Hindus themselves. Sādhwis are usually widows, who have less to lose in the adoption of a roving life; and in most instances, though not always, are of low caste. It would seem also that generally, although again not without exceptions, the sādhwā is moved to enter upon this manner of life by the desire to cast in her lot with father or other male relative or friend; and solitude therefore rarely forms part of the voluntary penance which she undergoes. The case is recorded, *Oman, op. cit. p. 184 ff.


‡ See Oman, op. cit. ch. viii.
however, of a Hindu widow of good family, who lived as a solitary recluse in an underground cell near Benares for thirty-eight years, devoting herself to the purpose and hope of thereby commending their teaching to the people among whom their lives were spent. It is doubtful how far the attempt has ever been really successful. With the spirit that conselled and animated such renunciation to self-sacrifice and the abandonment of all for the sake of duty, and to promote the unselfish end which they had in view, all will feel sympathy. In the regard of every Hindu also the ascetic ideal is a noble one, and the man who endeavours to put it into practice is worthy of all honour. It would seem, however, that the utmost sacrifice which it is in the power of a European, either by constitution or circumstances, to make cannot approach the abnegation or extreme rigour of self-sacrifice of the Indian. His mode of living will probably appear to be a pale imitation, not wholly sincere, and inconsiderable below the true ideal. It will excite his wonder, but in no degree move him to respect, while the motive that prompts the abandoned life will be entirely beyond his comprehension. There have been native Indians also, Christian sadhus, who have wandered through the country in ascetic garb, and followed the ascetic rule of preaching and teaching by the way. Their action, so far as it is possible to ascertain, has greatly increased and extended the influence for good, and has appeared entirely commendable to their fellow-countrymen.†

4. Religious and ethical value of 'tapas'.—There is probably no country in which ascetism has been so widely and constantly practised, or in which its ideals have been held in such high regard, as India. The injunctions of their sacred books, and the examples of their sages, have kept before the mind of the people the thought that renunciation of the world, with rejection of its pleasures, is the supreme of good. And although the motive of the abnegation and bodily self-mortification of the Indian sadhu was undoubtedly in the ultimate analysis selfish—he abandoned the world that he might gain something better—yet the spirit of self-mortification was an ever-present reminder to the people that the good of this world is not the good which is most worth having; and his example revived in them the longing, which the pressure of worldly cares and ambitions might well have deadened or crushed, for a higher experience of life than was suggested by the hard material facts of the present. The hand that pointed upwards and onwards might indeed be prompted by no generous or altruistic spirit. Nevertheless it did suggest and invite to upward striving. And there can hardly be any doubt that, in spite of its obvious drawbacks and limitations, sadhism has been on the whole a good to India, and a force that has made for righteousness in the broadest use of the word.

That ideal commanded the assent and enthusiastic adherence of the regenerate; and was not blind to the defects and dangers of an ascetic life, the opportunities it afforded for imposture, the habits of idleness and the love of ease which it promoted. While, however, they jest at the sadhu, they respect the ideal which he represented. His ignorances and littlenesses they tolerated or laughed at, while they allowed his claim to be far greater than any to which they, pre-occupied with mundane affairs, ever aspire. That there were pretenders and impostors among the ever-moving crowd of ascetics, men to whom godliness was a way of gain, the keen instinct of the people always recognized. These, however, were not true sadhus, but were masquerading in a borrowed garb to which they had no right; and their presence hardly lessened the respect in which the profession was held, or weakened the influence which its better members wielded. It was and remained good that an ideal of purity, self-restraint, and indifference to pleasure and wealth should be constantly exhibited in concrete form before the eyes of the people.

On the other hand, the existence of so large a number of able-bodied men, living in idleness, and drawing their support, for the greater part, from the kindness of the people, is, as a man of energy and thought at least, than a burden to the commonwealth. No sadhu ever did any work. He passed his time in the most complete and absolute idleness, as far as the labour of the hands was concerned; and from a social or communitistic point of view, his life was entirely unproductive. It must be remembered, however, that the burden was very widely distributed, from Cape Comorin to the utmost Himalayas; and that in any given case the demand made by the individual sadhu upon the people among whom he wandered was very slight. The burden was probably little felt, much less than would have been the case in the more artificial and closer-knit States of the West. It is true, nevertheless, that, on the premises of Western logic and argument, the loss of the remunerative labour of so great a number of potential workers cannot have been other than hurtful to the general prosperity of the land.

Sadhism also, both by its principles and by its practice, struck a heavy blow at the spirit of caste. To the true sadhu all things were indifferent, and therefore to the principle of caste it was nothing; for there were nothing to him. Most of the orders acted up to this belief, although a few refused admission to membership to any but Brahmans, and declined to receive food from men of a lower caste. Their influence was tremendous and far-reaching; they stood for freedom and equality as against caste assumption and pride. And mingling with the people as they did on their incessant journeys, the conceptions and theories which they thus represented, though they never availed to break the Brahman yoke, must have struck deep root, and given rise to many searchings of heart.

There is, however, at the present day a new spirit brooding over the land, inimical to sadhism and the ideals which it represents and fosters. Western activities, and the conceptions of duty and aim which the West has introduced, and which are acting as a strong ferment in the life and society of India, must in the long run be fatal to the ascetic, to the world-renouncing spirit. English education, which is in part un-Brahmanical, has undermined the superstition which he professed, and the strenuous life which it incubates, will render impossible the meditative existence of the sadhu—the man who in the world is not of it. The end is not yet; for perhaps a considerable time to come the true ascetic will go on his pilgrimages by rail, will utilize the electric light and the other appliances and conveniences of

* Oman, op. cit. p. 241 ff.† For a recent example of Indian Christian sadhus, see Harvest Field, 1906, p. 304.‡ See H. H. Wilson, Philosophy of the Upānyāsas, p. 564 f.; the worth of tapas to the Indian was primarily its worth to himself; the external results, its worth for others, were of comparatively little account.
ASCETICISM

The asceticism found in Japan after the introduction of Buddhism is only a foreign importation with which we are not concerned here (see ASCECTISM [Buddhist]).

A Chinese traveller, describing the Japanese of the early centuries of our era, mentions this interesting custom: 'They appoint a man whom they call an "abstainer." He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash his face, or to approach women fortunate, to the cleanliness of the body, abstinence from certain foods, and continence—correspond exactly with what we know of the usual condition of the "god-men" who are found among so many primitive peoples, and who, when illness or any other calamity occurs, are held to be responsible, and are deprived, punished, or killed (see J. G. Frazer, *GF*, *passim*). An analogous conception is also known to exist in China, where the emperor is held responsible for drought; and in Korea, where, in the olden time, the ancient kings were deposed or put to death.

If we turn now to the most ancient Japanese book, the *Kojiki* (A.D. 712), we shall not find this primitive custom mentioned; but we may see there at least an idea of abstinence which appears to be the continuation of it. This idea is expressed by the word *imi*, the root of the verb *inu*, which, in its original meaning, signifies "to shun." In one passage the reference is to a sacred weaving-hall (*imi-heteyo*), where the Sun-goddess presides at the weaving. Here, we are told, the *imi* has only the secondary sense of "sacred," which, however, is closely related to its original meaning. In another passage we have an account of the mythical origin of the *Imibo no obito*, that is to say, the chiefs of the *Imibe* or *Imibe*), a hereditary corporation of abstaining priests, who claimed descent from the god Futo-dama ("Great Jewel" or, rather, "Great Gift," "Great Offering").

Again, in a third passage, relative to the troubles which followed the death of the first legendary Emperor, Jimmu, we are told that one of his sons, renouncing his claim to the succession, became an "abstainer" (see *Kojiki*, ed. with notes by Mitošri, 1789-1922, vols. 8, 13, 20; or the Eng. tr. by B. H. Chamberlin, sec. 15, 33, 53, pp. 62, 134, 180 of the re-issue of 1906).

The *Nihongi*, which are preserved only eight years later, that is, in A.D. 720, contains passages corresponding to the first two passages of the *Kojiki*; but, under the influence of Chinese ideas, it substitutes for the "abstainer" of the third passage a single priest 'of the gods of Heaven and Earth' (*Nihongi*, ed. Shukai, vols. 1 and 4, or the Eng. tr. by W. G. Aston, 1896, pp. 41, 42-47, 140).

We shall now examine the documents relating to worship, especially the old rituals in which the *Imibe* appear (Engishiki, A.D. 927, ed. Dehaen, vol. 8, normal ed. 1908), for seeing what their "abstinence" consisted in. The special function of the *Imibe* was to prepare the offerings for the gods, "avoiding" all impurity in doing so. This is what is given in exact terms in the last lines of the first ritual, relating to the *Teshiki* or "Offering for the Harvest," celebrated at the time of sowing, and also at the end of the fourteenth ritual, recited at the *Ohonoke no matsuri*, or "Festival of the Great Offering of Food," which was a festival of first-fruits (*Nishinana*, "New-tasting"), more solemn, and celebrated only at the succession of the Emperors. On the other hand, in the eighth ritual, concerning the festival of the *Ohotono Hogaki*, or "Lucky-wishing of the Great Palace," we are told that it was the *Imibe* who, with a sacred (ini) axe, set to work on the wood destined for the sacred places (the audience-hall, the Emperor's bathroom, and the shrine of the Gods), and who, with a sacred (ini) mattock, dug out its foundations. On this occasion they also prepared the offerings, brought the Imperial insignia into the great hall, hung up the magic stones in various places (the audience-hall, the Emperor's bathroom, and the shrine of the Gods), and meanwhile observed to ensure by avoiding with great care everything that might cause déshienement.

Apart from the *Imibe*, abstinence was practised also by certain people and on certain occasions.

As a general custom, to prepare himself for a religious festival, the officiating priest had to remain indoors (*i-gowari*), to avoid speaking and making a noise, to eat no food except that cooked on a pure fire (*immu-bi*), in short, to contrive to escape every possible cause of uncleanness. The duration of this abstinence of various kinds, and the importance of the festivals: a month for festivals of the first class, three days for festivals of the second class, and one day for festivals of the third class. During the month preceding the *Ohonoke*, the most important festival of ancient Shinto, a lesser abstinence (**gai-e** was observed, and during the last three days a greater abstinence (**shibai-imi**). The Emperor himself, having to take part personally in the ceremony, had to conform to this rule. When the Emperor Yariaku desired to see the god *Imami*, he was confronted by the apparition of a dreadful serpent, which made him rush, terror-stricken, into the interior of his palace for
ASCETICISM (Jewish).—1. Pre-exilic customs.—Jewish piety, consisting originally of faith and trust in a covenant God, found no room for asceticism as a self-imposed discipline of the soul. Indeed, the terms of the bi-lateral covenant between Jahweh and Israel rendered asceticism impossible. For, according to the solemn transaction on Sinai, Israel became Jahweh's own people in a special manner, pledged henceforth to acknowledge Jahweh as their only God, and to obey Him as revealed to them by Divinely-inspired legislators and prophets. Jahweh in return solemnly promised to remain Israel's God. Moderate prosperity was therefore regarded as His smile on His people, and conformed to the Sinai-worship. 'God is good, and ever ready to pardon. To Him all things were possible 'to walk with Jahweh.' No mutilation of the flesh or renunciation of the world was necessary to arrive at the highest stage of Jahweh-pleasing holiness. And so we find that pre-exilic customs and laws were adverse to asceticism, e.g. mutilation of the body was forbidden (Lv 192, Dt 1424), fasting was only an accomplishment of prayer and confession of sin, and was therefore an act of humiliation before God, and not a self-inflicted chastisement, and, except on the Day of Atonement, was left to the free will of the faithful (1 S 7, Ps 352, Du 9, Ezr 82, Jer 36).

2. Post-exilic legalism.—The re-organization of the community after the Exile laid the foundation of that rigid, torpid legalism from which Judaism has not yet recovered. The leaders of the nation, in their efforts to establish their own authority, the important thing was to avoid impieties (torani) of every kind, that is to say, everything that might be displeasing to the gods, e.g. uncleanness (to begin with personal cleanliness: no one could take part in a religious ceremony without first having washed and put on clean clothes), crimes condemned from the ritualistic point of view (e.g. incest), and lastly, calamities (such as the bite of serpents), because these were then regarded as a Divine punishment for some unknown offence. But also, the civilally forbidden, the sacrifices forbidden to the ancestors of the primitive period, such as eating meat, were not considered to be contrary to this Shinto conception of asceticism.

The psychological evolution of Japanese asceticism can be clearly followed in this series of decrees from the later Chinese. In the first centuries of the Christian era we have the asceticism of primitive peoples, characterized chiefly by its strict asceticism, and once attained, and by careless regard with regard to personal cleanliness, the Japanese people discovered any trace of an ascetic properly so called (cf. the passage from Kojiki which the Nihonmi thought it necessary to correct). On the other hand, there is mentioned as a hereditary priesthood, already well established, this corporate body of the Imperial which we see afterwards in operation in the Engishiki in the 10th cent., and which represents the most typical case of the ascetic practised also by many other people in all circumstances connected with religious rites. But, under this new form which so quickly succeeded the preceding one, Japanese law not only to all the sins committed properly so called, or even other reasons, except as an immediate preparation for certain festivals or as a temporary condition for certain functions; and, above all, far from regarding hith as a virtue, it required absolute cleanliness. Thus the idea of religious purity had undergone a complete transformation; and, in conformity with this instinct for cleanliness which already manifested itself as one of the distinctive features of the national character, physical cleanliness became itself the condition of moral and ritualistic purity.

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men (Shab. 129a). Theirs was the highest degree of piety (Rosh hash. 17). 'Zeal leads to innocence, innocence to purity, purity to Pharisiasm, Pharisiasm to holiness, holiness to humility, humility to sin-fearing, sin-fearing to asceticism. Asceticism is the gift of the Holy Spirit,' etc. (Sota ix. 15). Their excess of piety was so great that their practice could not be quoted to prove a doubtful halakha (Men. 41a). Only those were admitted to their circle who were learned (Pirg. Abod. ii. 6), and whose youth had never been defiled by sin (Suk. 53a; see also B. Ḥam. 103b).

Most praise-worthy was their cultivation of an even temperament, a forgiving spirit, generosity in money transactions, and almsgiving (Pirg. Abod. 10, 11). Their performance of the negative duties was so far exceeded by an hour's meditation, and accordingly they spent nine hours a day in spiritual exercises (Brach. 32b). In order to sacrifice the more, they occasionally took the Nazirite vow (Ned. 11a). It was probably due to their excessive fasting that they mostly died of enteric diseases, from which they suffered ten or twenty days before their death (Sahil. iii. 9; Gen. Rab. 62).

Since, however, the object of the Hasidim was not mortification of the flesh but nomism, their asceticism is more properly called servitude to asceticism. Starting from the principle that right and wrong were defined by the Law, and that the choice of either was in one's own power (cf., besides Josephus, Pirg. Abod. iii. 19), they had no indwelling sacrifices and no veneration of the Law above the organization of the body, as a peril, or to trace any connexion between cosmic and individual evil. God created the evil inclination (277 יב), and God created the Law as antithete (Kid. 30a). As long as the faithful were occupied with the study of the Law and with the performance of works of mercy, they had the power over their own evil inclination (Abod. zavah, 5b). Perfection could be aimed at by a punctilious attendance to the positive and negative precepts of the Law, without the suppression of the natural feelings. A legalist could therefore indulge in all those pleasures of life of which the Law took no account, provided that indulgence did not interfere with Israel's separation (cf. also Kid. 20a, 'Hallow thyself also in lawful matters'). The body was consecrated, but not sacrificed to asceticism. Self-mutilation and injuries were forbidden (B. Ḥam. 91b).

No scruple might live in a town which did not possess, among other sanitary requisites, a bath, a barber, and a physician (Sanh. 17b). When health required their residence, they sold all their shoes for food; and he who stinted himself was threatened with retribution by Providence (Shab. 129a). To save life, even the life of a newborn infant, all laws except those relating to idolatry, incest, and murder might be suspended (Shab. 128b). To save the life of a woman profaned (Shab. 128b); cf. also Mekh. Kil. This. 1. 'The Sabbath is delivered unto you, not unto the Sabbath'). A hungry invalid might be dieted on ceremonially unclean food. The vine-irrigation of the Sabbath and great festivals, and was not missing from the social board. 'He who abstains from wine is a sinner' (Sanh. 11a). Rab. went so far as to say that in the great Judgment Day man would have to give an account for every lawful pleasure he refused (Jer. Kil. iv.). The same Rabbi on another occasion said, 'Beati possentes qui sedent a se 277 (Sabbath). They are the disciples of Abraham our father enjoy this world, and are heirs of the world to come' (Av. v. 22).

5. Alexandrianism.—While Palestinian Judaism was being developed into a forensic science, that of the Greek diaspora was gradually assumed the appearance of a philosophical system. There
were several agencies at work to produce this effect. The inability to fulfil every precept of the Mosaic Law on foreign soil must have been the first inducement. It even may be possible that the Law, the Stoic tutors, supplied them with the allegoric method, and the Greek language with a metaphysical terminology. As early as pseudo-Aristeas the Jewish delegates to Ptolemy IV. are called philosophers (Kantzeck, AJ 3, 209). According to Aristobulus, the most prominent Greek philosophers and poets derived their knowledge from Moses, who was the inspiration and source of all philosophy. One of the fundamental principles of this religious philosophy was the pessimistic doctrine which led to the corruption of the corruptible body, says the Book of Wisdom, 'presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that misseth upon many things' (9:9). But it is Philo who is the prophet of Alexandriaism. According to him, man's highest aim is a mystic union with the Deity, attained through asceticism and flight from the world, the former as a means of liberating the spirit from the trammels of the flesh, the latter as a safeguard against a relapse into the sensual (de Allegr. ii. 411). Their ascetics, accordingly ascetics and hermits. Enoch was removed from sinful surroundings (de Abr. iii. 352). Abraham's call was accompanied with the command to depart from temptations of the flesh (de Mag. Abr. i. 457). Jacob was the true ascetic who wrestled until he obtained a vision of God (de Spec. i. 618). But the greatest ascetic was Moses, whom self-discipline and continence qualified for the gift of prophecy, and raised to the nearest approach to God (Vita Mos. ii. 145 b). Alexandriaism left no impression on Palestinian Judaism, though some of the Philonic Midrash found its way into the Rabbinic Hagadda. The kohmkheth Yevanim, or Greek philosophy, had no attraction for the Rabbis. The works of Philo would have perished if they had not been preserved by Christians. The first Jew who mentions Philo is A. dei Rossi (1573).

6. Esseniun.—The asceticism of the Essenes, as seen in the short accounts of them by Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, is so strange that we doubt whether the Essenes and their practices have any claim to be seriously considered. Even the character of the sect is obscure. Since no satisfactory derivation of the name exists, we hazard the suggestion that 'Essene' is an ethnic term =Essuites, or Idumeneans, or at least a clan of Idumeans.° This would coincide with Pliny's account of their chief settlement on the western coast of Asia. Pliny and Josephus would also account for Herod's partiality for them, and for the presence of an Essene in his court. Their rejection of animal sacrifice removes them considerably from Palestinian Judaism, in which the sacrificial cult is everything. Their other tenets are so non-Jewish that the conviction is irresistible that the sect was of exotic origin, though on Jewish borderland; that in its gradual development it received accretions from Pythagoreanism, and finally from Alexandriaism; that to replenish its ranks it carrried on a propaganda in the Levant and Syria where the soil was ripe for anti-hedonic movements; and that those Jews who joined the order, and among them chiefly Hasidim and Pharisees, would adopt only those practices of the Essenes which were not inconsistent with the State religion. Thus Onias ha-Maggel, who is supposed to have been an Essene (Ta' an. 19 and tb. Tos. ii. 11), was a married man and offered sacrifices (Ta'an. 23). José b. Joezer the priest, another reputed Essene, was a wealthy man (INba balath, 153). The number of adherents, therefore, cannot have been very considerable. The name 'Essene' is not mentioned in the NT. In the Talmud the allusions to them are scanty and doubtful, and under the appellations of Patishem (in ArLn. 'Patishem', i.e. 'secret'), Hekhaim ('silent'), Mysteries', Bonaim ('builders'), and Tobbi Shakruth (\'morning bathers\'). Perhaps the Assur Misrosh ('men of work'), who are mentioned on a par with the Hasidim (Sifte, 51; Sofer 15), were Essene ascetics, mutatis mutandis being pure Hebrew for '

7. Modern Judaism.—The teaching of the Talmud is codified in the Turim and Shulkhan Arukh, which is still binding on Judaism. We look in vain for a theory of asceticism in the code. The Jewish devotional literature of the Middle Ages shows indeed a tendency to asceticism. Foremost among these is Bahya's hoboth ha-lebathoth (\'Duties of the Heart\'), which is a Hebrew translation from the original Arabic made by Ibn Tibbon (1161-1180), and is as popular among orthodox Jews as Thomas à Kempis' 'Imitation of the Lord' according to Christians. So are the Shakare Teshuboth (\'Gates of Repentance\') and Sheker ha-Jiruh (\'the Book of Fear\'), by Jonah Geroniolo (\'1263). But this is due mainly to the interest of the Kabbalists, who had access to Moslem sources, e.g. the Brühl, Jahrb. v. and vi. 71-93. Maimonides' views are more in accordance with the Jewish spirit. In his Mishne Torah, Deoth iii. 1 and vi. 1, he points out that asceticism is not only unnecessary but even sinful. Judah Halevi, another prominent philosopher, in the Kuzari (iii. 1 and 4), states: \'The prevalent custom among us is not to separate oneself from the world, nor to despise life ... but to love the world and length of life.' On the asceticism of the Kabbalists and Kabbalistic Hasidim see KABBALISM, \'HAUSIDISM, also ESSEES, KARAITES, PHARISEES, and sects (Jewish).

LITERATURE. — M. Lazans, Ethics of Judaism (Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1900), §§ 246-509; J. E. ii. 163-169; Bouquet, Rev. d. Judarct, i. 1800, pp. 479-509; Roscher, 

ASCETICISM (Muslim).—The very copious materials which are available in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literature for the study of Muslim asceticism, which hitherto received little attention from European scholars, and some of which have not been before it will be possible to give an adequate survey of the subject. This article can only attempt to sketch the main lines of development, and to illustrate the salient features of each. The main periods are (1) the period of Muhammad; (2) Early Muslim and Sufi asceticism; (3) Development of Sufi asceticism in the Middle Ages. (a) Monastic institutions. (b) Sufic systems. (c) Philosophical asceticism. (d) Conclusion: the Jewish orders. 1. Introduction: the teaching of Muhammad.—The religious ideas of the pagan Arabs were vague and scanty. Engrossed in the toils and pleasures of the present life, they seldom thought of the future, and the notion of preparing themselves for a better life beyond the grave had not entered their minds. It was Christianity, not ecclesiastical, but of an irregular and unorthodox type, that sowed the first seeds of asceticism in Arabia before the advent of Muhammad, and continued to exert a dominating influence upon its development in the Muslim empire during the early centuries. In pre-Islamic times Christianity was diffused among the tribes of North Arabia, and many Arabs had at least a superficial knowledge of its rites and doctrines (Wollhausen, Relig., 229). But, however, even in this ancient, pietistic spirit, the Bedawin were impressed by the Christian monk (\'rabib\'), whose lamp, burning in his lonely
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cell, was a welcome sight to travellers in the darkness of the desert. These monks, together with occasional wandering hermits, offered to the heathen Arabs a model of ascetic life, and inspired certain individuals, known as ḥanifs, to reject idolatry, profess monotheism, and adopt ascetic practices, such as the wearing of sackcloth and the abstention from particular kinds of food. There can be little doubt that the ḥanifs stimulated Muhammad, with whom most of them were contemporaries; two, in fact, were elected as his followers by blood or marriage (cf. Sir Charles Lyall, *The words "Hanif" and "Muslim," in* J.L.A.S, 1903, p. 771 ff.). The influence of Christianity may serve to explain ascetic tendencies which appeared in the oldest form of Islam—e.g. Muhammad and his family converted first from Judaism. This lasted only threw into stronger relief the social, active, and aggressive spirit of Islam as contrasted with monastic quietism and renunciation. Apart from general exhortations to recognize the vanity of earthly joys, and to put faith in good works rather than in the gifts of fortune, the Qur'an contains few passages that can fairly be interpreted in a specifically ascetic sense. *Pasting* is enjoined as a penance for certain ritual and legal offences (Qur. ii. 192, 237, iv. 94, v. 91, lvii. 5); *penitence*, which was probably most prominent during the infancy of the creed, was evil into good (xxv. 70); *prayer* restrains a man from committing sin (xxix. 44); the doctrine of self-purification, especially by means of almsgiving (zakāt), is preached in Sūras of the Meccan period: "He that purifies himself (tazakkūl) hath attained felicity" (lvii. 14, cf. *Grégoire*, *Observations*, 1904, pt. ii. p. 113). The root *ZHD* (to renounce), from which is derived zakāt, the ordinary word for Muslim asceticism, occurs in the Qur'an only once, and is applied reproachfully to those who sold Joseph and the one which the Prophet himself pronounced as *tabattul* ("detachment from the world"), is found (lxxix. 8) among Divinely ordained acts of devotion. Another ancient epithet of ascetics is *sāwī*, fem. *sāwhā* (literally, 'wandurers'); these are mentioned in Sūras 115, lvii. 5. It need scarcely be said that Muhammadan writers on asceticism interpret the Qur'ān in the light of their own theories, and import a technical meaning into many words, e.g. *dhikr* and *tawakkul*, which the Prophet used in the obvious signification.

2. *Early Muslim and Sufi asceticism.*—According to the Qur'an (lvii. 27), *monasticism (rekhabānīya*) was an innovation in Christianity itself, and Muhammad in a famous sentence declared that it was no part of Islam. Nevertheless, some instances of a tendency in this direction are recorded by early Muslim tradition (see Goldzihier, *De l'Ascétisme aux premiers temps de l'Islam,* in *RHR*, vol. xxviii. p. 314 ff.), which invariably represents Muhammad as condemning such acts of penance and mortification, whereas, at a later time, asceticism was widespread. The Prophet did, however, evince a high regard for the monks. Goldzihier has collected several examples of persons contemporary with Muhammad, or nearly so, who did penance for their sins. Thus Bahā' b. Dhawr retired into the mountains in the neighbourhood of Medina, clad himself in hair-cloth, and tied his hands behind his back with iron chains, crying repeatedly: 'O my God and my Lord! see Bahā', bound and shackled, confessing his sins.' Abū Labāba, in remorse for an act of prevarication (Ḥin Hishām, 626), fastened himself to a pillar in the mosque at Medina, and remained in that position until he was assured that God had pardoned him. Other forms of penance were associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca. It was not unusual for pilgrims to go on foot and without shoes, or, while circumambulating the Ka'bah, to let themselves be led like a camel by means of a ring which was inserted in the nose (cf. Goldzihier, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 36, n. 9). We hear of pilgrims who had taken a vow of silence: this was denounced as a heathen custom by the khalif Aḥbāb Bakr.

The first century of Islam was singularly favourable to the growth of asceticism. The long and bloody civil wars, the fierce fanaticism of the political sects, the rapidly increasing laxity of morals, the spectacle of a military despotism enforcing its will upon devout Muslims, and openly rejecting every principle of the ideal theocracy which they wished to restore—all these circumstances contributed to excite in men's minds a dread of man and the feeling that this world was nothing but a rope to the world to come. Hence arose a powerful and wide-spread ascetic movement, originally orthodox in character, but gradually developing mystical tendencies, and passing almost imperceptibly into the old form of Sufism. During the Umayyad period (A.D. 661–750) this movement continued to bear a distinctly orthodox stamp, and derived its leaders, if not its chief strength, from the Pictists, including Qur'ān-reciters (gūrā), students of the hadith, and learned divines.

Sufism is represented by the personality of the theological Hasan of Basra (ob. 728 A.D.), who may be regarded as the founder of the Bas'rite sect of ascetics and mystics (cf. Qut al-qulūb, Cairo, 1310 A.H., i. 129 and 166). His sayings, and those of the early Muslims in general, leave no doubt that the mainspring of their asceticism was the intense terror produced by the vivid descriptions in the Qur'an of the Day of Judgment, and the torture of Hell, and (2) a morbid consciousness of sin, which impelled them to spend their lives in penance and devotion. One of the most famous of Sufyan ath-Thauri (ob. 777–778 A.D.), *enables any one to support the burden of devotion* (Ḥilyat al-a'lyiyā, i. 74a). *Suppose,* said Bishr b. Mansūr to Atā as-Sulaim, *that a blazing fire were kindled, and presented to me, which but entered it should be saved!* 'I should tremble,' Atā replied, *lest my joy might cause me to expire before I reached it' (ib. i. 32b). Many stories are told of persons who died of fear on hearing a preacher describe the anguish that awaits the wicked after the Resurrection, or who wept so violently from terror and remorse that they swooned away. The slightest infraction of the religious law required a long and painful expiation. Kahun b. al-Ḥasan is said to have wept for forty years because he once took a piece of clay from a neighbour's wall. These are a class of ascetics called 'the Weepers' (al-Bakdā'īn), a term probably borrowed from Christian monasticism (Abū 1-Maḥāsin, ed. Juybūl, i. 390, i. 5; cf. Thomas of Margia, *The Book of the Governors*, ed. J. Budge, vol. i. Ch. 9). This connexion the pervading influence of Christianity on the early period of Muslim asceticism should not be overlooked (see von Kremer, *Herrschende Ideen*, 32 ff., 57 ff.; Goldzihier, *RHR*, vol. xxviii. pp. 314–324, and *Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Šūlismus*, in *Festgabe* for
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Oriental Journal, vol. xiii. p. 35 ff.). Not only can the dress, vows of silence, and many other practices a Muslim ascetic is traced to this source, but in the oldest 'Sufi biographies, besides numerous anecdotes of the Christian monk (rishb), who from his cell or pillar gives instruction and advice to wandering Muslim devotees, we find unmistakable proof that the doctrines of the latter were developed in a large measure out of the Jewish, and seem to be based on Jewish and Christian traditions. Quotations from the Pentateuch and the Gospels frequently occur among the sayings attributed to Muhammadan saints; and Biblical stories, relating from the mouths of the prophets, were, as far as we can see, the popular collection entitled Isláldh, which is said to have been compiled by 'Abd al-Munabbih (ob. 728 A.D.), and the still extant Qisas al-Anbâyâ ("Tales of the Prophets"), by Thalâbi (ob. 1056 A.D.). While, as has been stated, many of the early Muslim ascetics belonged to the learned class, lived in towns, and did not exclude themselves from social intercourse and public life, the movement had its roots among the common folk, of whom a great number embraced with enthusiasm the ideal of unworldliness. The dress was held up as the best means of attaining this end, by abstaining from all human society, seeking shelter in caves and cemeteries, or roaming in solitary places, deserts, mountains, and on the shore. Of such wanderers 'Abd al-Adham (ob. 770 A.D.) is a type, although, unlike others, he was born a Muslim. When, in the 16th century, Prince of Bakhk, he clad himself in garments of wool, left his kingdom, and roamed through Syria, earning a scanty livelihood by gardening and other kinds of manual labour. On being asked why he shunned the sight of men, he replied, "I have escaped my religion to my bosom, and am fleeing with it from town to town and from peak to peak. All who see me think that I am a camel-driver (read jaumal for jamalu) or a madman. This I do, that perchance I may save my religion from Satan, and bring my faith safely forth through the gate of death" (Thaâl, al-Anbât, ed. Nicholson, t. 95. 15 f.). Others, again, sought refuge from worldly temptations in the 'Sufi monasteries which began to be founded before the close of the 2nd cent. A.H. Women took an active part in the movement, especially on the ascetical side (see 'SUFIISM). It had no organization, no system of doctrine, but is characterized, as Goldziher has observed (Vienna Orient. Journ. vol. xiii. p. 37), by the one-sided elaboration of certain Qur'ânic ideas of life, with a corresponding neglect of other elements equally important in the eyes of orthodox Muhammadans. In the early period, asceticism can hardly be separated from Sufism; and even when the distinction became sharp (in the 3rd cent. of Islam), many who called themselves 'Sufis were really little more than ascetics with a vein of mysticism. It will be convenient, therefore, to regard the early 'Sufis as in some degree belonging to the movement under consideration, leaving the monastic institutions and organized asceticism of a later period to be treated in the following section. We shall now deal with some practices and theories which illustrate the general character of ancient Muslim asceticism.

(a) Dress.—Garments of coarse wool (shág) were a mark of asceticism in pre-Islamic times; in this respect the Arabs owed the Christian hermits ('Nôdéke, in ZDMG, vol. xlvi. p. 47). Similar garments were often worn by Muslim ascetics; hence the name 'Sufi,' which came into use before 200 A.H. A synonymous epithet of rarer occurrence is 'Musulmân,' which is derived from the garment of hair-cloth called mish, plural misr, meaning (cf. Hilgul, ii. 80; Nufurât al-Alâ', Calenta, 1859, Nos. 89 and 90). Ascetics of both sexes are described as wearing a snood (jubba or midâqâ) of wool; women sometimes added a head-covering and veil (ihtilâf) of the same material. Slâyân ath-Thaurî (6), 777-778 A.D.) condemned this as being an innovation (inda), others on the ground that it was borrowed from Christianity or savoured of ostentation (Hilgul, i. 90°; Iqmd, Cairo, 1299 A.H., iii. 345.); Scárat, Lâwâqîf, 1299 A.H., iii. 345.; Bistâri, ii. 47.) declared that a woolen garment might be worn for economy, or as a travelling dress, but not for religious purposes (Hilgul, ii. 171°). In another place (ib. ii. 167°) he allows the adept, whose heart is purged of all the passions, to wear anything. "One who mantles in the signs of asceticism," but says that it is safer for him to wear "two white garments" like ordinary people, so as not to excite remark. Garments of hair (shârîf) are often mentioned; they were sometimes worn under a rich dress, e.g. by 'Abd al-Sâdiq (Lâwâqîf, i. 42. 20 f.). Some petasists were recognized by their long cloaks (bernes, pl. burtînîs; cf. Iqmd, ii. 291. 7). Usâl al-Ghulâm (ob. circa 790 A.D.) wore two dust-coloured garments one as a rubâ, the other as an izâr—so that he could look like a poacher. Bishâl al-Askî (ob. 841-842 A.D.), the well-known ascetic of Baghdad, went to market "wearing a shabby fur (jaro), a short boot (bâht), and a very fine izâr" (ib. ii. 77°). All this shows that the term "silk" was not confined to the use of fine silk, but that ascetics were not invariably distinguished by a peculiar dress. Concerning the patched frocks (nawqârût), which in course of time superseded the woolen garb of the 'Sufis, see art. 'SUFIISM.

(b) Food and fasting.—Many ascetics attached great importance to eating only what was lawful (kâdî). Thus 'Abd al-Adham said, 'Let your food be good (tayyib), and you need not pray by night or fast by day' (Hilgul, i. 199°); and he used to eat clay and earth when he could not get anything above suspicion. So says 'Abd al-Sâdiq (ib. 587 A.D.) was celebrated for the purity of his diet (ib. ii. 47°); he wished to eat no food that entailed either gratitude to man or chastisement from God, but confessed that he found this impossible (ib. ii. 54°). On the other hand, some of these ascetics have many instances of holy men who were miraculously guarded from eating "dubious" viands, e.g. such as came from a wedding-feast or had passed through the hands of a government official. It is clear, therefore, that "not eating" (ob. 577 A.D.) that whenever he stretched out his hand to take any food of this sort, he was warned by the twitching of a vein in the tip of one of his fingers (Qushairî, Cairo, 1318 A.H., p. 64, l. 21). 'Abd al-Adham advised warm bread with olive oil as the best food for ascetics (Hilgul, i. 199°); others favoured bread and salt, gruel made of barley-meal, etc. Some abstained from meat altogether, but this does not seem to have been usual; it was, however, eaten sparingly. Vows of alms-giving from particular kinds of food, e.g. carrots or dates, were often made, and were supposed to confer a higher spiritual rank (Lâwâqîf, i. 61. 17 f.). Besides the obligatory fast of Ramadan, voluntary fasts of varying length and severity form an indispensable feature of Muslim asceticism. Their purpose was to mortify the flesh and illuminate the spirit, to procure wisdom and prevent sin. 'He who masters his belly,' said 'Abd al-Wâlid b. Zaid (ob. 593 A.D.), 'masters his religion and masters all the virtues' (Hilgul, i. 16°). Bayzâd al-Ishârî said that he attained to the sublime by means of a hung belly and a naked body (Qushairî, 16. 10). Said b. 'Abdallah at- Tustari (ob. 896 A.D.) was famous for his fasts.
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He held that food should be eaten only to preserve life and reason, not to give strength, and that incapacity to perform one's devotions through weakness arising from want of food was better than the performance of them by one who had eaten his fill (Ihya‘, Cairo, 1280 A.H., iii. 871). He observed to his likhis in a list of those who had fasted forty consecutive days (Ihya‘, iii. 89). Later, Şafis surpassed his achievements in this line, for, according to Aih ‘Uthman’s account (Qushairi, 78, 31), and his name is included by Ghazâli in a material sense; the zâhid abstained from food, sleep, society, and all harmless pleasures. If a man possessed only one shirt, he might count on being admitted to paradise before his more deserving neighbour who had two (Tadh. al-‘a‘atyâ, i. 47, last line and foll.). But since the ascetics naturally restricted halâl to the narrowest possible limits, and condemned everything else as superfluous, it was but a short step to the view that ‘nothing in the world is lawful, and therefore there is no true renunciation in renouncing the world’ (Qushairi, 67, 11). Thus what Sayyid ‘Uthman’s followers did of the early Sâfs exhibit a strong bias toward a spirit... conception of zâhid. Not that they fasted less, kept fewer vigils, or relaxed their austerities, but they realized that such acts could have no value except as the expression of an inward feeling. Renunciation exists only in the heart (Illiyat, ii. 170); it is the abandonment of all that diverts one from God (Qushairi, 67, 4), and especially the abandonment of ‘self.’ Self-abnegation, in its practical aspects, which alone concern us here, may be described, as the poor man (tâwakkul) or quietism (ridâd), as it is closely connected with the doctrine of ‘poverty’ (fayş).

Most Muhâammadan treatises on Sâfism allude to the controversy which arose at an early period as to the superiority of poverty or riches (see, e.g., the ed. of M. Kâshif al-Mahri, p. 181, and of A. al-qulûb, printed on the margins of Qit al-qulûb, ii. 161. 15 ff.). It was debated whether the rich man who was blessed with wealth and who rendered thanks to God for it did not represent a higher ideal than the poor man who endured want uncomplainingly. Some argued that wealth (ghând), being an attribute of God, should be preferred to poverty, which is an attribute of man, and cited the Prophet’s saying: ‘The upper hand is better than the lower;’ i.e., ‘to give is better than to receive.’ The leading Sâfs, with a few exceptions, were declared in favour of poverty, quoting such traditions as these: ‘O God, let me live poor, and die poor, and rise from the dead amongst the poor;’ ‘the poor of my people will enter Paradise five hundred years before the rich;’ ‘poverty is my pride’ (al-fuqru, ‘abârî). What poverty meant may be gathered from a saying of Sâri as-Sa‘a‘qi (ob. 867 A.D.): ‘Do not take anything from any one, nor ask any thing of any one, nor have with you anything which you can give to any one’ (Illiyat, ii. 244). It was even held that the prophet had based on the theory of tawakkul (‘trust in God’), which the early Sâfs carried to extreme lengths (see Goldziher’s investigation of the subject in the Vienna Orient. Journ. vol. xiii. pp. 41–56). They define tawakkul as renunciation of personal initiative and volition, leaving all to God, being entirely passive, like a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial.

Applying this doctrine to matters of practical life, the true muwâzakkul could not make any effort, direct or indirect, to obtain the means of living. He could not admit any thought of providing for the narrow. He could not beg, work for hire, or ply any trade or handicraft, but had to depend for his daily bread on what God, ‘to whom belong the treasures of earth and heaven,’ sent him as a gift from Himself, or delivered to him by the hands of his fellow-creatures. He was then said to gain his livelihood mina l’ fidâh, i.e. through an ‘opening’ which God made for him. The ancient Sâfs, who commonly adhered to these principles and hence are often called al-mutawakkul, did not think to be influenced by Christian teaching (Mt 6:25–34, 1K 23–24; see Goldziher, loc. cit. p. 45). In later times, when the theory had broken down, the same term was still used to denote a class of Sâfs who wandered to and fro, living ‘on trust’ (l’ tawakkul). It
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was customary for such men to make the pilgrim-age to Mecca 'without provision' (bild sāid), and in some cases they considered their vow of tawakkul to have been violated if they extracted a thorn from their feet or cried out for help on falling into a well. But, of course, the facts of nature were too strong for the doctrinaires. Living 'on trust,' if strictly interpreted, involved a serious risk of death from hunger. That provision was not perished in this way is likely enough, and may possibly have evoked the assertion, which is ascribed to Sufyān ath-Thaurī (Hilāyīt, i. 819), that those who refuse to beg, and die of hunger in consequence, go to Paradise. Generally the Sufis themselves came to the opinion that tawakkul was not invalidated by seeking a livelihood (tabassub).

A similar conclusion was reached as regards the question whether a mutawakkil might take medicine or not; but there were always individuals who refused to compromise with their conscience. Goldziher (loc. cit. p. 53) mentions the existence in Persia, in the 4th cent. A.H., of a numerous sect who rejected medical aid. Their leader, Abū l-Ḥaibār B. Bābī, was a Christian physician, and, like modern Christian Scientists, he recommended his patients to trust in God. It is curious that a theory which forbade begging, or allowed it only as a last resource, should actually have produced swarms of able-bodied mendicants who made their tawakkul an excuse for living on charity. The sectaries of the Middle Ages.—(a) Monastic institutions.—The Prophet's saying, 'There is no monasticism in Islam,' was not falsified, on any large scale at least, until several centuries had elapsed. Most of the early Sufis led secluded lives with a few friends and companions of the same way of thinking. Many of them were married, and some had the full legal complement of wives, like Ḥātim al-Asamm of Balkh, who died in A.D. 831 (Hilāyīt, i. 2139). Bishr al-Ḥāfi, although himself unmarried, is said to have acknowledged that Ahmad b. Ḥunblā, who had followed the same apportioning of marriage, was his superior in this respect (Qīṭ al-qulāb, ii. 241) Nevertheless, the advocates of celibacy—for they did not always practise what they preached—soon began to make themselves heard. Ḥasan of Bāṣra said that his father would rather see his son die than to be a Christian who married. Would he be willing to marry in the world, he does not occupy himself with wife and child (Lauwīq, i. 38. 10). According to Rībāb b. Amr al-Qaṣī, no one attains the rank of the elect (ṣiddāqīm) until he leaves his wife a widow and his children fatherless (ib. i. 11). Abū al-Darrār, in his marriage as a backsiding and a concession to worldliness; it might be the better state for those who could endure its cares, but only the single man (wāḥid) tasted the full sweetness of devotion, and was able to give his whole heart to God (Qīṭ al-qulāb, ii. 247). These views, conflicting with the ancient Muslim doctrine that a man's duties towards his family are quite as important as those which concern his faith, never gained universal acceptance. Celibacy is seldom demanded by Muhammadan religious orders as a condition of membership.

We have but little information as to the origin and growth of monasticism in the early period of Islam. The first monastery (ḥānaqāḥ) for Sūfis is said to have been founded at Ramūlah in Palestine by a Christian convert (Najštābī, 34), apparently before A.D. 800. Sitting in a ḥanāqāḥ was condemned, as equivalent to begging, by Abū Turāb an-Nakhsibānī, who died in A.D. 879 (Hilāyīt, ii. 2229). The year 290 A.H. (=A.D. 815) is named in two fictitious traditions (Qīṭ al-qulāb, ii. 229) as the date when all Sufis, or celibacy which belonged to all Muslims, and would be adopted by the best men amongst them; and this prophecy after the event seems to mark the beginning of Muslim monasticism with approximate correctness. It is probable from the development of corporatized monastic institutions throughout the Muhammadan empire belongs to a much later period. In reading the older works on Sūfism, e.g., the Qūt al-qulāb, the Hilāyīt al-mulāyīt, and the Risālā of Qushairī (all of which were written before A.D. 1590), one is struck by the absence of any reference to monasteries; yet the celebrated Sūfis of the 3rd and 4th cents. A.H. generally gathered round them a circle of disciples, who would naturally have dwelt in religious houses, if such had been available. As late as 1414, it is erroneously asserted by De Sacy in Journal des Savants, 1821, p. 725, and after him by Dozy and von Kremmer), is described as the founder of Sūfi monasticism and rules of discipline. During the next two hundred years (A.D. 1550-1590) the system was very gradually organized and came under various Dervish orders—Adawis, Qādiris, Rīfā'is, Mevlevis, etc.—which arose in rapid succession.

The well-known treatise on Sufism, entitled Ašırār al-Mulārīf, by Shihāb ad-Dīn ‛Umar as-Suhrawardi (ib. 1294 A.D.), contains interesting details concerning Muslim monastic life (see especially chapters 12-18 and 48-52). Speaking of the relation between the Shāfi‘ and the disciple (muridor), Suhrawardi asserts that the latter becomes part of the Shāfi‘, just as in natural generation the son is part of the father. 'This,' he says, 'is a spiritual birth, according to the words of Jesus: 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God' (Jn 3). The disciple was usually invested by the Shāfi‘ with a patched frock (kūra) as a sign that he submitted absolutely to the Shāfi‘ as a man in this world. In this ceremony the hand of the Shāfi‘ was considered to represent the hand of the Prophet. While the disciple remained in constant association with the Shāfi‘ and under his care, he passed through the time of 'sucking' (fīdām) when he may not depart without leave, but to wait until the Shāfi‘ decided that the moment of 'weaning' (fīdām) had arrived. 'The ascetics of old,' Suhrawardi continues, 'desired solace on account of the dangers to which society exposed them, but Sūfis who live in convents overcome these dangers by the strength of their devotion and the soundness of their spiritual state. They are as one body animated by the single aim of dwelling together in complete accord both outwardly and inwardly; this is a unique characteristic which distinguishes them from every other sect in Islam.' The convent (ribāb) comprised men of all ages, and consisted of private cells (ziwiyas) as well as an assembly-room (baat al-jum‘a). The old men, Suhrawardi thinks, should be allowed to stay in their cells, where they can sleep and rest and do as they please; but, for disciplinary reasons, it is advisable that the young should sit in the assembly-room, holding their breath and keeping their senses under control; if, however, a novice is disturbed by talking and noise, he should be sent to wait in solitude in an apartment, that his attention may not be distracted, while the Shāfi‘ himself maintains order in the assembly-room. Novices should be em-
played in ‘service’ (badus) and sent to help their fellows, were employed in devotional and contemplative practices, and who alone are excused from menial tasks. Service is a pious work, but the Süfis do not approve of asking any one who is not a Süfi to serve them; for ‘they are men, and things proceed from them, in the course of human nature, which are not virtuous and religious means,’ and not entitled to partake of it who were so occupied with God as not to be capable of earning their livelihood, or who were excused on the score of age, or who were authorized by the Shaikh to receive it in return for their labour. Unless the terms of the endowment necessitated a certain indulgence, it was a universal rule in Süfi asceticism that no idler should eat the food of the convent. Ibn Shihabi recommends a forty days’ seclusion (rubū+bis) for prayer and fasting once a year. Süfis, he insists, ‘are in the ascetic and ethical condition of purification, it will not be sought on account of the visions and ecstasies which sometimes result from it. The disciple who goes into retirement (behb) should strip himself of the world and discard all that he possesses, and, after seeing that his parents and relatives are provided for, pray the prayers and repent of his sins with weeping and humility. He ought not to leave his cell except for the public and Friday prayers (ghalib al-fatiha wa-ghalib al-jum‘a); on these occasions he should continue his dhikr and pay as little attention as possible to what he hears and see, lest he may fall into temptation. During his retirement, he should perform ablutions regularly, and sleep only when overpowered by fatigue, and never cease from repeating his dhikr until he grows weary; then he must con it over in his heart, without any movement of his tongue (see `Anār-i, chs. 26-28).

(6) Ascetic systems.—European writers on Süfism are often inclined to identify it with pantheism and to lay undue stress on its transcendental flights, while they ignore its ascetic and ethical condition. This is the ‘path’ (tariqa) which every Süfi must traverse before he can hope to reach the goal of his journey, and which is expanded at great length in the Qat al-galibah by Abū Tālib Al-Makki (ob. 845) and by Abu`l-Husayn al-Shaikh Ghazali. All systems of Süfi asceticism are based on the same materials; hence it is not surprising that one is very like another externally; however much they may diverge in spirit according to the author’s individual point of view. It may be said to have exerted an influence not numerous here, but their broad outlines can be exhibited if we briefly examine the systematic treatment of the subject by Ghazali (ob. 1111 A.D.) in his Ihyā‘, which is a classical text-book of orthodox Süfism. Ghazali does not address himself to aspirants; his aim is the revivification (ihtiyat) of the Muhammadan religion, and he has no desire to make every Muslim a monk. Consequently, in the first half of the work he deals with the ordinary religious duties of purification, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage; then he introduces acts of devotion, such as recitation of the Qur’an, praise of God (dhikr), supplication (du‘a‘), and vigils; and discusses exhaustively the relation of religion to social life. Many of these topics, though bearing a wider application, belong to the preliminary stage—i.e., ‘bā‘ith (chaire) or, as is technically named—of Süfi asceticism, but in the third and fourth volumes of the Ihyā‘ Ghazali unfolds the method adopted by the Süfis for attaining spiritual perfection. This method falls into two parts, which may be called purgative and unitive, or, what is more, as each of the two respective stages is being pursued respectively: during the purgative, the latter leads to union with God by the acquisition of virtues and faculties. The principles of the purgative way are summarized as follows (Ihyā‘, iii. 74, 153, &c.):—Before entering the ascetic practice, one must be induced to turn his mind to religion by supposing that he were to leave this world, and to think of things: wealth, reputation, mechanical conformity (taqdis), and sin. He will then need a Shaikh to direct him. The Shaikh, to whom he must cling ‘like a blind man on the bank of a river to his guide,’ will provide him with four weapons against the assaults of Satan, viz., solitude, silence, fasting, and sleeplessness. Now begins what is generally a long inward struggle with the lusts and passions. When these have been vanquished, the novice should retire to his cell and perform only the obligatory acts of religion, and not engage in some dhikr, such as Allah! Allah! or Subhānallāh! (‘Glory to God!’), until the essential meaning of it has filled his heart. He must strive to banish every thought that is not of God, and to repel the evil suggestions with which Satan plies him. He must not only keep his mindoccupied in contemplating the attributes of God, and to be able to say that he is a servant of God and his heart. It is a Shaikh to the best of his power to lead the aspirant to God, and to determine his grade, and to guide him; the Shaikh is the guide, and it is his function to indicate the ascetic way. In this case (Ihyā‘, iii. 78-392), finally, in the fourth volume of his work, he expounds the unitive way under the following heads: (1) repentance, (2) submission, patience and faith, (3) the discipline of the will, (4) abstinence from wealth and renunciation, (5) unification (tawhīd) and trust in God, (6) love, desire, intimacy, and acquiescence, (7) attention, sincerity, and truth, (8) contemplation (warraqab) and self-examination (warakār), (9) reflection (turafkhur), (10) meditation on death and what comes after it. Similar scales of ascent occur in every system of Süfi theosophy (see SÜFISM), and are possibly of Buddhist origin (cf. Goldziher, in JEA, 1904, p. 139 ff.). At any rate, Buddhism can be shown to have exercised a considerable influence on the practice and theory of medieval Muslim asceticism; e.g. the use of rosaries and the custom of holding the breath were borrowed from Buddhist monks, whose example must also have powerfully affected the monastic ideals and institutions that reached a high degree of development in this period (cf. Goldziher, loc. cit. p. 125 ff.; von Kremers, Cultuurgesch. Streifzüge, p. 45 ff.).

4. Philosophical asceticism.—Ibn Shihabi (Antw. iv. 194, &c.) distinguishes the asceticism of the mystics, which illustrate the mystical and contemplative practice and contemplation of the, though practised by philosophers and materialists with the object of purifying the senses and thus facilitating the acquisition of the intellectual sciences: the latter, he says, leads to heresy. It assumes its
most interesting form in the so-called zindiqs, a name given by the Muslims to various kinds of heresiarchs whom they suspected of being a nomad in disguise, and they might have urged, with truth, that the prevailing tone of his poetry is ethical and reflectively rather than religious. He sings the praises of asceticism, which he had adopted professionally in consequence, it is said, of a disappointment in love. The charge of heresy was brought against another jealous and prolific orientalist, Al-Ma‘arri (see MA‘ARRI). He too retired from a world where he had found only sorrow and failure. His asceticism, however, presents some peculiar features which it is possible, though hardly probable (cf. IEAS, 1902, p. 291), that he borrowed from the Indian Jains. He held that it was wrong to kill or injure any living creature, even a flea. His diet was strictly vegetarian; he abstained from fish and eggs as well as milk and honey. He wore a dress of unbleached wool and wooden shoes, on the ground that no animal should be slaughtered to make leather of its skin. His celibacy was not monastic in character, but was the result of his belief that the best fate is non-existence, and that one ought to shrink from multiplying the misery of life. To pretend that such opinions and practices are typical of the moral philosophers of Islam would be unjust to Ma‘arri’s eccentric and original genius. He resembled some of them in making asceticism an affair of the conscience and the understanding, an ingredient of the highest virtue instead of a means to it. Other things like the Iwán as-Safa, or ‘Brothers of Purity,’ inculcate obedience to the Divine world-law and love of God, which ‘gains in this life serenity of soul, freedom of heart, and peace with the whole world, and in the life to come access to Eternal Light.’

5. Conclusion: the Dervish orders. — As was said at the outset, this article is limited in scope, and deals only with the origin and main developments of Muslim asceticism. Nearly every Muhammadan sect could contribute something to a detailed history of the subject, and there are abundant Oriental sources for such a work, but in the present state of our knowledge a certain sketchiness is unavoidable. European writers have confined their researches almost exclusively to the modern Dervish orders, in which Sufi asceticism and mysticism are crucial elements. It is much more correct to say that Sufi mysticism predated the fourteenth century than to say that it was created by it. Some were founded before the Mongol Invasion (A.D. 1258), but since the 14th cent. they have branched out in all directions from Senegal in the west to China in the east. While losing their doctrine on the one hand, and practically all the mysterious arts of the Khamsa on the other, they have evolved a complex organization, extended the old practices, and introduced new ones. In some cases, too, their spirit and aims have been altered by the influence of environment and political circumstances. As regards the ascetic training which they impose on their members, naturally each order has its own rules, but they generally agree in the following points: (1) an elaborate ceremony of initiation, which is sometimes preceded by a long and arduous apprenticeship; (2) the wearing of a peculiar garb of a peculiar garment; (3) the neophyte, a severe discipline of solitude, prayer, fasting and other austerities; (4) the inordinate use of dhikr, with the help of music, dancing, and diverse physical stimulants, to excite ecstasy; (5) belief in extraordinary spiritual powers vouchsafed to adepts and fraudulent monastic persons. Which they display for cheating live cows, charming snakes, predicting future events, etc.; (6) veneration, approaching to delusion, of the Shaikh, or head of the order. If it is true that in most of their practices and beliefs the modern Dervishes had already been anticipated by the Sufis of the Middle Ages, from whom they are lineally descended, it is no less true that they have vulgarized Sufism by surrounding it with a network of mechanical routine, by exalting its phantasmagoria at the expense of its theosophy, and by preoccupation on their part with the performance of an orgiastic exercise. See article DERVISH.


REVSOY A. NICHOLSON.

ASCETICISM (Persian).—An essential part of the meaning of the Zarathushtrian reform, viz. the care of cattle and pasture land, is given in ‘The Complaint of the Soul of the King’ in the Ahumadaitha Gathá, Yasht xvi. 89. This zeal for economics inseparable connected with the now faith, the Prophet in his religion placed a distinct value on earthly goods and productive work, and introduced that strongly anti-ascetic tendency which separates the Avesta so widely from the higher Indian religion.

1. The Avesta moral code is not only negative (‘Thou shalt not,’ etc.), but also contains positive duties. In its origin it is the ethics of cattle-breeding. Zarathushtra himself was the first ‘meadow-keeping cattle reaper’ (ciyatu-zyaya, Yasht xiii. 89), as well as the first priest and the first warrior. The Ghoshty do not know any but pasture land. By the time of the later Avesta agriculture has appeared. Vendidad iii. mentions the five places which are the happiest on this earth: (1) where one of the faithful is worshipping; (2) where one of the faithful erects a house with a priest therein, with offering and all good herds, and where all these treasures of life are prospering; (3) where most corn and fruit trees are cultivated, and where water is led into a poorly watered soil (a later glosser has added, ‘and where dryness is brought to a watery soil,’ ditching being later than artificial irrigation); (4) where flocks and herds increase most; and (5) where flocks and herds yield most urine. The life-long fight against the demons means cultivating the ground, sheltering the plants from drought and heat, and keeping them from being conquered from the wild. Activity has always been one of the first principles of Zarathushtrianism.
Among the later writings of the Parist, Sad Dar lxxxii. 10 insinuates: 'Every good work which the ascetic methods would postpone for to-morrow, and accomplish with thine own hand the counsel of thine own soul'; and in Ganj-i-shaygan (§ 126) one-third of the day (and night) is given to religious duties, one-third to the cultivation of the ground (the eight hours working day!), and one-third to eating and sleeping.

2. The following objections are raised against ascetic principles:—

(1) Wife and children make a man superior to him who is not married (Vend. iv. 47). A young woman is an extra burden and handicap, just as an uncultivated ground needs cultivation. The good husband receives fruit from both (Vend. iii. 24-25).

(2) The wife he marries is a housewife, and he himself is to be the father of children (Dinkort vii. ii. 2ff.; xiv. 1). But nowhere is there an attempt made to eliminate his father in the flesh. Such an idea would be opposed to the Mazdayasniyan ideal of holiness. The psychological relation of the union of a father and daughter is not, however, in any way hindered.

'Both have embraced the first time with desire for a son, and the demons shouted out unto them, in the villainous speech of their shameless words, Why should thou not enter into Porshashap, whereupon they started up like people who were ashamed.' The same experience was repeated a second and a third time. They all agreed and continued at this duty, and accomplished it, saying: 'We will not so stop without accomplishing something, not even though both Bab and Nok should arrive here together.' Then that manchild, who was the righteous Zarathshth, because complete ... in the womb of his mother.'

The Mazdayasniyan has to recite the Ahdnas-Fatras (q.v.) and the Ahut, when he goes in to his wife (Dinkort ix. xix. 8).

(2) The man who owns a house is superior to him who does not (Vend. iv. 47).

(3) Fasting is a sin. Without eating no one has strength for a vigorous piety, for cultivating the ground, and for begetting strong children (Vend. iii. 33). The man who nourishes and develops his body through the eating of meat takes in more of vohiman ('good thought') than he who does not (Vend. iv. 48). The man who teaches or practises fasting, or is a Zoroastrian, is deprived of the holy law, and deserves punishment (Vend. iv. 49).

A well-known passage of the Parsi treatise Sad Dar lxxxiii. forbids fasting: 'In our religion it is a sin to pass a day without eating. Fasting means to fast from sin with the eye, with the tongue, with the ear, with the hand, with the foot.'

According to al-Biruni, the person who fasted was considered by the Zarathushtrians as a sinner, and had to feed a certain number of men as an expiation (Chronology, tr. Sachau, p. 217).

(4) All practices of mortification are prohibited. The Pahlavi paraphrase of the Vonshminas Nas of the Sasanian Avesta attributes the self-mortification prescribed by Mani to the Evil One (Dinkort ix. 39).

The ascetics whose doctrines are opposed in the Pahlavi writings can be identified, even if they are not expressly mentioned, as Mani in the Pahlavi Vonshminas Nas and Mazdak in the Pahlavi commentary to Vend. iv. 49 ('Mazdak, son of Bandat'). The chief form of asceticism opposed besides Manicheism was Christianity. During the persecutions of the Sasanians, marriage was not infrequently offered as an alternative to death.

The ascetics referred to in the Vendidad may have been Christians (Darmesteter) or Manichaeans (Spiegel). But it seems equally probable that ascetic doctrines were well known and practised in Iran before them. The Babylonian religion had unmarried brides of gods. In India the great ascetic methods were of a more empirical type, and postmortem procession.

3. Penalties, imposed for offences against the Avesta law, often illustrate the anti-ascetic tendency, inasmuch as those punishments themselves do not consist in sufferings, but in positive useful works: 'A certain day's work is done, and agriculture are fulfilled at the same time. In some Avesta fragments of the manuscript Tahwaras and in some of the book of ritual ceremonies, Nirangjistan, the degree of penalty incurred partly by omissions or smaller inadvertencies in the ritual, and partly because to be unclean is sin, and the lash (zraskh-katanra, 'the instrument of obedience'), is commuted into a day's work in the fields (Fragments of Tahwaras, xii. 11, 12; Fragments of Nirangjistan, 42, 43, 89, 83, 109; AMG xxiv. 554 f., 105 ff.). If the penance inflicted by Vendidad xiv. upon the man who has killed an otter belongs to the ideals never realized, it is nevertheless very characteristic. He must, among other penalties, kill thousands of snakes, lizards, frogs, ants, worms, and flies. He must give to the good men the instruments of agriculture as his wages, and of a farmer. He must make ditches for irrigation, and make a gift to good men of cultivated ground, a byre, and a beautiful bedstead. He must give to a young virgin as wife to a good man. He must make a gift to women, as many as will bring up twice seven puppies, and make twice seven bridges over ditches. He must cleanse twice nine dogs from vermin, and let twice nine Mazdayasniyans get a good square meal of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine (cf. quotation from al-Biruni under 3 (3) above, and Vend. xvii. 72-74, where the killing of snakes, frogs, and ants, and the building of bridges over water belong to the punishment for sexual intercourse at forbidden times). All animals considered as bad and noxious are called khroftara, and it is a most meritorious work to kill them. This is very different from the view of Lao-tse, from Indian, and from medieval Sufi and Christian asceticism and mysticism.

LITERATUR:—Darmesteter AMG xiii. 61 ff.; E. Lehmann, Zarathushtras (1909-1909), ii.; Henry, Le Parseme (1905); Rastanjali Edulji Dastoor Peshotan Sanjana, Zarathushtras and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta (1906); Soderblom, 'Du genie du ma Chandran,' in Debates (1906 chs. 45, 39).

NATHAN SODERBLOM.

ASCETICISM (Roman).—1. For the purposes of this article 'asceticism' may be taken roughly to mean self-discipline, prompted either by the authority of religious rules or by philosophical inspection upon the nature of life, or by a combination of both these forces.

The early Roman religion, so far as we can trace its features, was not to any appreciable extent swayed by the yearsings which in the Orient gave rise to asceticism at a time immeasurably remote.

The primitive Romans deemed that their shadowy and impalpable divinities were under compact with the community whose exclusive property they were. They asked of their worshippers no burdensome price for the favour which they accorded. The sacrifices required by them were not of the ritual of circumstance and language connected with them; but was completed, and needed to be carried out with the utmost precision. The idea of a faint or impurity, dispensing to the gods, and for this reason to make offerings in those places, and to be cleansed away only by purificatory ceremony, is old enough in Roman religion. But the expiation was easy, and called for little in the nature of self-suppression. Some of the primitive survivals of the gods, particularly the Flamen of Jupiter and the Vestals, were subject to strong ceremonial restrictions in their lives. But these resembled the religious tabus prevalent among backward races, rather than any genuine
ascetic discipline. The Roman *fortis*, or public religious celebrations, though requiring a cessation of labour and ordinary occupations, were, for the most part, joyous in character. Even in the connexion (noun), Closely we As her character. Such the spread fast ally name of as belonging to the real Roman ritual, but as a feature of the *Grecus ritus*. The earliest mention of it is in a fragment of the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius (quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 197 M: 'res divas edict, predicit castus*'). The special name for a fast, *castus* (a noun), is of doubtful derivation. The adjective *castus* implied originally purity achieved not by self-discipline but by ceremonial observance of no very exacting nature.

3. Such discipline as the early Roman under- were learned by religious order, but was laid upon him by his country. There was no limit to the sacrifices which she might demand of him; but only in rare cases had these a religious significance. This was particularly true of the ceremony called *devoto*, by which a com- mander in the field, using a solemn formula, vowed himself to death, thereby binding the gods to be- stow the victory on his army (Livy, viii. 6–10). But even in such circumstances, if the enemy failed to kill the willing victim, it was possible, in true Roman fashion, to claim the God had received a human image and raising a mound over it.

4. We must look, therefore, for traces of asceticism to those cults which Rome and the West adopted from Greece and the East. The fast (*castus* or *jejunium*) enjoined upon a deity's worshippers first appears in connexion with Ceres. Although her name is Latin, all her ritual in historic times was Greek, and her station in the official religion was first assigned to her in the earliest days of the Republic by the custodians of the *casti sacri*, who controlled the immigration of alien divinities. Her priestesses were Greeks brought from the towns of lower Italy (Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 55). As she became a chief patroness of the plebeians and the poor, her cult grew in popularity, and new services were granted on the 19th Oct. C. 190, first a Greek *hyperea* was instituted in her honour, and was celebrated annually on Oct. 4. By a paradox not uncommon in the history of religion, Ceres, who bestowed the boon of bread, was honoured by abstinence from bread (Petri p. 163; Arnob. v. 16). The fast may also have indicated a participation in the sorrow of the mother (Ceres–Demeter) for the loss of her child (Libera–Persephone). Also in August a vigil was maintained during nine nights by women worshippers, and was accompanied by a strict rule of chastity. This led to Ceres being regarded as a divinity who presided over divorce, though she was commonly reckoned as one of the patronesses of wedlock. An inscription found at Bologna, and of at least as early a date as 200 B.C., seems to point to a *castus* by which June Lucina and Jupiter were appeased (Ritschl, *Priv. Late. Monumenta*, Suppl. 11, 12).

5. A few years before the time at which the *jejunium Ceresii* was introduced, the Magna Mater, the Great Mother of the gods, who dwelt especially on Mount Cimbrum, was officially welcomed at Rome. This was due to the superstition which was generated in the minds of the people by the disasters of the Second Punic War, when the Roman gods seemed insufficient to sustain the Roman power, and a yearning arose for aid from the gods of other lands. As the powers of the temple of the Great Mother at Pessinus in Galatia was venerated as her type, was brought to Rome and enshrined on the Palatine. The ritual of the goddess was frenzied and orgiastic. For the first time self-mutilation was accepted by authority at Rome as pleasing to Heaven. The favourite temple of the Great Mother, commemorated in her ceremonies, was the mythical Attis, who gave his name to the weird poem of Catullus. At first the priests of the goddess were imported from her original home, thence in time by Varronian Romans were forbidden to take office under her. But as early as B.C. 77 a breach of the rule took place, and during the Imperial period the priests and priestesses were all Roman. The worship became more and more elaborated as time went on, and it grew in popularity till it spread far and wide in the West.

6. Closely connected with the Magna Mater was the great rite of the *Taurbolism*, with its minor form, the *Criobolium* (qq. vv.). Its history and nature are and are by religious order, but was laid upon him by his country. There was no limit to the sacrifices which she might demand of him; but only in rare cases had these a religious significance. This was particularly true of the ceremony called *devoto*, by which a com- mander in the field, using a solemn formula, vowed himself to death, thereby binding the gods to be- stow the victory on his army (Livy, viii. 6–10). But even in such circumstances, if the enemy failed to kill the willing victim, it was possible, in true Roman fashion, to claim the God had received a human image and raising a mound over it.

7. As is well known, the soldiers who served Rome, whether Romans or aliens, and passed from hand to land, were greatly instrumental in carrying westward the Eastern cults. Some of these failed for a time to obtain authoritative recognition, and were merely tolerated by Government (with occasional suppression), because of their acceptability to the people at large. But by the 3rd cent. the Ro- man Emperors practically abandoned the attempt to hurl back the Oriental deities who were invading Italy and the capital of the empire. A cult which long remained unofficially popular was that of the Cappadocian divinity Ma, a form of the Great Mother, whose acquaintance the Roman soldiers made when Sulci penetrated into the country of the goddess. We have in Strabo (p. 553) a reference to her temple at Comana, with 6000 servants at- tached, whose forms of veneration were often far...
ASCETICISM (Roman)

from reputable. She was identified by the Romans with the old Indian goddess Bellona. The populace of the West became familiar with the spectacle of hierophants in procession with strange insignia, who cut themselves with the double axe and sprinkled the mob with their blood, while they uttered frantic prophecies. The priests wandered about making collections, like the begging friars of the Middle Ages.

8. Egyptian divinities, especially Isis, early made their way into the Greek districts of Italy and into Etruria. The cult of Isis ultimately had extraordinary ramifications all over the Empire, but particularly in the West, and it exercised an esoteric spell over the lower classes, so that Christians of the earlier centuries saw in Isis a formidable enemy of Christ. And she contributed, indeed, to Western culture elements which penetrated into the texture of the Church. Her cult was more and more the object of the Government, but it advanced irrepressibly, as the literature of the Augustan age and later abundantly proves.

9. There was also an influx of deities from Syria. The Dei Syrii had close affinities with the Magna Mater and Bellona, and the priests and worshippers of these three heavenly beings were often seen in company, particularly in the last age of Paganism, when a dim consciousness of one great God beyond and above the separate divinities became prevalent. Another immigrant from Syria was the Sun god, who played a great part in the reign of Elagabalus and later. But more important than these was the mighty Persian deity Mithra, often identified with the Sun-god. The strongly developed discipline, the advancement of the worshipper in mystic fellowship from the lowest to the higher grades, the community of the sacred brotherhoods rendered this cult highly fascinating to the West. Even in barbaric regions never wholly Romanized, numerous altars dedicated to Mithra and other traces of his worship have been found.

10. These new forms of worship supplied to the Italic peoples elements which were wanting in the indigenous religions—the satisfaction which comes of self-sacrifice for heaven's sake, the sensation of mystical awe and an elevation of soul born of intercourse with the deity, also oftentimes a hope of life in a world beyond the grave. In the hard primitive life of the early Italian farmer the lack of these elements was not felt, but the expanded life of later times welcomed their advent. Mysteries of a Greek type, with symbolic ceremonies partly reminiscent of religion, partly embodying ideas that originated in the philosophic schools, seem to have begun to spread to the Italic races as early as the days of the Punic Wars. To these mysteries ascetic practices were often attached. This development and introversion developed the seeds of these new devotions was shown by the rapid spread of the movement called by the Roman Government the 'Bacchanalian conspiracy,' which was violently suppressed in B.C. 186. The Roman priesthoods of the Greek districts of Italy, drew into connexion with them multitudes of Italic race and large numbers of Roman citizens. Many thousands were executed by authority of the senate, after inquiry which recalls the drumhead court-martial, in defiance of the laws which guaranteed fair trial to the Roman burgess. The moral nature of the cult was assumed, but never proved. The secrecy of the worship, then a strange and unfamiliar feature, produced an atmosphere of panic, generating visions of crime such as arose in the Gentile world from the mysterious nature of the early Christian conservances. In later centuries, 'mysteries,' connected with some mythical or semi-mythical founder such as Orpheus or Pythagoras, or with some definite divinity, were popular in the West, but the information which has come down to us concerning the definitions of the sects is by no means trustworthy.

II. The prevalence of the rites and practices to which reference has been made must have greatly changed, in the course of centuries, the primitive Roman and Italian sense of the relation between the Divine powers and man. The claims of the gods upon man were felt to be more exacting than they had been imagined in early days, requiring a toll of human suffering, sometimes physical, sometimes consisting in a sharp repression of many of the desires and ambitions of the average human being. The object of the worship was to cleanse the worshipper from a taint of impurity which he conceived to stand between himself and his divinity. The sense of sin often had a merely superstitious, ceremonial, or mechanical origin, but in the amore and triumph of nature and man mingled with it as time went on. Rome contained a large Oriental population, mostly descendants of slaves brought from the East; these contributed to the gradual transformation of ideas which proceeded through the centuries. Juvenal (Sat. iii. 62-65), it will be remembered, declared that the Syrian Orontes had long since debouched into the Tiber, and many other Eastern races besides the Syrian were abundantly represented at Rome. In the orientalizing of religious sentiment, the Jews played a certain part. The populace and the capital were as familiar with Jewish ideas as the rulers of the Empire were ostentatiously ignorant of them. The action of the Christian element on the pagan cults of the West, though important, is hard to measure, and has often been over-estimated.

12. But another potent influence mingled with that of religion, and promoted a change in the moral atmosphere—the influence of philosophy. The first conspicuous example of asceticism within the bounds of the Christian Church is seen in the West among the Greek towns of the brotherhood founded by Pythagoras. The Roman antiquarians of the late Republic believed that early Rome itself had been influenced by the great philosopher, whose personality had already been dissolved away by legend. Down to the latest Imperial times there never ceased to exist in Italy men who called themselves his followers. The name 'Pythagorean' came to stand for simplicity of life, and for quiet of mind secured by self-suppression, self-discipline, and abstemious. Doctrines and ideas connected with the mythical name of Pythagoras entered into many of the late forms of religion and philosophy in the West. Apollonius of Tyana (q.v.), who was at Rome in the time of the Flavians, was supposed to be the great exponent of Pythagoreanism on its more religious phase. Another form like that of Pythagoras, was soon encrusted by myth. The romantic biography written by Philostratus during the reign of Septimius Severus is charged with 'Pythagorean' ideas, and is deeply coloured by asceticism.

13. But the vogue of the Pythagorean school never extended very far. The force of Stoicism in the Western world was vastly greater and more
The classical Stoic character, as formed in the hard school of early military service, and of that subjection to authority in which Rome had found the secret of conquest, respected the religion of the conquered, but held no creed to which to bind them. The influence of Stoicism was never tinged by Stoic influence. It was not unnatural that many of the national heroes of later creation should be Stoics: Rutillus, the 'Roman Socrates,' who saw things on a larger scale than the very phrases which he had repressed; Cato of Utica, Puerus Thraseas, and Helvidius Priscus. Even the Stoics who had opposed his predecessors on the throne, were heroes and martyrs in the eyes of Marcus Aurelius.

15. The Cynic philosophy of the later time, late Stoicism laid peculiar stress on conduct, and paid comparatively little heed to old theological and cosmological speculation. It carried to a higher pitch than other schools the enthusiasm for morality, which it raised almost to the level of a religion. A school which proclaimed the worthlessness of all ambitions except the ambition to achieve pure virtue within the soul, which regarded 'Nature' as the teacher of all simplicity, which deemed that man most god-like who had the smallest wants and the most perfect control over his desires, which enjoined absolute submission to a Divine order, and aimed at complete harmony between the individual and the Divine will, could claim affinity with what the best Romans regarded as the true Roman spirit. The Stoic made higher moral claims on other men, but he was therefore more severely judged by the outside world. It has been easy for the detractor in ancient and modern times to contrast the professions of many Roman Stoics with their practice. A school which proclaimed the worthlessness of an equally easy fashion has the worthlessness of Christianity often been alleged. It is certain that for the Romans, and for Western society generally, during many generations Stoicism was a leaven which worked powerfully for good, transforming the noblest natures most, but more subtly affecting the tone of life over a wide area. Profoundly influencing Roman law, and creating an atmosphere which the early Church inhaled, the ideal pursued by the Roman Stoics has transmitted much to the culture of the modern world. In particular, the great mission within the Church of the early Church was made easier because society was permeated with Stoic ideas and ideas akin to them.

16. Platonism was early influenced by Stoicism, and the Stoic influence of the third and later centuries reasserted and enforced the ascetic elements in the earlier systems. Philosophical sects and cliques other than those which have been named also existed: and nearly all showed some drift towards asceticism. But the most important movement of all was that great missionary movement which began early in the period of the Empire. Philosophers, often Cynics, and often also calling themselves by other names, left their studies and went forth into the streets of the great cities and preached to the people, urging them to change their lives and to follow after purity and absti-

LITERATURE.—Information bearing on this subject is to be sought in the great modern works bearing on Roman religion and on Roman philosophy. Among these are : Wissenschaft, Religion und Kultur der Römer (Munich, 1903); Revue, La Religion romaine sous les Sénones (Paris, 1899), La Fête du pognon et son influence (Paris, 1899); E. C. Montet, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra (2 vols., Brussels, 1899, 1901) and La Mythologie du peuple Orientale (Eng. trans., Chicago, 1908); Zeller, History of Greek Philosophy (2 vols., London, 1881); Did, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (London, 1894), and A. G. A. G. Le Caille et les mystères de Mithra (Paris, 1899). J. S. Reid.
ASCETICISM (Semitic and Egyptian)—Asceticism, if it means the habitual renunciation of the things of the flesh as a self-discipline for the purpose of cultivating the things of the spirit, was unknown among the old heathen Semites and Egyptians. Asceticism is fundamentally based on the dualistic concept of the world, a conception which is essentially dualistic and is justified only by the belief that matter is inherently corrupt—that it is the work, in whole or in part, of a being other than the Creator of the soul. Such a conception had no existence among either Semites or Egyptians. To the Semites in the earliest times the spirit was held to be the breath. It sometimes in later periods designated the inner nature of man, and thus was often used for the self, but it was always closely connected with the body, and was never conceived of as of such a different order of existence that it could be benefited by the destruction of the body. That God who had made the body breathed into man’s nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul (Gn 2), is the general Semitic conception. The soul was no laier than the body, for bodies were deemed to be living beings. It was dependent was the soul on the body, that after death the soul’s existence was confined to the under world where the body had been placed—a dark and gloomy region, where it led a miserable and lonely existence, remote from the sacred K‘h vi. 80-91; D’horn, Choix de textes, 326-341; or Bab. and Assyrs. Literature, Aldine ed., 408-413; also Is 14th, and Ezek 32nd-33rd). So closely was the soul associated with the body, that later, when Semites came to believe in a resurrection, they necessarily held to the resurrection of the physical body. Indeed, the early Semitic conception of the manifestation of divinity through the processes of procreation (see Barton, Semitic Origins, ch. iii.) shows that their conceptions were based on this spirit’s return to the body. The Egyptian conception of the soul was different. They held it to be a concrete entity, impalpable during life, which had its residence in the body, but left it at the moment of death. Another entity was the kra—an impalpable something connected with every man. Whether it was in the body, or his guardian spirit or genius, is not clear (see Steindorff, Rel. of the Anc. Egyptians, 1211 f.). These were not, however, considered holier than the body, nor were their interests promoted by its destruction. On the contrary, an extension of the body’s welfare was the motive, and so preserved that each soul could recognize its own body; hence the great efforts made in Egypt to munify the bodies of the dead.

It is clear, therefore, that among the peoples of which we are speaking the fundamental thought-basis of asceticism did not exist. There are some phenomena, nevertheless, in the religions of these peoples which might to a superficial thinker seem to contradict this view. These must be briefly considered.

1. Fasting was practised by the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 40), by the Babylonians and Assyrians as is shown by their penitential hymns (cf. Zimmern, Babylonische Bussgesang, 34; and Bab. and Assyrs. Lit., Aldine ed., pp. 454, 457), by the Hebrews (cf. Jer. K 23rd, lv 16th, lv 20th ete.,) and by the Arabs, as is shown by the great fast of the month Ramadan, which has been taken over into Islam. A careful study of Semitic and Egyptian fasting makes it clear that it was not an ascetic practice. W. R. Smith (Rel. of Scm. 434 ff.) held that in the beginning Semitic fasting was a preparation of the body for the reception of holy food—a view which Benzinger shares (‘Fasting,’ in E. B.). This is evidently the conception of it which the Egyptians entertained, if Herodotus may be trusted, for he says the fasting was immediately followed by a sacrifice and a banquet. In the later development of Semitic thought among the Babylonians and Hebrews, fasting was undoubtedly regarded as a means of expressing penitence for sin, and of exciting the pity of the offended deity. This is the view which is expressed in the psalms under certain conditions. Thus ‘to lie with a woman having her sickness’ was tabu (Lv 20th). This was not, however, a manifestation of asceticism, but the tabu arose from the belief that menstruation was a manifestation of Divine power with which it was dangerous to come into contact. Herodotus tells us that among the Babylonians and Arabs all sexual intercourse was followed by purification (i. 198), which means simply that it was regarded as an especially Divine process (cf. Jer. R. Smith, 446 ff.). Sexual intercourse was also tabu among both Egyptians and Semites within the holy precincts of a sanctuary (cf. Herod. i. 64, and W. R. Smith, 45f. and 481 ff.). This was the case even when sacred prostitutes were employed for the temple, and was tabu for the priests to take their partners outside the sacred precincts (cf. Herod. i. 199). It was also prohibited to warriors—war being to the ancients a holy function—and often to people under a vow. While the origin of these tabus is not altogether clear, they had nothing to do with asceticism. The tabu relating to holy places does not apparently belong to the earliest stratum of Semitic religious thought, far in the earliest period sexual licence appears to have formed a part of the religious feasts (cf. R. Barton, Scm. 460). Probably the early prohibitions were excited by the desire to lose through the pleasures were tabulated to those on pilgrimage for a reason similar to that which prescribed fasting, viz. that the body might be the better prepared for the holy function at the festival. The tabu may afterwards have been applied to the holy place as an extension of this, or may have existed from the first lest the exercise of such a holy function in a sacred spot would make it too dangerous for one afterwards to mingle with his fellows. The application of the tabu to warriors probably as well. Sexual intercourse was also renounced by those under a vow, perhaps for the same reason that food was sometimes renounced, i.e. as a motive for the early performances of the vow (cf. Ae 234'). In any case these tabus do not spring from ascetic principles.

3. The conception of sin which is found in the OT, the Babylonian penitential psalms, and in lesser degree in the Qur‘an (cf. Toy, Judaism and Christianity, 185 ff.; Morgenstern, The Doctrine of Sin in the Hebrew Bible, 1905), has no ascetic foundation. This consciousness of sin arose from the want of harmony between environment and life, or the disparity between prosperity and merit, and had nothing to do with ascetic conceptions.

There were two apparent exceptions in ancient Semitic life to the statements made above: the Essenes (q.v.) in Judea, and the rāhīb, sū‘hāb, and Ḥanīfs, who existed in Arabia at the beginning of Muhammad’s career (see ASCETICISM (Muslims)). These were, however, not real exceptions, as in each case the impulse to ascetic practices came from non-Semitic sources.

The fullest contemporary description of the Essences is in Josephus, BJ ii. 8. It appears that sunrise was a sacred time to them, though
Josephus does not, like Appian, imply that they worshiped a rising sun. The other aqueous traits connected with them were that they lived in brotherhoods, avoided trade, paid great attention to ceremonial purity, and some of them renounced marriage. Some regard this last as a natural heightening of Levitical purity, because priests had to be parvenu before they could be performing priestly functions; others look upon it as a practice which could spring only from a dualistic conception of the universe, such as we find in Zoroastrianism. The reverence for the rising sun is also pointed in the direction of Persian influence. Josephus makes it clear that the Essenes were confined to no locality, but were a brotherhood, about 4000 in number, scattered through the cities of Palestine. How the Persian influence reached them may be variously explained, but from the time of Cyrus the channels through which it might come were open.

Among the Arabs, the rākibs, or monks, the sūfiya, or wanderers, and the karmiya, who were regarded as a kind of monk, were probably imitators of Christian monks. We learn from the pre-Islamic Arabian poetry that in high regard the Christian monks were held during that period. In the break-up of Arabian heathenism it was no wonder that men endeavoured to find satisfaction in the way of life which was followed by these monks (e.g. Acts 21:11). More centrally Christianity from non-Semitic sources, and in a mild form was transmitted by Christianity to Arabia. The same is true of Egypt, though monasticism in Egypt was Christian, and became much more intense than in Arabia. It was grafted on to Egyptian life, however, from a foreign source.

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AL-ASH'ARI.—Abā al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash'ari was born at Bayṣra in A.H. 290 (a.d. 773), of a noble and ancient Arab family; several of his ancestors were eminently distinguished in public affairs. He was one of them, Abā Mūsā al-Asbārī, Governor of Kūfa, who after the battle of Siffin represented the cause of 'Ali in the arbitration that resulted in the proclamation of Mu'āwiya as Khalīf (a.d. 638). Of his father little is known except that he was an orthodox Muslim, a student of the Traditions, and a friend of the Shafi'i legist Zakaryāt ibn Yaḥyā al-Sājī. Bayṣra had long been a centre of active religious controversy, and had been the home of some of the most famous teachers of the Mu'tazila. We hear of Abū Wālid, Abū ʿUmar, Ḥujayr, and others, and at this period—the end of the 3rd cent. of the Hijra—Abā 'Ali Muḥammad al-Jubba'ī was famous there as the greatest living exponent of the Mu'tazili doctrines. Al-Asbārī seems soon to have broken away from the orthodox influence, and to have become a zealous Mu'tazilite as the pupil of al-Jubba'ī. Until his 40th year, he attended al-Jubba'ī's lectures and took an active part in the disputations of his school; having a ready wit and an engaging delivery, he was not infrequently called upon by his master to take his place, wherever al-Jubba'ī was not prepared to lead the discussion. We have no certain information as to the mental processes through which al-Asbārī passed before he aban-
donned the Mu'tazilite position, at the age of 40, and went over to the orthodox party. His biographer gives the following dramatic account of the manner in which he publicly announced his conversion: 'He shut himself up in his house for fifteen days and refused to see any one; then making his way to the great mosque of Baṣra, and being seen to come from private intercourse and little assembly, I have abased myself from among you so long only because I have been absorbed in meditation, for the opposing doctrines seemed to me to be equally balanced, and the true did not out-

point the false. So I prayed unto God for guidance, and He had me into the true faith, such as I have written down in these books of mine. I strip myself of all my former beliefs, just as I strip myself of my own garment.' So saying, he took off the robe he was wearing and cast it from him, and distributed his books among the people' (Mehren, p. 252). The conversion of so eminent a thinker and so ardent a controver-
sialist created a great stir, and the ability with which he now began to champion the orthodox position enabled him to gather a large band of disciples, so that he soon became one of the most cele-
brated teachers of his age, and theological problems were sent to him for solution from all parts of the Muslim world. He held several controversies with his old teacher, al-Jubba'ī, who survived the de-

cease of his pupil, and with the Mu'tazilites (it is undoubtedly characteristic of the theological controversies of this period. The story, as told by Ibn Ḥallikān, (No. 618, ed. Wüstenfeld), is that al-Asbārī proposed the case of three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious; the second an infidel, a debauchee, and a profane; and the third an infidel. They all died. What was the state of each one of them? Al-Jubba'ī answered: 'The virtuous brother occupies a high place in heaven; the infidel is in the depths of hell; and the child is among those who have no place in heaven.' "Suppose," asked al-Asbārī, "that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do so?" "No," replied al-Jubba'ī, "it would be said to him: 'Thy brother was a true believer, virtuous and pious, but thou hast not done such a thing to himself, and thou hast not done such a work to show.' But suppose," said al-Asbārī, "that this child said, 'That is not my fault; Thou didst not let me live long enough, neither didst Thou give me the means of proving my obedience.' " In that case," replied al-Jubba'ī, "God would say, 'I know that, if I had allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient and deserved the grievous punishment (of hell); I thus considered what was for thy advantage.' " But suppose the infidel brother were then to say, 'God of the universe, Thou knowest what his brother would have done; Thou must have known what mine would be; then why didst Thou consider what was for his advantage and not for mine?' " Then al-Jubba'ī was put to silence (Spitta, p. 42). Indeed, al-Asbārī seems to have become rather a thorn in the side of his old teacher, who at last declined further discussion with him; whereupon al-Asbārī is said once to have concealed himself in a part of the lecture-hall where al-Jubba'ī could not see him, and to have prompted a woman sitting near him with question after question to which al-Jubba'ī was unable to give satisfactory answers, until at last he guessed the trick that was being played upon him. Of the rest of al-Asbārī's life few details are recorded.
We know that he ended his days in Baghdad, but have no information as to why he left Bâqra, the scene of his earlier triumphs. He died in A.H. 324 (A.D. 933-6) in the arms of one of his pupils, with a curse on the Mu'tazilites upon his lips.

Al-'Ashârî was a voluminous writer, and a list of his works and subjects has been given in his own handwriting and handed down to us; some are theological, dealing with the exegesis of the Qur'an or with the Traditions, others philosophical; but the greater part of them are of a controversial character—polemics against heretics and unbelievers of all kinds, and attacks upon the adherents of the hundred or so sects, among which剐 Ali-Balî, and others of his contemporaries (Spitta, pp. 63-81). This list of his works also includes a number of pamphlets written by him in response to queries relating to difficult problems in theology and philosophy, and these anthromorphic theologies learned to fight its opponents with their weapons, instead of merely doggishly repeating texts and traditions in answer to all arguments and questions. Al-'Ashârî is in this respect typical of an intellectual need that was being felt by the orthodox party of his time for a rational statement and defence of their position; the same tendency manifested itself among his contemporaries in other parts of the Muhammadan world, such as al-Tâhâwî in Egypt and al-Mâ'âtrî in Samarâd. Further, in stating his theological position, al-'Ashârî held a middle ground between the two extremes of some of the traditionists and the philosophical speculations of the rationalists. Thus, while devoutly accepting the statements of the Qur'an about the face, the hands, the eyes of God, and His sitting on His throne, as articles of faith, not to be interpreted as metaphorical expressions for the knowledge and power, etc., of God, he does not take them to imply a corporeal existence analogous to that of man, but explains them as being His qualities and free from all limitations of space and time, his inheritance, however, being that he had come under the influence of the Hanbalite school, he gave up all such attempts to explain these anthropomorphic expressions in the Qur'an, and maintained that they must be accepted "without asking how and without drawing any comparison," i.e. with human qualities. Similarly, he took up a middle position between the fatalistic and the libertarian schools, which has been stated by Professor Macdonald as follows: "Man cannot create anything, he is only the instrument through which God does man's power produce any effect on his actions at all. God creates in His creature power and choice. Then He creates in him his action corresponding to the power and choice thus created. So the action of the creature is created by God as to initiative and as to production; but it is acquired by the creature. By acquisition (kawn) it means that it comes to the creature's power and choice, previously created in him, without having his leaving the slightest effect on the action. He was thus only the channel of 'His action' (Muslim Theology, p. 192). As one of the famous theologians of this school, Abu al-Ma'âli Imam al-'Harâmîn (A.H. 419-478), puts it, al-'Ashârî holds that man has no power over the production of his actions, but has power over the acquisition of them, whereas the Mu'tazilites maintained that he has power over both, and the Fatalists that he has power over neither (Spitta, p. 141). In similar fashion, al-'Ashârî dealt with the great controversy on the nature of the Qur'an, which had stirred the Muslim world to its depths, and had been the subject of bitter polemics between the Khallîfah and al-Mutawakkil (in A.H. 292 and 218) giving special sanction to the Mu'tazilite doctrine that the Qur'an is created, and al-Mutawakkil (in A.H. 324) as authoritatively establishing as the orthodox doctrine the belief that it is uncreated. While applauding the Khallîfah for his conduct of affairs, he felt that the Qur'an is the eternal, uncreated Word of God, al-'Ashârî rejected their extravagances about the letters and the ink and the sounds employed in reciting it being equally uncreated and eternal. The above examples are sufficient to indicate how far al-'Ashârî was willing to allow dialectic reasoning to be applied to theological questions, thereby avoiding the gross literalism of the anthropomorphic exponents of the orthodox position, and attempting to explain where hitherto any such attempt had failed. By his method, he hoped to come to a rationalistic method were made by him mainly in dealing with matters connected with the doctrine of ta'rud ("unity"), such as the Attributes of God and the Word of God. In other matters he frankly accepted the orthodox position unmodified, e.g. the intercession of God in the body of the Prophet, his designating the godless, the miracles of the saints, the evil suggestions of Satan, the coming of Antichrist, etc.

Al-'Ashârî was the founder of a theological movement that gradually won for itself a preponderating influence among Muhammadan sects, gaining a foothold first in Iraq, and later spreading eastward into Persia and westward into Syria and Egypt; introduced into the Maghrib by Ibn Tûnîn (q.v.) in the 6th cent. of the Hijra, it became in a modified form the official doctrine of the Muwahhidîs. The sect produced a number of remarkable thinkers, who by their independent speculations contributed to the development of the system; among them the most distinguished were Abu Bakr al-Bajhînî (ob. 403 A.H.) (q.v.), Abu Ja'far al-Sumâniî (ob. 444 A.H.), Abu al-Mâ'âlî Imam al-Harâmîn (ob. 478 A.H.) and al-Ghazâlî (ob. 505 A.H.) (q.v.), who systematized the tenets of the sect into a body of doctrine accepted throughout the greater part of the Muslim world to the present day.


ASHES.—The dust which remains after the burning of plants, animals, and human beings, has been used from the most remote times for various religious and semi-religious purposes. It is natural to think that, when once the use of fire was discovered, it would not long before the ashes would be found to be valuable and be turned to some account. 1. In places where water is scarce, we know that sand has been used for ablations. Where sand is scarce, ashes would provide an excellent substitute. And since, from the first, fire was regarded with awe and wonder, it is likely that the ashes were often thought to share its mysterious nature. At any rate, we know the use of ashes in ablations. Amongst the preparations which the Brahmins made for any act of religion was an ablation called
a bath sacred to fire, the body being rubbed with ashes (Colebrooke, i. 154). Amongst the New Mexicans it was found that a newborn child was washed and then covered with ashes (Bancroft, i. 566). In this case, however, the ashes may have been used not as part of the cleansing process, but for drying, or possibly for both purposes. People belonging to the Nahua nations were found by Bancroft to have a practice of rubbing an infant’s joints, especially the knees, with ashes in order to clean them (Bancroft, ii. 277). This practice may have arisen from the other.

2. When ashes were used for ablations, it would soon be noticed that the friction produced a healthy effect, or, as we should say, promoted the circulation. In any case, it has been found that primitive people also use ashes for medicinal purposes. Hot ashes would serve as a substitute for hot water. Thus the Nukus apply them in order to cure headache, colic, or rheumatism; the Milwoks use a plaster of hot ashes for stomachic affections and cases of severe travail (Bancroft, i. 294, 306). Vapour-baths are also produced by means of hot ashes. In parts of England the ashes of a consecrated box-tree, mixed with holy water, used to be thought an effective remedy for cold fever. Similar powers are attributed to the ashes of the Myrtaceous afflue, and these plants to those of the Hindu Holi-fire; and in Ireland ashes from the bonfire on St. John’s Day (June 24) are believed to aid the fertility of the fields (Crooke, ii. 197, 318). The Parsis of India dip their fingers in ashes, while the ancient Armenians venerated the ashes of the sacred fire, and scattered them in streams considered holy. Among the modern Armenians, in like fashion, the ashes of the sacred fire kindled on Feb. 13 are held to protect men and cattle from sickness, and are carefully preserved on the four corners of the roofs, or in the stalls, the gardens, and the meadows (Abeghian, p. 73).

3. A more familiar use of ashes, however, is that associated with mourning customs. The Greeks showed their sorrow at bereavement by strewing themselves with ashes (Iliad, ii. 722, Odyssey, xxiv. 315; Plut. de Superstit. ch. 3; cf. Herod. ii. 85; Vergil, Aen. x. 344; Ovid, Metam. viii. 528), or by sitting in them (Odyssey, vii. 153; cf. Ili. xvi. 22); and the practice of sprinkling ashes over the hearth as an act of mourning was widespread. But this simpler practice always seems to be an abridgment of the more elaborate ceremony. In course of time a mere sprinkling sufficed instead of an actual sitting or lying in dust or ashes. It becomes a sign or simple expression of what was originally a stricter form of submission or humiliation, practised first before visible persons, and then before invisible beings as well. Herbert Spencer gives some interesting instances in support of this explanation of the custom. Thus, in the Congo regions of Africa, it was found that the person who would do homage to a benua, or village chief, prostrated himself, kissed the earth, and strode dust over the forehead and arms. When the Dahoman made a salutation, he prostrated himself, and poured sand or earth upon his head. It was found that the Mandandás and Belonda people used the same ceremony; and we are told of the latter, that ‘when they wish to be excessively polite they bring a quantity of ashes or pipeclay in a piece of skin, and, taking up handfuls, rub it on the chest and upper front part of each arm.’ To what extent this ceremony underwent abridgemen{w}e see, when, instead of sprinkling dust on the hearth, people now salutations by pretending to do so (Spencer, ii. 124 ff.). But originally the practice seems to have been one of humiliation. At the same time, even among primitive folk, other customs have been observed in which the ashes seem to be a mere badge of mourning. Thus it was found that some of the Californians mixed the ashes of a dead person with grease, and smeared their faces with the mixture. The dirt was allowed to remain until the action of the weather wore it off (Bancroft, i. 397). In the Arunta tribe of Central Australia, it was found that the widow of a deceased man smeared her hair, face, and breast with white pipeclay; hence she received the name impirra, ‘the whitened one. Sometimes she smeared ashes from a fire in the pipeclay, and was then called san-existing. See Chapter viii. of the *Homerian poems* only the burning of corpses is mentioned. Sometimes the ashes are gathered with a good deal of ceremony. When the Brahmins burn a corpse, the fire has to be so arranged that some of the bones may remain for the elaborate ceremony of gathering the ashes, which is performed by the nearest kinsman on the last day of mourning (Colebrooke, ii. 173 f.). But it has not always been thought necessary to preserve all the ashes, or at least not all in the same place. Among the Nahua nations, it was found that, when a human victim was sacrificed, his head, after being offered to the sun, was burned, and the ashes preserved with great care and veneration (Bancroft, i. 397). Buddha gave directions that his body should be cremated, and a dagoba or stupa (‘reliquary monument’) erected over the ashes. When the body had been burned, messengers came from the chiefs or kings or the heads of the tribes to collect the remains, and avoid dispute, these were divided amongst them, and placed in stupas built for the purpose. When

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\* Works are cited simply by the authors’ names. The titles of the works will be found in the bibliography.

\* In this particular instance, however, we possibly have a use of ash instead of human remains. See Гуренко.

\* Some of the Californians took an internal dose of ashes for snake-bites. This, of course, is a different kind of treatment. We need hardly tell the reader that primitive folk medicine is a part of religion. See Михаил."
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ASH-MOUNDS

114

Mr. William Simpson Avas in Jelalabad during
the Afghan War, he excavated the remains of a
Buddhist tope, called the Ahin Posh Tope, and
was fortunate enough to come upon the relic-cell,
vhere he found some brown dust which he supposed
to be the ashes of the holy individual to whose
sanctity the tope had been erected. Among the
ashes was a golden relic-holder. The same writer
tells us that amongst the Lamas of Tibet also,
when a holy man dies, a stitpa is made for his
ashes.
But ho found another practice amongst
them. The ashes are mixed with mud or clay, and
small figures of Buddha are made of the mixture.
These are then placed in the shrines where devotions are performed.
But if the ashes of one
person have sometimes been distributed, the ashes
of two or more persons have sometimes been
mingled. In this way Domitian and Jula, Achilles
and Patroclus, were united in death. In other
cases, family urns gathered up the ashes of kinsmen and friends.* It should be added that a king
has been known to lie in state even when reduced
to ashes.
Thus it was found that among the
Nahua nations they gathered the ashes and valuables of a Tarascan king, made them into a figure,
dressed it in royal robes, and put a mask for its
face, a golden shield on its back, and bows and
arrows by its side (Bancroft, ii. 621).
5. Ashes have not only been regarded as sacred,
but have sometimes been thought to jjossess special
virtues.
hear of migi'ating tribes among the
Nahua nations carrying the ashes of honoured
chiefs with them to serve as talismanic relics
(Bancroft, ii. 348), and of other savages inoculating themselves with ashes Avhich represent and are
supposed to impart moral and other virtues. Thus,
as a protection against disease, a slight incision is
made in a person's temple, and some powder made
of the ashes of certain plants or animals rubbed
into the wound, those plants or animals being
chosen which denote certain special qualities (e.g.
the claws of a lion might be used to impart bravery).
In this way the fighting-men among some tribes of
South-East Africa are inoculated with strength
and courage in time of war (Frazer, ii. 361f.).t
Of a similar character is a practice found among
the Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes.
They disinter a corpse about a month after burial,
reduce it by buining and pounding to a fine
powder, mix this in large conchs of caxiri, and
drink it, in the belief that by so doing they will
imbibe the virtues of the dead man (Spencer-Gillen,
The Cobeus were found to drink the
p. 535 f.).
ashes of the dead in the same way. It was a
similar kind of belief in the virtues of human
ashes that led the Romans to scatter in the city
the bones of a general who had celebrated a
triuini>h.t In Bavaria it has been customary to
sprinkle ashes from the Easter fire on the land as a
protection against hail-storms, and in Bombay caste
is restored by swallowing ashes given by the guru
(Crooke, i. 293). Ashes from the burning ground
in India are used in black magic (ib. p. 261).
6.
different use of ashes from any we have
mentioned is found in connexion with the belief in
ghosts.
It has been a not imcommon practice to
strew ashes on the ground in order to detect by the
footprints the visits of ghosts or demons.
The
practice has been noticed amongst the Philii)pine
* See Sir Thomas Browne, 'Hydriotaphia,' ch. iii. (H'orts.'ed.

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t Sloclern psychology teaches that such a practice, however
sujierstitious the ori;,'iiial idea in it, might— and no douht often
did have the desired effect. It would serve to remind the
inoculated person of certain qualities, to concentrate the mind
u|)on them, and so to produce them. This would be an instance
of primitive folk having been led to adopt a custom for a
reason of their own, which for another and a better reason has
proved to be one of the factors in civilization.
} See F. Granger, The Worship 0/ the Romans, 189o, p. 61 f.

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and the Peruvians, instead of ashes,
flour of maize or quinua about the
dwelling, to see by the footsteps whether the deislanders

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ceased has been moving about (Spencer, i. 171).
Amongst the funeral customs of the Hos of N.E.
India, quite an elaborate rite has been observed, in
which ashes are used to detect the return of a

dead person's spirit and similar customs exist in
Another
Mirzapur (Crooke, i. 176, ii. 72-74).
practice has been noticed in Yucatan. A child is
left alone at night in a place strewn with ashes,
and the animal whose footprint is found on the
spot in the morning is regarded as its guardian
With this may be compared the old superdeity.
stition that the first Vjird or beast which appears
after the birth of a child is its spiritual protector.
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German folklore we hear of the little earthmen leaving footprints in strewn ashes and
In

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in England tliere Avas once a superstitious belief
that, if on St. Mark's Eve ashes were sifted over
the hearth, the footprints Avould be noticed of
any one who was destined to die within the year
(Tylor, ii. 197).

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MAURICE A. CaNNEY.

XX. (1899) 133-150.

ASH-MOUNDS

(in

Persia).—The a.sli-mounds

of Persia are a series of elevations in the Province
of Azarbaijan in north-western Perfsia, composed
largely of ashes mixed with earth, and called Hills
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of the Fire-worshippers' by the modern inhabitants,
who assign their origin to the fire-cult of the ancient
Zoroastrians. Scores of these hillocks are scattered
over the great plain around Lake Urumiah and the
city of that name, which is associated traditionally
with events in Zoroaster's life in Azarbaijan. The
mounds are usually constructed of clay mingled
with immense deposits of ashes that are saturated
with nitroxis salts of organic comijosition ; and in
many instances these elevations surmount a small
natural eminence. It is generall3' conceded that
there is nothing of a volcanic nature in their composition ; and although we may not agree in all
respects with the natives, who unanimously ascribe
the origin of the mounds to the accumulation of
ashes from fire-temples, century after century, we
may assume that at least some of the hillocks were
surmounted, in ages past, by sanctuaries dedicated
to the worshii) of fire.
Many of these hills have been excavated in recent
years by the neighbouring peasants, who have <liscovered the value of the alkaline quality of the
ashes for fertilizing purposes and for the manufacture of saltpetre. Their casual diggings have revealed in one or two instances remnants of ancient
walls, and have brought to light ancient pieces of
pottery, terra-cotta figurines, and other relies of
antiquitj', like the small bas-relief cylinder of ala-

baster found at Geog Tapah, near Urumiah, and
preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
in New York city.
The design of the cylinder is
archaic Babylonian in style, and among the figures
carved upon it are the sun-god Shamash and the
demigod Ea-bani, as described by Dr. W. H. Ward
in American Journal of Archa-ologg, vi. 286-301.
The Mission museum at Urumiah contains similar relics.
No systematic excavations, however,
have been carried on to determine the possible

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value of the ash-hills as contributing to archaeological knowledge or to a better understanding of the early religion of Iran. The study of the ash-hills should furthermore be brought into connexion with the entire subject of kitchen-middens, cromlechs, and carns.


A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

ASHTAR (ASHTORETH, ASTARTE.—‘Ashtar’ was a goddess worshipped by the Canaanites, Hebrews, Phoenicians, and in Phen colonies. This vocalization of the name is attested not only by ‘Ashtar, Atar, etc., in the cognate languages, but by the earliest documentary evidence. In the Amarna Letters (Wilcke, 142, 143, 237, 241) it appears as Ashtar-tu. In a Bab. tablet (PSBA, Mar. 1889, p. 174 ff.) Ash-tar-tu is given as the Pal. equivalent of Ishtar, and in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Ba'al of Tyre As-tar-tu is named as one of the chief gods of Tyre (Bezoek, Catalogue, 330). The Gr. transliteration is As-\(\tau\)ôrê, which appears even in the LXX along with \(\alpha\)s\(\tau\)ôpôô. Augustine (Quæst. in Jud. 16) gives Estart or Ashtar. The pronunciation \(\alpha\)s\(\tau\)ôrê, of MT is probably due to the substitution of the semitic \(\alpha\) for \(\iota\), 'Ashur, 'humble thing,' as in 'Molech' for 'Moloch' (Noldenke, G&G, 1884, p. 1022).

1. Origin.—As to the origin of 'Ashtar, opinions differ. Hommel (Zwei Judengesch. 22), Delitzsch (Asyr. Lexertablen, s.v.), Driver (Hastings' DB i. 158), Zimmermann (KAT 420 f.), Jastrow (The Ed. Bab. 81, 207 f.) hold that she is derived from the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. In favour of this view are the facts that Ishtar is mentioned in Bab. inscriptions long before the earliest mention of 'Ashtar. Ishtar was profoundly influenced by Bab. religion during the third millennium B.C. and that Ishtar is called 'Ashur-tu, 'mother of the gods,' which suggests a derivation of her name from Bab. 'ashur, the same root from which Ashshur and Ashshurah may come (cf. Jensen, KIB vi. 490 f.).

There are, however, a number of difficulties in the way of this theory: (1) This deity is found not merely in Babylon and Assyria, but also in Canaan and among all the other Semites. In Syria, Shaar, Sarar, or other (see art. ASHURGATIS); in Moab, as 'Ashtar (see art. MOABITES) in South Arabia, as 'Ashtar (see art. SALEANS); and in Abyssinia, as 'Ashtar (Müller, Epigr. Denkm. aus Abyssinien, 37 f.). In classical Arabic her name does not occur, though she herself is known under such epithets as al-Lat and al-'Uzza (cf. Herod. iii. 8, where al-Lat is identified with Urania = Astarte). It is hard to believe that the cult of Ishtar spread to all these races, since no other Bab. deity found such wide acceptance. It is more natural to suppose that 'Ashtar was a primitive Semitic goddess. (2) The phonetic changes that this name undergoes in passing from one dialect to another indicate that it is primitive Semitic. In Bab. \(\alpha\) and \(\gamma\) are not distinguished. If Ishtar had been the original form, the appearance of the initial \(\eta\) with the voweled \(\alpha\) in all the cognates would have been impossible, and the second consonant would not have undergone the regular mutation Heb. \(\varnothing\)

Arab. 'Asar, 'Aram. (3) The addition of the fem. ending \(\tau\) in 'Ashtar(t) is adverse to the theory of a direct borrowing of the Bab. Ishtar. (4) The absence of the fem. ending in 'Ashtar, Ishtar, favours the theory of a primitive Semitic rather than a Bab. origin of the name. Before the Semitic languages diverged from one another, the fem. ending was already developed, but a number of primitive words found in all the dialects, such as \(\varnothing\), \(\varnothing\), are fem. without fem ending. To this class Ishtar of South Arabia 'Ashtar' appears to belong. If the Babylonians had coined this name after their separation from the parent stock, they would have appended the fem. ending. In this case, Ishtar was not the different form of the name in the dialects witness to its primitive character. In South Arabia 'Ashtar is masculine, in Moab also apparently in the compound 'Ashtar-Chemosh. If these gods had been derived from Babylonia, where Ishtar was female, the change of sex would have been impossible. If, on the other hand, 'Ashtar was a primitive Semitic name of some physical object, this might have been regarded as fem. by one tribe and masc. by another, just as in South Arabia shawu', the sun,' was fem., while elsewhere it was always masculine. One of the most marked characteristics of the Babylonian Ishtar is her connexion with the planet Venus. There is no trace of this in other early Semitic religions, and this makes it improbable that she is the prototype of 'Ashtar, Ishtar, etc. (7) The use of the plural 'ashkārēth in the sense of 'offspring' (Dt 7:3) cannot be explained from the goddess Ishtar, but points to a primitive Semitic root '\(\varnothing\)'.

The Bab. association of Ishtar with \(\varnothing\), accordingly, is to be regarded as merely one of the running variations of which there are so many instances in Bab. literature.

2. Original sex and character.—If 'Ashtar, 'Ishtar was a primitive Semitic name, the question then arises as to its original gender: Was it masculine, as in South Arabia and Abyssinia (CIS iv. 1, 40, 41, 21, 46, 3; Hommel, "Asyri. u. Ass. 99, 1890, 1097; Zimmern, KAT 420 f.), Jastrow (The Ed. Bab. 81, 207 f.) hold that she is derived from the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. ...
In the Egyptian episode of the Gilgamesh Epic, one of the earliest monuments of Bab. literature (KIB vi. 160-171), she is represented as forming numerous unions, which are usually numbered among the suitor's. In the Descent to Hades (KIB vi. 86 f.), sexual relations among men and animals ceases the moment that she enters the underworld. Prostitution as a religious rite in her service is widely practised in Bab. literature by the Gilgamesh Epic (KIB vi. 122-129), Herodotus (I. 190), Strabo (xiv. 1. 20), Ep. Jer 4 (Bar 6): in Syria, by Lucian {Don S. yr. 22, 43); in Arabia, by Theodoret (Hist. Relig. ed. Sirmund, ii. 85; ed. Wellhausen, Ke stere, 44): in the Phoenician colonies at Carthage, Cyprus, and Sicily, by Strabo (vi. 515; xiv. 294, 515); and to the Fenicians, or 'temple harlots,' are often mentioned, but they are not expressly connected with the cult of 'Ashtart (yet ed. Herod. i. 100). If, however, they belonged to her in the colonies, they doubtless belonged to her in the home country. Baradam, 'mistress,' the goddess of Gebal (Byblos) is only a title of 'Ashtart, and prostituta tions are mentioned in a Syriac fable (vii. 8 f.). The identification of 'Ashtart with Aphrodite by both the Greeks and the Fenicians is also evidence of her sexual character. In this aspect she is clearly a counterpart of the ancient Semitic woman, who bestowed her love as she pleased upon men of either and often hostile tribes, who was courted at the risk of life (cf. M. w. Vagot of Llibul 18-19, of Ant worsh 5-22, of Herkit 1-9), and who frequently had occasion to frequent battle for the death of some Adonis.

'Ashtart-Ishar is a goddess of maternity and fertility. With her is associated her son Tammuz (see art. TAMMUZ). Under the title bilit idah, 'mistress of the gods,' she is represented in Assy-Rab. art. bearing on her left arm a child, who she suckles at her breast, while with her right hand she caresses or blesses it (Beolded, ZA ix. 121, line 5). She is called binit-ibani, 'creatrix of the gods' (Haupt, Ablautische und numerische Keilschrifttexte, 116 f. obv. 6). She is often designated the 'mother' or 'creatrix' of men (cf. ZA ii. 125; iv. 125). In the Deluge Story (KIB vi. 285 f.) men are described as the off-spring. In Babylon she was known as Mulailidu or Mulidu (7725), she who causes to bear,' from which is derived the name Mylitta in Herodotus, i. 131, 189 (Jensen, Kosmologie, 294, 515). In a Sabaean inscription 'Ashtart is described as a goddess who is commonly male, is called 'the mistress, mother, 'Tammuz,' and is described as the giver of children. In Arabia the goddess is comparable to the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus (Ephrath, Passiones, ii.). The existence of the same conception in the West is attested by the Carthaginian proper name 'Ashtart is a mother' (CIT 263), by the title 'mother' applied to the Pagan goddess, and by numerous myths of the sons of 'Ashtart (Aphrodite, Venus). In this aspect also she is the counterpart of the ancient Semitic woman, the fruitful mother of the children of the tribe.

3. Etymology of name. The original character of 'Ashtart(s) must guide us in understanding the meaning of her name. If it is primitive Semitic, it must be derived from the root 'asher, Heb. 'asher, Arab. اَشْر. The is derived after the analogy of the Arab. wnr. stem 'ashtara and Assy. 'isharutu, and is transposed with the ablauti after the analogy of Heb. 'ashhurahash and Assy. qandara for qandana. In Heb. and Arab. ay may mean 'be rich,' which represents Arab. ashar rather than 'asher, and therefore throws no light on the primitive meaning of 'asher.

In Arab, the common meaning for 'ashar is 'stumble,' but 'asher and 'ishar or 'ashara, are used of palm-trees or sheeda which are watered naturally, and 'ashara means a channel to irrigate a palm tree such as is termed bata (Lane, Lex. a.v.). If these words are primitive and not loan words, the root may mean to be full, to be satisfied, and the paradigm by the possibility of a similar meaning for 'asher. If so, 'ashar in a reflexive sense may mean 'the self-watering,' i.e. the spring,' and in a passive sense 'he was watered' or 'watered,' as in the Heb. 'ashara-ah = 'crying' or 'bawling.' All this, however, is very uncertain.

It does not seem unnatural that the primitive Semites should have regarded the number of a spring as a divine matriarch, such as we have seen 'ashar (to be). To the spring, man and beast owed their lives in the arid desert. It formed the oasis about which as a centre the tribe rallied. It nourished the date palm, which furnished food for man and the propagation of male and female trees, and its need of artificial cross-pollination. Everywhere throughout the Semitic world springs (watered cities were holy (cf. Babylon._matches, it is a true even in modern Arabia and Syria (Currie, Cream, ReL. 95-105). In the Syrian inscriptions 'Ashtart is entitled' Lady of the water; and in the Hebrew version of the Song of Songs it is described as the giver of harvests (CIT iv. 104, 165). Alcman, 'the mighty,' a title of the feast, 'Ashtart was connected with the sacred spring, Zemun, at Mecca (Wellhausen, Ke stere, 193).
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34-45, 103). In a Bab. hyem (Haupt, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte, 116) Ishtar is described as "the one who causes vegetation to spring forth, creature of everything." (Of Atargatis, Plutarch says, "She is the divinity who out of moisture produces all things," and her sacred fish was represented as a mermaid with a fish's tail (see art. Atargatis). One of the chief sanctuaries of the Phoen. 'Ashtar was at Aphaka (πηρίς, 'water-course'), at the point where the Adonis River bursts out of a cave in the side of Mt. Lebanon. Many nymphs of fountains and streams in Phoen. settlements may be only variant forms of Aphaka, therefore the etymology which connects 'Ashtar with a root meaning 'to be watered,' and interprets it as the nympha of a spring, cannot be regarded as reliable. (R. Smith, Semitic Art., 273; Wallis, Man, Restv. 1, 404; Lagedes, Gen. Ahh. 14; Halsey, E. R. Hist. 1, 212.; Hoffmann, Phoen. Ins. 211.; Baudissin, Jahrb. et Mecob. 234.; Saulique, ZDMG. 67, 267 ff.; ZDMG. xlv, 751.; Barton, Sem. Origins. 1921. 1. Haupt, ZDMG xxiv. 765.)

4. Primitive worship. - As to the manner in which 'Ashtar(t) was worshipped in primitive times, we can only conjecture that those rites which are most ancient and most prevalent among the Semites were originally consecrated to her. Some offerings were cast into the sacred spring, as in Arabia (Weissenf. Rest. 76), and in modern Syria (Curtius, Ueber Rel. 114, 140). It has often been observed as a blot on the sacrificial system, this was impracticable, and another point of contact with the goddess was needed. This was found in the massēbāt, or 'standing stone,' which was erected as a Bethel, or 'abode of deity, near the spring.' On this victims might be offered, and sacrifices might be performed without contaminating the sacred waters. This was the form of the goddess at Petra (Epiphanius, Panarion. 114.). Down to the latest times the 'Ashtar-Aphrodite of Paphos was identified with such a stone (Tacitus, Hist. lib. 3; Serv. Aen. i. 720; Heft, Hist. Num. 628). The 'Ashtar of Gebel Amur is similarly represented, to judge from a coin of this city (Pietzschmann, Phosphorus, 290). In Canaanite temples in general massēbāth rather than images seem to have embodied the mother-goddess. This is alluded to apparently in Jer 23:7 'who say to the stone, Thou hast brought me forth' (see art. Massēbāh). The sacred precinct around the massēbāh was enclosed with 'ashērim, or 'tremt posts,' which also received religious reverence and were early identified with 'Ashtar(t) (see art. Ashērāh). The worship of the goddess was so bound up with the fruits of the earth and of the increase of the flocks and herds. The first-born of animals were sacred. Circumcision was practised as a consecration of the reproductive powers, and the first-born child was the seat of the god's sacerdotal fertility. In Gezer, where the cult of the mother-goddess is everywhere in evidence, the remains of hundreds of new-born infants have been discovered around the standing stones of the high place (for the existence of this custom among the Arabs, see Isaac of Antioch, ed. Bickel, 220). A spring feast was celebrated at the time when the lambs were born, and an autumn festival at the time of the gathering of the date harvest. These occasions were marked by great sexual licence (see W. R. Smith, Semitic Churches, 408.); cf. Weissenf. Rest. 94-101; H. B. Harton, Sem. Origins. 108-115. The chief 'Ashtarte of Cyprus was 'Ashtarte of Cyprus, and she is identified with Astarte by Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride, 15 (cf. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. iii. 59). Tanith also and other Phoen. goddesses may be only local forms of 'Ashtar (see PHOENICIANS). In Phoenicia, Cyprus, and most of the islands of the Egean, statuettes have been found representing a nude female holding a dove. These are similar

served as a general designation for foreign goddesses (Müller, Asien, 313 ff.). In the mound of Gezer a large number of plaques have been discovered in pre-Israelite strata, and the name of the sanctuaries is doubtless 'Ashtar. No other images, except of Egyptian origin, are found in these levels, and this indicates that 'Ashtar remained the principal, if not the exclusive, deity of the ancient Canaanites as of the primitive Semites (see art. CANAANITES). In the OT 'Ashtar appears as a survival of the goddess 'Ashur-dur at 1 Ch 6:9 (12). 1 Ch 6:9 (12), Ch 6:9 (12) is this called Be'esh'tarah, i.e. Beth-'Ashtar, 'house of 'Ashtar.' The plural vocalization is not confirmed by the spelling 'Ashtarot. The name Amur the Amurite legend may be due to the fact that several 'Ashtarts were worshipped at this shrine. It may perhaps be a plural of majesty like 'Eliyehm. 'Ashtaroth.-Qarnain (Gn 14:1, 1 Mac 29, 2 Mac 12) is perhaps to be distinguished from 'Asharoth. In Jg 22:10, 1 S 19:31 etc. from a late Elishiotic or Deuteronomistic word—it is stated that the Israelites in the period of the Judges worshipped the Ba'alam and the 'Ashtaroth of the land of Canaan. Here 'Ashtaroth means no more than 'goddesses,' as in the Heb. 'Ashtoth. 'Ashtaroth or 'goddesses'—a usage that occurs as early as the time of Hannah's return (L. W. King, Jamiulurab, ii. 34). Since 'Ashtar was known to the Canaanites, and also probably to the pre-Mosaic Hebrews, there is no reason to doubt that she was worshipped by Israel in the wilderness. If扫 is corrupted without deriving it from a S 310, the Philistines, who also were newcomers in Palestine, had adopted the cult of the Semitic mother-goddess (read the sing. with LXX το 'astraπωρην). In 1 K 11:2-12 2 K 23:9 'Ashtar is called the 'goddess' (or 'loathsome object') of the Sidonians, and her worship is said to have been favoured by Solomon. In the latter passages 'Ashtar is construed as a proper name without the article. The same is true in the Phoen. inscriptions. We do not read of the 'Ashtar of Tyre and the 'Ashtar of Sidon, as of the Ba'al of Tyre and the Ba'al of Sidon. In τον Κατερος of CIS 135, την is probably an epithet and not the name of the city Eryx. In spite of this, different 'Ashtarts were worshipped in different cities. and the plural, as noted above, could have the general sense of goddesses. The name of another goddess, accordingly, is due, as in the case of 'Amon, 'Ammi (q.v.) to loss of the primitive meaning.

The worship of 'Ashtar in Phoenicia and the Phoen. colonies is well attested by inscriptions and literary references to her functions of fertility. In the Tabnit Ins. 1, 2, 6; CIS i. 3, 15, 16, 18; 4, 5; Lucian, Dea Syr. 4; Archil. Tat. i. 5; Lydus, de Mens. iv. 44; Malalas, Chron. ed. Pind. p. 31; at Tyre, by Sanchoniathon (Philo Rybl. in Müller, Fragmenta Hist. Græc. iii. 509, 509), Manander (in Josephus, Ant. viii. v. 3, 4; Ap. i. 18); at Um el-'Awamed near Tyre, by CIS 8; at Ma'sb'it, by the Ma'sb'it Ins. 4; in Cyprus, by CIS 11. 3; 864. 4 (cf. 4672, CIL 46, 168; at Gul near Malta, by CIS 132. 3; at Eryx in Sicily, by CIS 135, 154; 1; at Carthage, by CIS 455, 457; 264, 4. C. R. Acad. Ins. 7, Dec. 1894, Augustine, De Civ. Dei, iv. 10; Smrth. i773, p. 750.) It is probable that Ba'alat, 'mistress,' the goddess of Gebal and other Phoen. towns (CIS 1. 2ff.; 177; Philo Rybl. in Müller, Fragmenta Hist. Græc. iii. 569; Melito in Cureton, Spec. 44), is only a title of the Phoen. woman-god Ba'al-tu (Müller, Asien, 312; 313). Evidently the goddess 'Ashtarte was well known to the Egyptians that her name
in type to the plaques discovered at Gezer, and are generally believed to represent the Phoen. goddess, the female figure. It is clear that of the Phoen. coins she is represented standing on the prow of a galley with a mural crown on her head or in her hand.

Into Syria proper the cult of 'Ashtart seems never to have spread, on account of the strength of the native goddess Atargatis. Although 'Ashtar was originally the same as 'Ashtart, the two goddesses had diverged so far that they were never identified. Lucian (Dea Syr.) carefully distinguishes them. There was even a temple of Atargatis at Askalon alongside that of Ashtar. On the other hand, Baudissin (55), says that Apollonius (Oneirocrit. 1. 8), and Lydus (de Mens. III. 35, iv. 44) call Ashtarte the goddess of Syria, this only shows a loose usage of the name Syria.

From the Phenicians the cult of 'Ashtart spread to the Greeks and to the Romans. One inscription (CIG 6807) shows that her worship was carried, probably by Roman soldiers, as far as Corbridge in England. Hommel (Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. xxv. (1882), p. 470) says that Apollonius has been named Ashtart, which shows that Aphrodite is etymologically the same as 'Ashtart; but this is doubtful. It is certain, however, that the Greeks identified 'Ashtart with Aphrodite (cf. the inscription from Delos in Bull. de Corresp. Hellénique, vi. 1882, p. 476). Apollonius of Tarentum (op. cit. 147) says that the name of the goddess was Coelestis, but this is also a title of 'Ashtart (Jer 7th 44172; Sanchoniathon in Müller, Fragmenta Hist. Græc. iii. 369). Many of the seats of Aphrodite worship were originally old Phen. sanctuaries. The temple of Urania Aphrodite at Askalon (Herod. i. 100) must be the same as the house of 'Ashtart (1 S 319). The Aphrodite whose rites at Aphaia are described by Lucian (Dea Syr. 6) and Eusebias (Vit. Const. iii. 50), and whom Sozomen (II. 5) calls Urania, can have been no other than the Baalat of Gebal whose identity with 'Ashtart has already been discussed.

The shrines of Aphrodite in Cyprus also were certainly Phen. foundations, and when Homer calls her Kērēs and Kēlēsia (II. x. 350; Od. viii. 283, xviii. 183), he shows that she was derived by the Greeks from the Phenicians. In like manner the Erycina of the Romans is identical with the old Phen. 'Ashtart of Eryx, and Cicero says expressly (de Nat. Deor. iii. 50; cf. Lydus, de Mens. iv. 44) that there are four Venuses, one originating in Syria and called Venus Phrygia, who is called Ashtarte and is recorded to have had wedon Adonis. Compare also what Lucertius says of Ἐνεδρόν γενετρίας in the opening lines of τε δεα Βερονια Natura. It is clear, that much information in regard to the cult of 'Ashtart may be gained from a careful sifting of the statements of classical authors concerning Aphrodite and Venus (see art. GREEK RELIGION).

It is even possible that Rhea, Cybele, and other mother-goddesses of the ancient world may be ultimately derived from the Semite 'Ashtart, or at least may be modified by her influence (see art. ATARGATIS, ISHTAR).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the discussions mentioned above, see E. Meyer, art. 'Astarte' in Roehrer (1884); Camont, art. 'Astarte' in Paul de Ferrère (1830); Baudissin, 'Astarte and Aschem' (with full bibliography of earlier writers) in FEFP (1886); Driver, 'Ashoreth' in Hastings' Dict. (1888); Farnell, Cag. (1893); he shows that she was derived by the Greeks from the Phenicians. In like manner the Erycina of the Romans is identical with the old Phen. 'Ashtart of Eryx, and Cicero says expressly (de Nat. Deor. iii. 50; cf. Lydus, de Mens. iv. 44) that there are four Venuses, one originating in Syria and called Venus Phrygia, who is called Ashtarte and is recorded to have had wedon Adonis. Compare also what Lucertius says of Ἐνεδρόν γενετρίας in the opening lines of τε δεα Βερονια Natura. It is clear, that much information in regard to the cult of 'Ashtart may be gained from a careful sifting of the statements of classical authors concerning Aphrodite and Venus (see art. GREEK RELIGION).

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LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

ASIA (Ethnology, Religions, and Ethics).—The distinctive title of officina gentium, formerly awarded to Asia by common consent, was based mainly on its vast population, which greatly exceeds that of the rest of the world. Now it may be taken in a more literal sense, as indicating that this continent is really the officium, the true cradle of the human species. In art. ETHNOLOGY it is shown that man was specialized most probably in Malaysia during Pliocene times, that is, while that insular region still formed part of the Asiatic mainland.

From this centre of origin and dispersion the first migratory routes, still in the late Pliocene or early Pleistocene Age, may now be followed almost step by step through the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, and India to the Tibetan plateau, which was not yet so sharply cut off from those lands as it afterwards was by the continuous upheaval of the Himalayan system. Recently a very old station on this route was revealed in the Pahang district, north of Johore (Malay Peninsula), where a rudely worked stone implement was found resting on limestone rock 45 feet below the surface, among some river gravel, above which was a bed of clay 45 feet thick, derived from the decomposition of the greenstone, which forms the floor of these hills. These hills had been overlaid by the limestone deposit, and it was only when the limestone had been sufficiently denuded to allow the greenstone to emerge that the latter rock began to yield its clay. 'The amount of denudation since this emergence has been immense.' (Haupt, DB xiii. 300. 14th Feb. 1902.) Farther north, Dr. Noeting discovered in (1894) another paleolithic station in the Yenangyang district, Upper Burma, where some chipped flints were found in situ in a Pliocene bed associated with Hippinion antelopus and other long extinct fauna (Natural Science, April, 1897). In India, paleoliths are yielded, often in great abundance, by the Pleistocene beds and drift gravels of the Mirzâpur, Arcot, Orissa, Hyderabad, Narbada, Gangetic, and other districts. Many of the objects are of the same type as those of the European Drift, and are certainly contemporaneous or even of earlier date (JAI xvii. 57 f.).

These primitive Indo-Malayan wanderers may thus easily have converged both from India and Indo-China on the Tibetan tableland, which, under conditions far more favorable, would almost inevitably have become a new centre of specialization and dispersion for the human, as it has for so many other mammalian, species. Here was ample space, such as seems needed for the development of all the races, and a climate far more temperate than that of the Torrid Zone, though, owing to its further lower altitude, more genial than at present; boundless plains intersected by ranges of moderate height, and diversified by a lacustrine and fluvial system far more extensive than that revealed by modern exploration. Here, therefore, the Indo-Malayan Pleistocene precursor must necessarily have become modified in the process of adaptation to his changed environment, and thus gradually have acquired the physical features characteristic of the Mongol division of mankind. Neither colour of the skin, texture of the hair, nor stature could present any difficulty, since in all these respects the Mongol type stands actually nearer than does the Negro to that of the generalized Quaternary ancestor (de Quatrefages). Taken as a whole, the Mongol archetypal types differ from the other divisions—black, white, red—mainly in the general yellowish complexion, the broad flat features, with prominent cheek-bones, slight mesorrhine nose, mesogensnath jaws, brachycephalic (short) head, and a pointed, or sometimes narrow almond-shaped aperture between the lids, a vertical fold of skin over the inner canthus, and the outer angle slightly raised; lastly, the highly
characteristic dark blue spot in the lower serral region peculiar to all true-born Mongols, but disappearing in infancy, and said to be common also to the Siniian young (Dr. Bälz, quoted by Dr. O. Nøelid, *Gesch. von Japan*, 1906, p. 55). The oblique eye with its fold of skin between, which makes the black, lank, and rather coarse hair, round in transverse section, though constant is not exclusive, being common also to the American aborigines, and forming the most marked somatic link between the Mongol and American Indian divisions.

From the central Tibetan plateau this *Homo asiaticus fuscus*, as he has been named by Linné, radiated during the Stone Ages over the greater part of the continent, northwards to Mongolia, Siberia, and the Amur basin, eastwards to China and Indo-China, westwards to the Tarim basin, the Aralo-Caspian depression, and Mesopotamia, southwards to India as far as the Vindylan uplands. Most of the Asiatic mainland was thus first occupied by peoples of proto-Mongol stock, who in their several new environments have differentiated into a number of sub-groups distinguished by more or less marked physical, mental, and linguistic characteristics. Such are the so-called *Hyperboreans*, comprising the now nearly extinct Yakghirs, Chukcheis, Koryaks, and Kamchadalies of the Arctic region east of the Lena basin, whose chief branches are the Mongols proper, the Tunguses with the Manchus, Korens, Japanese, and Liu-Kiu Islanders, in the east, the Turks or Tibetans, the Yakuts, Kirghizes, Samoyeds, and Ugro-Pins, in the north, and, ranging from the Lena basin to Lapland and Hungary, and closely connected by their common agglutinating Ural-Altaic speech, of which Korean and Japanese appear to be aberrant members; the *Tibeto-Chinese* section, including the Tibetans, the Chinese, the India, and several other Far Eastern groups, all of more or less monosyllabic isolating speech; the extinct or absorbed *Akkado-Sumerians* of Babylonia, whose highly agglutinating pre-Semitic language is by many affiliated to the Ural-Altaic family (details in art. ETHNOLOGY, *'Conspicuous').

The first Mongol settlement of Asia left free the southern and south-western regions—a great part of India, Iran, Caucasus, Asia Minor, Syria, Canaan, and Arabia, i.e., about one-fourth of the whole continent. During the early Stone Ages, most of the western section was occupied by various branches of the Caucasian division, ranging eastwards from North Africa, where that division appears to have been specialized (see art. AFRICA). Amongst the first arrivals were the *Semites*, who ranged from the common Hamito-Semitic stock, and occupied the Arabian Peninsula, of which they have always held exclusive possession, and whence they migrated later into Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor, becoming differentiated in their new homes as Hymarites, Arabs, Phenicians, Canaanites (Israelites, Amorites, and others), Aramaeans (Syro-Chaldeans), Assyrians, and perhaps Hittites. Other early streams of migration from Africa are now represented by the Georgians, Circassians, Leobhians, and others of the Caucasus, where they are distinguished by a surprising diversity of speech (whether the same as a fold mountain of languages of the mediavial Arab writers, and often by an almost ideally perfect physical type, owing to which 'Caucasian' was adopted by Blumenbach as a suitable conventional name of the white division, that of *Burb', and as the Caspian) as wandered, they came the Caucasians of Aryan stock, commonly called *Aryans* or *Indo-European*, whose provenance and centres of dispersion are still moot questions, but whose various Asiatic branches are found at the dawn of history already settled in Asia Minor (Hehleens, Phrygians, Lydians, Armenians, and others), in Iran (Medes, Persians, Kurds, Afghans, Balouchis, and others), in the Hindu-Kush, Taimirs, and North India (Siah-Posh, Dards, Gallehas, Yesie Aryans).

In India these Aryans were probably preceded by a new sub-mongol *Ugro-Altaic* element, by the *Koharian* of the Vindylan uplands, and by the *Dravidians* of the Deccan and Ceylon. There is no certain clue to the origin of the last two, who present mixed physical characteristics and speak two radically distinct agglutinating languages, Koharian especially being of an extra type. In its morphology it remotely resembles the Finno-Ugric branch of the Ural-Altaic family, but, like Dravidian, in other respects differs profoundly from all other known forms of speech. But it is generally, and perhaps rightly, assumed that the Koharians entered India from the north or north-east, and the Dravidians from the north-west, and that both may have been offshoots of the Mongol stock afterwards greatly modified in their new homes.

This first occupation of Asia mainly by the Mongols, but also largely by the Caucasians, has undergone great changes and shiftings, brought about by the ceaseless migratory movements and racial struggles which, beginning in remote prehistoric periods and works families, have since continued during the historic period, and are still in progress. Evidence is now available to show that the Mongol domain was encroached upon and traversed north and south by neolithic whites penetrating from Europe across the Pechora and Lena basins to Manchuria, Korea, and Japan, and apparently from Africa through Syria, Caucasus, Iran, and north India to Indo-China and Malaysia. The strain of white blood is very marked amongst the Manchus and Koreans, while the Ainus, the true aborigines of Japan, are marked with a distinct Mongol blood (Gesch. von Japan, 1906, i. 1). The route followed seems indicated by the station near Tomisk, West Siberia, where, in 1896, numerous worked flints and some human remains were found by Prof. Kaschenko in association with those of a mammoth. Further east, A. P. Medlyt explored (1895) five pre-historic stations in Transsibikalin, in one of which he found two very highly dolichocephalic pre-Mongol skulls of the early European type (L'Anthropologie, 1896, p. 82). In Korea, where the evidence is still more complete, W. Saunders marks on the 'frequency with which features almost European in refinement and Caucasian in east are met with.' Here the numerous flint implements and dolmens, like those of Britain and North Africa, must be accredited to the San-San aborigines who occupied the peninsula long before its conquest by the Mongold Sien-pi from Manchuria.

The southern highway may similarly be traced from Africa through Syria, where Prof. Zimmoffen describes seven stations of the early and later Stone Ages (L'Anthropologie, 1897, pp. 427, 429), and thence through Caucasus, India, and the Khais Hills to Indo-China, where the evidence again abounds. Here are numerous Caucasian groups intermingled or associated with the Mongol substratum, and conspicuous especially amongst the Kajhens of North Burma, the Cambodians of the Lower Meklong, the Mosso, Lolo, Man-te, and many other hillmen all along the Chinese borderlands from Assam to Annam. Mrs. Bishop (Miss Sara Bird) describes the so-called Man-te, visited by her in 1896, as 'quite Caucasian, both men and women being very handsome.' Prince Henri d'Orléans was reminded by the Kin-te (Khamungs, Lin-te) of some of his European acquaintances. Dr. Billet met some Nong people 'with light and even
red hair'; and M. R. Verneul tells us that the Mans and Thai 'differ altogether from the Mongol group represented by the Chinese and Annamese. The Mans especially show striking affinities with the Aryan type' (L'Anthropologie, 1896, p. 692).

In the extreme west the racial movements resumed in the 6th century A.D. the Akkado-Sumerian Mongols by the Caspian Semites over 4000 years ago. After the rise of Islam these and most other Semites became Arabized in speech and religion, while in Asia Minor nearly all the early Caucasian peoples were displaced by the Muslim Turks. Along the Caucasian hordes from Central Asia Antolia has thus become by conquest a part of the Mongol domain, which has also encroached on a considerable section of North Iran, that is, the hilly district between Herat and Kabul, now occupied by numerous Aimak and Hazara tribes, who are ethnically Mongolo-Turks, Muhammandans in religion, and now of Aryan (Persian) speech.

In Irania and the Ardo-Caspiian steppe, that is, the Irân, or 'land of light,' and Turânia, the 'land of night,' of the Persian poet-chroniclers, a perpetual struggles ensued for the mastery throughout the historic period between the nomad predatory hordes of the northern wastes and the cultured agricultural populations of the fertile southern lands. These southern Aryans were driven out by the Persian empire, the Achaemenians, which extended from the Oxus to the Indus, and fostered the growth of flourishing settled communities throughout Central Asia. Thus it was that Iran interpretrated Turan, expanded its higher culture by the very enlargement of its own borders, and, when further stimulated by Hellenic influences, invaded the wilderness itself. In the Tarim basin, at that time a fertile well-watered region, there arose a great centre of Iranian and Greco-Bactrian civilization, the remains of which, after lying buried for some two thousand years under the advancing sands of the Takla-Makan Desert, have again been brought to light by the Sven Hedin expeditions of 1895 and 1900, and more fully explored by Dr. M. A. Stein, who in 1901 recovered great quantities of hidden treasures, now deposited in the British Museum (Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, 1903).

Later, the Caspian ascendancy in Central Asia disappeared before the repeated invasions of Huns, Finns, Turks, and other Mongol hordes, but has been re-established, at least politically, by the spread of the Russian-Caspiian region in recent times. To these incessant ethnical movements, dislocations, and interminglings are due those intermediate Mongolo-Caucasian populations, such as the Ugrians and other Finns, the Uzbeks, Turkmans, Hazaras, and other Turkic groups, who in their physical characteristics present every shade of transition between the typical white and yellow races.

In many places the cultures and social and religious institutions have changed or been displaced, although in Asia the dominant religions are in general maintained distributed according to race. Thus the Tunguses and most other Siberian aborigines are pronounced shamans; the Hindus extreme polytheists; the Tibetans, Sinhalese, Indo-Chinese, Chinese, Japanese, and Mongols proper all nominal Buddhists; the Arabs, Kurds, Afghans, Turkomans, Uzbeks, Kirghizes, and Turks generally Sunnites (orthodox) Muhammedans; the Persians, the Moors of Ceylon, and the Hazaras mostly Shiites ('separatists'); the Kazakhs are a remarkable spectacle of a nomad Turki group (Kirghiz) and a nomad Mongol group (Kalimaks) encamped side by side on the Lower Volga plains, both intruders from Asia, but the former strict Sunnites, the latter Buddhists like all their Eastern kindred. This distribution, however, is purely superficial, since below the outward forms, often merely official, as in Tibet, Siam, Annam, and China, the old primitive beliefs still everywhere survive in their full vigour. In Asia these beliefs represent all the earliest developments of the religious sentiment—pure animism, personification of the elements, nature, and ancestors (see Etnology, § 9)—not merely in juxtaposition, but often in the closest possible association. Thus ancestor-worship, characteristic of Africa, and animal-cult, dominant in America, are both prevalent in China, a blend of the belief in the good and bad and of water spirits, and an outward adherence to the three recognized national religions—the three 'State Churches,' as they have been called—Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism.

In every district are practised diverse forms of worship between which no clear dividing line can be drawn, and, as in Annam, the same persons may be at once followers of Confucius, Lao-tse, and Buddha. In fact, such is the position of the emperor, who belongs ex officio to all three of these State religions, and scrupulously pays reverence to them all. There is also some truth in the Chinese view that 'all three make but one religion,' the first appealing to man's natural nature, the second to the lower, and the third to the higher sphere of thought and contemplation. But behind, one might say above it, all, the old animism still prevails, manifesting in a multitude of nature-worship practices, whose purpose is to appease the evil and secure the favor of the good spirits, the Feng-shui, or Lung-shui, and water ghosts, such as the 'White Tiger' and the 'Azure Dragon,' who guard the approaches of every dwelling, and whose opposing influences have to be nicely balanced on the side of the household. But the powers of the magic arts (Koan, Man Past and Present, p. 223).

The 'professors' here referred to correspond in China to the shamans who control the religious world in Siberia. Shamanism will be separately dealt with, and here it may suffice to say that it is not a particular system of belief, but rather a peculiar phase of thought, which is widely distributed, and appears to be a necessary stage in the progress of all religious development. Thus the shaman belongs to a superior order of such persons, who holds a position somewhat intermediate between the medicine-man and wizard of the lower, and the marabout and true priest of the higher, religious systems. Although in its more advanced stage the office tends to become hereditary, and to crystallize into a regular hierarchy, in Siberia any one may become a shaman who has sufficient will-power to enforce belief in his claim to supernatural virtues, and to exercise them as intercessor between the invisible and otherwise inaccessible deities and their votaries. Hence in Siberia beneath the general shaman-craft there are all kinds of animistic beliefs, practices, and superstitions, in which animal-cult, as in North America, plays a much larger part than ancestor- or nature-worship. There are widespread not only among the Yakuts of the Minusinsk district about the Alabakan affluent of the Yenisei, although baptized Christians, are still under the influence of the shamanas, and credit the Ainus, that is, the invisible spirits of evil, with the power of assuming the form of dogs, foxes, birds, snakes, and other animals. They dwell in the underground regions, and are ruled by the Irel-Khan, who is also the familiar spirit and patron of the shamans.

So also the Yakuts of the Lena basin have a subordinate deity, the Vekhar, or 'Bird of Heaven,' from time to time visits the abodes of mortals in the form of a white horse, an eagle, a cuckoo, or some other bird, and carries messages to and fro between them and the 'Merciful Chief,' creator of the world, who with his wife, 'Shining in Glory,
is all-powerful. These are beneficent beings, but nearly all the rest appear to be devils, and amongst the Yakuts demonology is certainly carried to its extreme limits. The malevolent aerial spirits form twenty-seven tribes ruled by a kind of Satan, who with his wife has a numerous progeny, all hostile to mankind. Amongst these, the Yakut god, who is said to be the instrument of his vengeance, while in the underground Meng-tar, abode of ‘Everlasting Woe,’ there dwell eight other hosts of demons under Asharay-biko, the ‘Mighty,’ supreme in Heaven. These hosts have all their female kinds, and are joined by the shamans after death. Another potent divinity is Enakhs, the ‘Cow-herdess,’ who is much dreaded because of her power to harm their cattle, strike them with murrain, and destroy the calves; hence her wrath has to be turned aside by muddy costly offerings (Ovorovsky).

Despite their veneration of Russian Orthodoxy, the neighbouring Samoyeds still cling tenaciously to their old pagan beliefs. ‘As long as things go well with him [the Samoyed], he is a Christian; but should he run an opportunity to benefit himself, he immediately returns to his old god Nun or Chaddi. . . . He conducts his heathen services by night and in secret, and carefully screen from sight any image of Chaddi.’ (F. G. Jackson, The Great Frozen Land, 1895, p. 84).

Several instances are recorded of this conflict between the old and the new—a subject more fully dealt with in art. Aborigines. Thus on the Samoyed graves the wooden cross is supplemented by an inverted sledge, which is intended to convey the dead safely over the snows of the under world. They also hold in awe the rings of stones within which human sacrifices appear to have been formerly offered to propitiate Chaddi; and although these practices have ceased, ‘it is only a few years ago that a Samoyed living on Novaja Zemlja sacrificed a young girl (8b) as a private act of devotion and as an offering that death in the end of everything, that good and evil deeds receive their deserts in this life, and that immortality is reserved only for the tutelé, that is, the Samoyed magicians or shamans, who either remain quietly in their graves or else wander about at night seeking an opportunity to benefit their friends or harm their enemies. Despite this limited measure of immortality, in the graves are deposited all kinds of useful objects, such as clothing, cooking-pots, knives, horns filled with tobacco, guns, bones, and bits of jute. The Samoyed chief is buried with his rings, thread, sinews for sewing, and scraping-knives for the women, everything being damaged to prevent it from being stolen. The explanation of this seeming inconsistency is that the departed do not die at once, but survive for some time in the grave, where they will require the same objects that they needed in this life. The above-mentioned Nun is an aerial god who dwells in the sky, where he generates thunder and lightning, sends down rain and snow, and rules the winds and storms. The sky horse, also called Num (cf. Dierper), is his visible embodiment, and to his name is given the moon, which when he manifests himself at night, the rainbow (nunauso) which forms the hem of his mantle, and the sun in which he is chiefly venerated, all of which is greeted at its rising and setting with suitable invocations. Some, even hold that the earth, the sea, and all visible nature form part of the same divine system, thus anticipating the mystic and pantheistic concepts of more advanced theosophies. Nun knows and sees all that happens upon earth; if men are good and devout, he protects all their doings, increases their reindeer herds and gives every one of his epithets is Sibiloom-laerite, ‘cattle-warrior,’ blesses their hunting expeditions and their huntsmen. But if they live wicked lives, they fall into poverty and misery, and die prematurely. There is even a sort of moral code containing the penalties which all should be guided who wish to stand well with Num: ‘Believe in Num. Believe in the spirit of evil, and that it will be appeased by sacrifices, that no misfortune befall thee, or thy wife, or thy children; that it may save thee from sickness and assist thee in thy labours. Believe in the spirits that are good, and fear no evil. Do not injure the poor, and Num will reward thee. Speak not of what thou hast seen, that no one may know from thee what has happened.’

Yet beneath this outward display of lofty religious and ethical notions, most of the Samoyeds are still nature-worshippers and animists. They show great respect especially for the bear, which with the wolf is held in the highest veneration in Siberia. Nevertheless the Samoyeds, like the Ainu and other Eastern peoples, will capture and kill it whenever they can. When it is dead, the flesh of its forequarters, carefully cut out, the object being, by a strange confusion of ideas, to protect themselves from harm when next they venture to attack one of the species.

Like the Samoyeds, the Odzynka of the Yenisei region, is the worship of the sky, Arm or Urt, who sends thunder and storms, but also covered with a high sense of honour and rectitude. He mingle amongst mortals, accompanying them wherever they go, and judging them according to their deserts, for no act, good or evil, can escape his notice. He is inaccessible even to the shamans; no appeals can bend his will; and he controls human destinies and the course of events according to the eternal laws of justice. No sacrifices can secure his favour, since he looks only to merit in the distribution of his gifts, without the least regard to prayers or offerings. Hence it is useless to seek his aid. It is the lesser deities and the demons alone that can be swayed by the mediation of the shamans, and, as amongst the Ugrian Finns, they are generally represented by rude stone or wooden effigies, often in an extremely fantastic form. Thus Ortk, the patron of the hunt, is figured as a legless horse stuffed with hair and skins, with two linen sleeves for arms, a linen skirt, and a face made of a hammered metal plate nailed to a block of wood. A log arrayed in beaver fur, beaver heads for Mig, a fat mountain goblin, who plays mischievous pranks with people, leading them astray in the woods, and overwhelming them in snowstorms. In this strange pantheon a place is also found for both the wolf and the bear, and when one of these animals is killed in the hunt it is regarded as a strobak of luck celebrated with much feasting and revelry.

‘The skin is stuffed with hay, and the people collect from all quarters to eat, drink, and spit upon the helpless enemy. They sing songs of triumph expressed in words of insolence and defiance. After their spirit of mortification is exhausted, they set up his skin and the skull in the corner of the eastern wall, and say that all evil from the ferocity of the ferocious beast, and bestow upon it, for a considerable time, the veneration of a tutelar god’ (A. Featherman, Travaux de l'Acad. des Sciences, 1901, p. 560).

But it is in the extreme east, amongst the Gilyaks and Ainus, that this animal-cult has acquired its highest development. The kohr (bear), who represents the Kur, or Lord of the heavens, is one of the chief Gilyak divinities, although under certain circumstances he is occasionally captured and eaten. When taken in his lair while hibernating in winter, he is secured by a leathern noose and dragged along with shouts andcries intended to stultify the still half-dozing victim. He is then kept under restraint, fed and watered, and at last slain on his feast-day, after a fight in which the villagers are required to attack him without arms. Similar strange practices prevail amongst the Ainu of Yezo, North Japan, as described by the late Mrs. C. A. Seligman.

‘The peculiarities which distinguish this rude mythology is the “worship” of the bear, the Yezo bear being one of the most sacred objects of the Japanese, and in which they indulge feelings by which it is prompted, for they worship it after its fashion, and set up its head in their villages, yet they trap it, kill it, skin it, and eat it. The spirit of the wild beast inspires more of the feeling which prompts worship than the inanimate forces of nature, and the Ainus may be distinguished by the variety of their festivals, fairs, or Saturnalia, as the Festival of the Bear. Gentile and savage as they are, they have a great admiration for ferocity and courage; and the bear, which is the strongest, fiercest, and most courageous animal known to them, has probably in all
ages inspired them with veneration. Some of their rude chants are in praise of the bear, and their highest deity on a man is to be found in the shape of an elephant (Viadanat Thres in Buddha 73). For further details and a possible explanation of this strange cult, see the art. ANUS in vol. ii. p. 429, and art. ANNALS, ib. p. 525.

In Mongolia the never-dying superstitions associated with nature-worship, animism, demonology, and witchcraft still survive beneath the outward show of official lamaism. Indeed, the whole system of Buddhism is everywhere changing and modified, as in most other Buddhist lands, by the old local beliefs. The magician are still appealed to when the flocks are smitten by disease; when 'fine weather,' which there means rain, is needed; when sickness troubles the household; or when some healthy but apparently neighbourly boy is struck down by a mortal illness or fatal accident. The very inmates of the huge lamaseries bear the name of Samaneans, perhaps a corrupt form of the Tungus word shaman, as if the Buddhist monks were merely the spiritual successors of the old medicine men. Every possible transition is thus observed between the former nature- and spirit-worship and the peculiar form of lamaism introduced from Tibet after the death of Jenghiz Khan.

In Tibet itself much the same relations prevail between the lamas and the rest of the population. Bon, or Bo-o ho, religion, which persists, especially in the central and eastern provinces, side by side with the national creed. From the colour of the robes usually worn by its priests, it is known as the Red lamaism. In contradiction to the orthodox: Yellow and dissenting: Red, lamaists- and, as now constituted, its origin is attributed to Shen-rab (Sen-rabs), who flourished about the 5th century before the new era, and is venerated as the equal of Buddha himself. His followers, who were originally agriculturists, possessed the entire regions of Tibet in the 10th century, when, on the death of the first chief, the Bonpo sect is the ubiquitous cre- stikes with the books of the cross reversed, instead of , a change said to be due to the practice of turning the prayer-wheel from right to left as the Red lamas do, instead of left to right as the orthodox way. The contemporary Buddhist formula of six syllables - om mani pad me hum— is also replaced by one of seven syllables - om tri mots la sa ha dun (Sarat Chandia Das, in C.I.S.R. 1858, 1882).

In the upland regions the Brahmaputra, between Tibet and Upper Burma, there are a multitude of primitive Mongoloid peoples—Abors, Mishmis, Garos, Khasis, Koochis, Bodos, Kacharis, Lushais, Naga, Kuki, Chins, Kahunis, Kacharis, and many others—who have been little or not at all affected either by Buddhist or Hindu influences, and whose religions or mythologies consequently present features of exceptional interest. Thus the gods of the Garos are mostly vague mythical entities, dwelling in the hills or in the sky, but possessing no definite attributes or powers, and associated with many wonderful cos- melical myths. Salong, the chief deity, marries Apongna, a divine princess who descends on earth and gives birth to a son, Kengra Barga, father of fire and of all the heavenly deities, and also to daughter, Mining Mija, who marries the son of Dona, another man of mankind. From a granddaughter of Salong spring the mothers of the Tibetan Bhoti- yas, of the Garos, and of the Ferlinges (English), and so on. But beneath the ancient symbols of the old nature-worship, as seen in the personification of the sun, moon, and stars, of the hills, streams, and forests, with their indwelling genii, to whom are attributed divine powers as rulers of the universe, and controllers of human destinies and all nature phenomena.

According to the creation myth, the face of the earth was originally covered with one vast sheet of water inhabited by a huge worm. One day the Creator, passing over this worm, dropped a small piece of earth, saying, 'If I can do this for the land and people it.' "Nonense," said the worm; "look here, I can swallow it." But the lump passing out of his body grew and grew until it became the world we know now, and the worm strayed out of the ground by the will of the three gods, Lama the Creator, without whose power it would never have been done, Golar, god of death, and the beneficent, Budukal, who emancipates through his wife Yaptse (C. A. Soppit, Kuki-Lushai Tribes, 1857).

The Tzu-geens, a branch of the numerous Chin family, have a tradition that truth is abhorrently powerful, but were so hurt by these innate efforts to capture the sun. With the aid of Jacob's ladder they mounted higher and higher, but, growing tired, began to quarrel among themselves, until one day, while half of them were clawing up the pole, the other half below cut it down just as they were about to seize the sun.

Although often described as devil-worshippers, the Chinas appear to worship neither god nor devil. The northern groups believe there is no Enn Supperman; and although the southern are of Kozin, or beard god, they pay him no homage, and never look to him for any favours, except perhaps exemption from such troubles as he might be disposed to inflict on those who offend him in this world. There are also the countless gods of the air, the streams, the jungle, the hills, and there are those that swarm in the house and in the fields. None of these can do any good, though all may do harm unless soothingly gifted. Mithikwan, the 'Village of the Dead,' is divided into two wards, the Prethikwan, to drive away the happy, and the Sathikwan, reserved for the wretches who die unavenged, and must there bite till their munder is wiped in blood. Thus the vendetta receives divine sanction, strengthened by the belief that the slave becomes the slayer of the slave in Prethikwan.

Should the slayer himself be slain, then the first slain is the slave of the second slain, who in turn is the slave of the man who killed him. Whether a man has been honest or dishonest in this world is of no consequence in the next existence: but if he has killed another, he is in true, he has many slaves to serve him in his future existence; but if he has not killed any many wild animals, then he will start well supplied with food, for all that he can eat on earth being insufficient for existence. In the next existence hunting and drinking will certainly be permitted, but whether fighting and raiding will be indulged in is unknown (Carey and Tuck, The Chin Hills, 1856, i. 190).

Before the advent of the Vedic Aryans, the chthonic gods were probably supreme throughout India, and, despite the wide diffusion of Hinduism, they are still supreme among most of the Dra- vidian, Kolarian, and mixed Aryo-Dravidian abo- rigines. But these gods themselves are nearly all hostile to man, and consequently not easily dis- tinguishable from devils. Hence it is that we have often to fall back on the references to the other low castes, and even some of the high castes, are for the most part demon-worshippers; and this is specially true of the aborigines of Southern India. In the Cochin Census Report for 1901, M. Sankara Menon states: "Nowhere perhaps has the belief in demons a stronger hold on the popular mind than in this part of India. The existence of numerous execrations is a visible sign of the Hindu populace, from the highest Nanbad to the lowest Parang, bears ample testimony to this fact. There is a separate caste, the Panan, amongst the Vannan, comprises diviners, and there are hereditary occupations. The Panan is quite as indispensable a factor in the social organism of the village as the barber, the washerman, or the blacksmith, and he is in a position to have special control over particular classes of demons. The priests attached to many families have their traditional family deities 'by whose aid they profess to control the evil spirits and the malevolent spirits. It may sound strange, but it is none the less true, that there are exorcists amongst native Christians and Mussulmans.
as well. One interesting fact is that high-class Hindus exercise their magical influence by propitiating only the more refined and sublime manifestations of the gods of the pantheon, whereas the lower castes,אוו who are the same as to body but very different in soul, are more terrible and bloodthirsty aspects." Some of the more evil-minded demons are supposed to be wandering about in mid-air, or perching on roof-tops, or black trees, as if they expected the fall in the hands of evil to those that come in their way. They are supposed to live upon the offerings made to them by their votaries, who continually perform the necessary ceremonies for the purpose. Illness, accidents, and other misfortunes are often attributed to the evil influence of demons, who are supposed to sit in the sick-bed of a man and to drive out those demons or spirits. The physician steps in to treat the person, and the common belief is that so long as the patient is possessed, medicine can have no effect. The demons of smallpox and cholera, and mostly of other such contagious diseases, are considered to be caused by a human demon, a jyotirling, or an illusion. A person believes himself to be possessed, and falls ill (66).

In some places snake-worship ranks next to demonology even amongst the high castes. In Malabar nearly all the compounds have their serpent-groves, with effigies of the reptiles carved on blocks of stone; and here no orthodox Hindu will ever kill a snake, even if bitten, since an injury done to any of them would be sure to bring on leprosy, phthisis, or other ailments. Serpents are treated as members of the family, and served with milk, fruits, and all kinds of dainties. None but the women are allowed to enter a serpent-grove, or a twigs from the trees growing in the snake-grove, where songs are chanted and religious rites observed in honour of these deities, which are, in fact, worshipped as gods or demons.

In the direction of the north, superstitious notions seem to touch even a lower level, and among the Kolarans of the Vindhya uplands they were till recently associated with human sacrifices of a peculiarly barbarous character. In order to secure good harvests, the victim, often a child captives, was brought from a neighboring tribe, was put to a lingering death, by being slowly hacked to pieces with an axe, the supposition being that the greater the suffering the better pleased would be the god, and the heavier the crops of cereals. Of the Mundas, one of the largest Kolaran tribes, the chief social feature is their highly developed totemic system. The number of totems almost passes belief, and includes such remarkable objects as rice-woods, cocoons, mice, bees, mushrooms, ants, frogs, eels, worms, or even moonlight, red cache (Chercurous), and tree (crowned) which are sacred, or wearing-sticks. These are all aimed at inducing spirits, so that we have here the lowest conceivable form of the animist that lies at the foundation of all natural religions.

Still more delayed than the full-blooded Kolarian and Dravidian aborigines are the Argyo-Dravidian half-breeds, who are interspersed over the northern provinces, and to their own crude religious dawnings often superadded the revolt ing ideas and practices of the later corrupt Hinduism. Here the blank is almost as a chapter, and for the most part of little interest, of the "twice-born" Aryas (Nobles), and the scarcely human Nāgas, "kindred of the dragon," dates back to the earliest recorded times, and is typified in the mythical marriage of Arjuna, one of the higher Pandavas, with Uṣyā, daughter of the Naga king Vāsuki. This union is also between the still sacred city of Hardwar on the upper Ganges, which is described as inhabited by 2000 crores (a crore = ten millions) of snake-people, whose wives were of peerless beauty; and here was also a lake which contained the nine world's wide life, in which all those snake-people were wont to bathe. During their later migrations the already mixed Aryas encountered the vile Daxyns, proto-Kolarians of the south Gangetic woodlands, for whom no terms of abuse are too strong, yet with multitudes of whom a man was eventually expelled. Thus it was that from the union of the white, the yellow, and the black men arose the modern people of northern India (W. Crooke). That the union was not merely ethnical, but also social and religious, is seen in the usual, или devil-brides, the outcaste jungle tribes, who in the Hindu system became a Brahman Ojha, or exorcizer of evil spirits; and we know that in later times whole sections of the lower races were raised to priestly rank. But this tendency towards complete fusion of all the racial elements with the Vedantic Hinduism, which, though at present occupational, had originally an ethnical basis (see art. CASTE).

A clear insight into these obscure relations is necessary to a right understanding of the strange intermingling of primitive and Hindu social and religious notions prevalent amongst these mixed northern groups. But even so, great difficulties remain, and Mr. W. Crooke, himself a most diligent and shrewd observer, finds it all but impossible to frame a working definition of a Hindu; Mundians of the lower class cling to many of the beliefs of the faith from which they were originally drawn; everywhere in the lower strata the forms of faith known as Brahmanical or Animistic constantly overlap... The natural cleavage line is between Brahmanism and Animism, and it has been found possible on this basis to classify the religious beliefs of central and southern India, but in northern India this distinction is unworkable. Most of the menial and hill tribes protest theoretically to a belief in the addicted to cruel punishments of animals, and even the higher classes are more or less influenced by the Ani mistic beliefs of the lower races (The J. N. Proc. of India, 1857, ch. v.), and Ulieri, where... 'It is a matter of common knowledge as a Vaishnava if we know that on occasion he will worship other gods as well—will reverence the cow or the palm tree, Mother Ganges, or the goddess of smallpox' (p. 245).

As pointed out by Mr. E. A. Gait (General Report of the Census of India, 1901, p. 335), the animistic here in question—a belief in and dread of impersonal powers to be appeased by magic—appears to have passed into the Hindu system from two different sources. Some of its elements are derived from the Vedic Aryans themselves, others from the Dravidian (and Kolarian) races who have been absorbed into Hinduism. But it would be fruitless to attempt to distinguish the two forms of magical usage—the Vedic and the Animistic. They are of mixed parentage, like the people who observe them, partly Indo-Aryan and partly Dravidian. It now becomes possible to understand the picturesque animistic religions of the north, utterly revolting and immoral, others betraying some glimmering of a moral sense, but the great majority degrading—by which these mixed populations are animated. Thus some of the widespread Doms, most probably the parent-stock of the Europerace in India (Dom = the name of an iron-smelting race) and not changeable), hold that raiding and robbery have divine sanction. Before starting on a nocturnal expedition they sacrifice to Sansrī Māi, the chthonic goddess patroness of thieves, and pray in a low voice: "If a dark night may elude their designs and the guards escape the fate of the furin deva, Laverna, was silently invoked by the Roman retro:"

La veni mortem nostrae audi, Pulcher Laverna,
De mihi mater, tu misa sancto, virgo illustri,
Noctem pecuniae, et fraudibus obiate muner.

(Hor. Epist. 1. xvi. 60-63.)

Yet these Doms, scavengers in the towns, vagrants of the jungle and hill tribes, are not quite irreclaimable, and the means adopted to civilize them have met with a measure of success in some districts. They have even a family priest, always the sister's son, who points to matriarchal times when kinship was reckoned through the female line.

The Agravis of Mirzapur, all smelters and forgers, call themselves Hindus, yet worship the tribal deity Lalāsār Devi, goddess of iron (lāhāt =
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‘iron’), and also employ the bāgī (see above) to worship the old local godlings. The black goat offered to Lohasūra Devi is worshipped before being dissipated, like the ghosts of the dead, on the hill of Vasanā, like the ghosts of the dead who appear to them in dreams. At the end of the difficult road to the heaven of Parameswara ( Vishnū ) is a great gate guarded by terrible demons, who allow no woman to pass unless tattled. There are twenty-four forms of tattla, and the women who can show no mark of some god on their bodies are tormented by the gate-keepers, who brand them with a hot iron, roll them in thorns, and fling them down from the top of the gate. Tataling has thus become a religious observance. The Arabs are Semites, and, being Semites, are probably of totemistic origin, in the forms—Ganesa, Siva, Krishna as flute-player, the moon, the peacock, and many others—are now merely charms to ward off evils and gain access to the abode of Vishnū. The whole religious world of the Agārias is an intricately interwoven system of primitive and Hindu notions.

Similarly the Agārawālas of the Upper Ganges, although reckoned as Vaishnavas, call themselves, and are, Niga Upanśazi, ‘Snake - worshippers,’ a doctrine that is said to have been taught by the sister of the great serpent Vāsuki. But there is also a deity Ohur, who saves women from widowhood, besides the tribal deity Lakṣmī and several trees—pīpal, kadam, sāmi, babul—which are held in special honour. Socially the Agārawālas are landowners, bankers, and money-lenders, but for them animal food, as well as onions, garlic, carrots, and tunips, is taboo, and a good illustration of the countless hair-splitting caste distinctions is the refusal of the women to eat the food prepared by their daughters-in-law.

One might almost suppose that the Hindu snake-cult had passed into Irania, so general is the respect in which these reptiles are held even by the Persian Shiites. No Persian will willingly kill a house-snake, partly because he thinks it harmless, but chiefly because he supposes it to be tenantmed by the spirit of the late owner of the house. When one was shot by Dr. C. J. Wills, the whole household ‘sulked and looked black for a week,’ although the landlord, being an educated man, was glad, the whole class of reptiles flourished. These years. Equally prevalent are the superstitions associated with omens, the evil eye, and astrology. Nothing serious is done in Persia without the taking of an omen, the casting of lots, or the consulting of an astrologer. A favourite place for taking omens was at the door of the house of the bishop of Hanif, to whom are paid almost divine honours. Recourse is had to the munajjim, ‘astrologer,’ on all occasions; every village has its professional diviner, every town several, whose chief business it is to predict lucky hours or days, to read the future, and to discover stolen property, and in this they are often successful by laying pitfalls into which the thieves unwittingly stumble.

Apart from the fanatical Bābd (q.v.), and the periodical outbursts of religious frenzy connected with the anniversary of the martyrs Ḥusain and Hasan, the Persian Shiites are not particularly zealous Muhammadans. Many, indeed, of the educated classes prefer the writings of Ḥazīf and Sādi to the Qurʾān, are theists and even avowedly pagans, and in their recognition of the Aryan deities, the gods of the East, and that of the Sun, 1823, p. 339). One thing is clear. There is no danger that the monotheism which has sup-

planted the old Zoroastrian dualism in Peria will ever sink, like the Vedic system, to the low level of the primitive celtic beliefs. It will rather be the West which is dissipated, like the ghosts of the dead, in the atmosphere of philosophic unbeliev.

On the other hand, these primitive beliefs are still rife in Arabia, the very cradle of Muhammadan monotheism. Muhammad enthroned Allāh, but failed to abolish the jinnān, the āfīris, and šaḵtaš that still haunt the sandy wastes, and swarm in every wady, cave, well, and hillside of the peninsula. But it has to be remembered that the Persians are Iranians, that is, one of the noblest branches of the Aryan family, while the other, the Hūras or Scythians, is probably a delusion, and whose early beliefs were ‘of the earth earthly,’ originally associated with the Asherahs, the Astarte and Tammuz myths, the abominations of the Baals and Molechs, and all that is implied in the primitive phallic worship.

For the higher religions, all of which took their rise in Asia, see special articles CHRISTIANITY, JUDAISM, MUHAMMADANISM, ZOROASTRIANISM, BRAHMANISM, BUDDHISM, SHINTOISM.


A. H. KEANE.

ASOKA.—Asoka, emperor of India (BC. 273-231), was the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya (q.v.), and son of Bindusārā, whom he succeeded on the throne in BC. 273 or 272, although his formal coronation did not take place until BC. 269, having perhaps been delayed by a disputed succession. According to tradition, Asoka in his youth represented the excessive luxury of Taxila, and also at Ujjain in Mālwa. Silly legends represent him as having attained power by the massacre of ninety-nine brothers, and as having been a monster of cruelty in the early years of his reign; but these are mere fables. In BC. 261 he rounded up the conquered people made a profound impression on the conscience of Asoka, who at about this time came under the influence of Buddhist teachers, to whom war was abhorrent. Four years later, the emperor solemnly recorded in inscriptions engraved upon the rocks his profound sorrow and regret for the misery caused by his ambition, and declared that the loss of even the hundredth or thousandth part of the persons who were then slain, carried away captive, or done to death in Kalinga, would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty. Asoka labour under a man who could do no injury. His Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne, so far as it can be possible borne. Asoka acted on the principle thus publicly professed and indubitably recorded, and henceforward was a man of peace, devoted to the inauguration and propagation of the law of compassion, as conceived by him in accordance with the teaching of the Buddha. At a date not exactly known he
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qualified himself for the highest rewards of a Buddhist saint by accepting ordination in monastic and adorning the yellow robe of the Order, but did not then abdicate his royal power, although it is possible that in the last year of his life he withdrew from all worldly affairs. He passed away in B.C. 232 or 231 after a reign of fully forty years. The Buddhist edicts he issued while in constant residence on the Golden Hill (Suvarnapuri) at Rajagriha, the capital of the early kings of Magadha (S. Bihar).

The empire which Asoka ruled comprised, in modern terminology, Afghanistan south of the Hindú Kush, Baluchistán, Sind, the valley of Kaman, Kandahar, the lower Himálayas and the whole of India proper, except the southern extreme below the latitude of Madras. The central regions seem to have been governed directly from Pataliputra, the modern Pátàna, then on the north bank of the Són, the great city which continued for centuries to be the capital of India. The outlying provinces were controlled by at least four viceroys, who were often members of the Imperial family; and the orders of these high officers were executed by a regularly organized departmental system of local administration. Each of the provinces was divided by a municipal commission into six boards, and similar arrangements probably existed in the other principal cities. A standing army of all arms—cavalry, infantry, chariots, and war elephants—was maintained in great force, and public order was well preserved.

When Asoka became a devoted disciple of Buddha, the whole machinery of government was utilized by him for the teaching and dissemination of his Master's doctrine, and produced commensurate effects.

Gautama the Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist system as known to history, had confined his ministry to a region of moderate extent in the Gangetic valley, which may be roughly defined as lying between Garg, Prayág or Allahábád, and the Himálayas. When he died in B.C. 240, his followers formed but one of many rival sects in that region, and the society of ordained monks organized by him had only limited and local influence. There is no reason to believe that the vogue of the Buddhist sect had increased very greatly during the two centuries and a quarter which intervened between its founder's death and the conversion of Asoka. The latter event made the fortune of Buddhism, and transformed an obsolescent local sect in the basin of the Ganges into a dominant region-wide religion, permeating and affecting all, if measured by the number of its adherents.

Asoka's progress in the faith was gradual. According to tradition, he was in early life an orthodox Hindu, of the Sáiva sect (see SÁIVISAM); and it is certain that he then approved of sacrifices, and sanctioned the slaughter of animals on a large scale for the purposes of food, sacrifice, and sport. Regard for the sanctity of animal life being the cardinal principle of Buddhist ethics, he began the reformation of his habits by reducing the butcher's bill for the Imperial table to the modest amount of two peacocks and one antelope daily. The institution of the royal hunt was abolished in B.C. 259, and two years later destruction of life for the service of the royal kitchens was absolutely forbidden. In B.C. 243 detailed regulations concerning the slaughter or mutilation of animals to the whole empire were published, which prohibited unconditionally the killing of many large classes of living creatures, and imposed stringent restrictions on the entire population in respect of their dealings with animals.

In the next year the emperor placed on record a solemn review of all the measures which he had taken for the propagation of the dhamma, or Law of Piety, and reminded his subjects how he had striven to lead them in the right way by his personal example. He promised oratorical and monastic sermons as well as in inscriptions on rocks and pillars, by suitable official arrangements for the supervision of morals and the royal alms, by detailed pious regulations, and by benevolent provision for the maintenance and expansion of learning and the arts. But Asoka, while utilizing to the full all this machinery for the moral regeneration of his people, recognized that permanent improvement must be based on a change of heart, and could not be secured by merely administrative measures; because 'pious acts and the practice of piety depend on the growth among men of compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness, and saintliness.' The growth of piety, he goes on to observe, 'has been effected by two-fold means, to wit, pious regulations and meditation. The latest method, two means pious regulations are of small account, whereas meditation is superior. Nevertheless, I have issued pious regulations forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals, and other regulations of the sort. But the superior effect of meditation in the growth of piety is the justification of men, and the more complete abstinence from living creatures.'

The substance of Asoka's practical ethical teaching is tersely summed up in a short edict, perhaps one of the best preserved.

'Thus saith His Majesty: "Father and mother must be hearkened to; similarly, respect for living creatures must be firmly established; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety. Man must be so instructed that the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relations." This is the ancient nature of piety—this leads to length of days, and according to this men must act.

The three primary duties prescribed by the Asokan code were (1) respect for the absolute, unconditional right of the meanest animal to remain the regal of life until the latest moment permitted by nature; (2) reverence to parents, elders, and preceptors—the superiors so honoured being required, in their turn, to treat their inferiors, including slaves, servants, and all living creatures, with kindness and consideration; and (3) truthfulness. Among secondary duties, a high place was given to that of showing toleration for, and sympathy with, the beliefs and practices of others, and all extravagance or violence of language was earnestly deprecated.

The ethical system outlined in the above propositions, which is in agreement with the doctrine of the Dhammapadá and other scriptures of primitive Buddhism, was developed by Asoka in a series of edicts, probably drafted by himself. The "Fourteen Rock Edicts," published in B.C. 256, were inscribed upon rocks at seven localities in the remoter provinces, namely: (1) Shábátzgarhi, in the Yásuítzai country, forty miles N.E. of Pesháwar; (2) Mánására, in the Hazára District, Panjab; (3) Kási, in the lower Himálayas, fifteen miles west from Mussoorí; (4) Sopára, in the Thána District, near Bombay; (5) the Gírnár hill, near Jánágar, the ancient capital of Káthiáwar; (6) near Dhaulá, to the south of Bhúvánásvar, in the Puri District, Orissa; and (7) at Jánagá, in the Ganjá, District, Madras.

Some of these inscriptions, which vary in script, in dialect, and to some extent in substance, are preserved practically complete, while others are mere fragments. The second great series is that of the 'Seven Pillar Inscriptions,' six of which exist in six copies, engraved on monolithic sandstone pillars erected at various localities in the home provinces. The seventh and most important edict is found on one
pilular only. The remaining records, particulars of which will be found in the works cited at the end of this article, are the two ‘Kalinga Edicts’ in two recensions, three ‘Cave Inscriptions,’ two ‘Tribal Pillar Inscriptions,’ two ‘Minor Pillar Edicts,’ two ‘Minor Rock Edicts’ in several recensions, and the ‘Bhābra Edict.’ The number of distinct documents known may be reckoned as thirty-five, forming a group of inscriptions which may be regarded, perhaps, as the most interesting and remarkable in the world.

A large body of tradition affirms that a Buddhist church council was held at the capital by the command and under the patrocity of Asoka in order to settle the canons and reform abuses in monastic discipline. Although the traditional details of the constitution and proceedings of the council are clearly unhistorical, the tenor of its assembly may be accepted without hesitation. If it had met before the thirty-second year of the reign, in which the emperor published the ‘Seven Pillar Edicts,’ recording his retrospect of the measures taken for the promotion of piety, the council assuredly would have been mentioned in those documents. But they are silent on the subject, and the fair inference is that the council was held at a date subsequent to their publication, that is to say, between A.C. 292 and 291.

The Imperial arrangements for diffusing the knowledge of Buddhist doctrine, and for enforcing the moral practices recommended by the teachers of the church, were designed on a grand scale, so as to embrace not only India, but also distant countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe. The officials of the Government in their various grades were required, in addition to their ordinary duties, to give instruction in morals to the lieges. From the year B.C. 256 the efforts of the official by the systematic labours of special functionaries, designated as Censors of the Law of Piety (dharma-mahānāthāḥ), who were enjoined to occupy themselves in promoting the establishment and progress of Buddhism in India, and the lands of the descendants of those who had been there before, and who were further charged with the delicate duty of superintending the female establishments of the members of the royal family. These officers were vested with special powers for the prevention of wrongful imprisonment or corporal punishment, and were directed to investigate cases in which peculiar circumstances caused the ordinary law to press hard upon individuals. The general superintendence of female morals was entrusted to another set of officers called the ‘Censors of Women.’ Throughout the empire, the enjoining, was strictly to be observed by the Censors; and if we may judge by what is known of the procedure adopted in later ages by pious Indian kings, the penalties of disobedience must have been extremely severe, extending even to the death of the offender.

The activity of the Censors was not confined to the provinces directly controlled by the Imperial officers, but embraced all the bordering tribes and nations in the Indian hills and forests, who lived under the rule of their own chiefs, subject to the suzerainty of the paramount power.

Asoka’s zeal carried his propaganda far beyond the limits of his empire, and induced him to organize a system of foreign missions, which preserved the character of a missionary agency in the history of a large portion of the world. A band of enthusiastic missionaries, headed by Mahendra (Mahinda), younger brother of the emperor (or, according to another account, his son), evangelized Ceylon with such success that the island has been regarded as the cradle of Buddhism ever since. The religion of the Sinhala monks to-day is practically the same as that of Asoka. The Sinhalese chronicles aver that a mission was dispatched at the same time across the Bay of Bengal to Pegu, but it is related that Buddhism was not introduced into the Burmese countries until several centuries later. The existing form of Buddhism in Burma, which undoubtedly was derived from Ceylon, and thus is indirectly a result of Asoka’s labours, dates only from the reformation effected by King Dhammangati in the 15th century, the history of which is recorded in the Kalyânī inscriptions (Ind. Ant. vol. xxii., 1893). The Siamese church also is a daughter of that founded in Ceylon by Mahendra.

From the time of Megasthenes, who was sent as an ambassador by Seleukos Nikator to the court of Chandragupta Marunya in the year B.C. 305, regular intercourse, both commercial and diplomatic, had been maintained between the Indian empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms founded by the generals of Alexander. Asoka made use of the channels of communication thus opened, in order to convey the treasures of Buddhist wisdom to the nations of the West. His missionaries traversed the wide realms of Antiochus Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia, and penetrated the dominions of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, those of his neighbour king Magas of Cyrene, and even those of the European monarchs Alexander of Epirus and Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon. Although missionary effort did not succeed in planting branches of the Buddhist church in the foreign countries named, except perhaps in some portions of the territory of Antiochus, its effects may be traced obscurely both in the history of the Gnostic and Manichean sects of Christianity (Kennedy, ‘Buddhist Gnosticism,’ in JRAS, 1902, pp. 377-415) and in the reflex action on India which helped to develop the Mahâyâna form of Buddhism about the beginning of the Christian era. Ceylon, as already observed, was won permanently to Buddhism, which became the dominant and official religion in the island and that of the neighboring land. Of course the other forms of Indian religion were not destroyed—they were merely overshadowed for a time, and in due course recovered their ancient vigour. In India, Buddhism is practically extinct at the present day, and is hardly traceable in the Punjab to beyond the 13th century A.D. For many centuries the impulse given by Asoka’s systematic missionary propaganda made Buddhist institutions a prominent feature of Indian life; and as late as the 7th century A.D., Buddhism, although then slowly dying out in India, remained popular in Tibet, China, and Japan, through the agency of Indian missionaries at various dates, was an indirect consequence of the Asokan propaganda.

Asoka, while determined to enforce with all his authority Buddhist ethics as a practical system of morals, was avowedly tolerant of other creeds, and devoted a special edict to the subject of toleration:

‘His Majesty does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or householders, by gifts and various modes of reverence. His Majesty, however, cares not so much for gifts or external reverence as that there should be a growth of the inner essence of the matter in all sects. The growth of the essence of the matter assumes various forms, but the root of it is reverence to holy speech, and a man must not despise the reverence of his own sect by disparaging that of another man without reason. Disregard should be for specific reasons only, because the sects of other people deserve reverence for one reason or another. . . . Self-control, therefore, is meritorious, to wit, heartening to the heart of the speaker and the listener alike.’

‘For this is His Majesty’s desire, that adherents of all sects should hear much teaching and hold sound doctrine.’

In another passage the royal preacher repeats the profession of reverence for all sects, and adds that ‘nevertheless, personal adherence to one’s own creed seems to me to be the chief thing.’

Extant dedicatory inscriptions prove that Asoka gave practical effect to these liberal principles, by hewing cave-dwellings from the rock at enormous cost, and bestowing them on adherents of all sects, but mainly on those of the Buddhist sect; while, of course, hundreds of his benefactions must have passed unrecorded.
He realized the truth that his subjects could not be expected to take his preaching to heart unless he proved by acts of material beneficence that he was really, as he had claimed to be, the father of his people, the guardian of the muni'ssociations, both in his own dominions and in those of friendly powers, for the care of man and beast, which doubtless involved the establishment and endowment of hospitals. We are expressly informed that healing herbs, medicinal for the alleviation of human ills, which were wanting, were imported and distributed. In pursuance of the same policy, banyan-trees were planted to provide ample shade, groves of mango-trees were laid out to supply fruit; wells were dug at every mile on the highroads, so that pilgrims of all denominations, whether they were lacking, were imported and distributed, for the enjoyment of man and beast. But His Majesty is careful to explain his motive by the remark that 'such so-called enjoyment is a small matter. With various blessings have former kings blessed the world even as I have done, but in my case it has been done solely with the intent that men may conform to the Law of Piety,'

Asoka's buildings were designed and constructed on a scale of such magnificence that they were regarded by the men of later ages as the work of deities, led on by their divine inspiration. Although comparatively little of his architectural masterpieces has survived, the great stūpas, or brick cupolas, at Sānchi, and numerous monolithic pillars, inscribed and inscribed, which are still standing, suffice to justify his fame in as much as the immense, some of which are fifty feet high and weigh fifty tons, exhibit the stone-cutter's art in perfection, and have been polished and engraved with the utmost nicety.

It is clear that Asoka was no morose fanatic devoted, but that he succeeded in combining in the piety of a saint with the practical qualities of an able king. As a king he disputes with Akbar (q.v.) the right to the highest place of honour among the sovereigns of India; and, in the history of Buddhism, his importance is second only to that of the founder of the faith.

Asoka seems to have been followed on the throne by his grandson Dāsarattha; but hardly anything is known about his successors, in whose feeble grasp the great empire founded by Chandragupta and Asoka was in a short time and from weakness quickly crumbled to pieces. See BUDDHISM, CHANDRAGUPTA.

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VINCENT A. SMITH.

ASPIRATION may be defined generally as ardent longing. The word is sometimes used to denote worldly ambition or desire, but its proper application, as the etymology may suggest, is to desire directed upon spiritual objects, and so it finds its distinctive exercise in the spheres of ethics and religion. In each of these spheres it is a power inciting to spiritual progress, an inward impulse by which men are urged to the development of their highest nature and true ends as spiritual beings.

1. In ethics, aspiration appears as a longing for the acquisition of goods. Whatever theories may be held as to the origin of moral ideas and of the moral faculty, there is no ethical system worthy of the name that is not based on some moral ideal or conception of the highest good; and aspiration is the longing that impels to the pursuit of the ideal and of all the qualities that belong to it or tend to further it. Aspirations and ideals go together, and have a reactive influence upon each other. On the one hand, aspirations are kindled by ideals; on the other, ideals are shaped and fostered by aspiration. The moral feelings demand for their strength and purity upon the clearness and immediacy of the moral vision; while the moral vision owes much of its quick discernment to the cultivation of the moral feelings. Both vision and aspiration, on the one hand, are qualified by obedience. The gleaming vision must be pursued, the sighing of the human spirit after the attainment of its ideals must not be ignored or suppressed, else moral blindness and moral apathy will inevitably befall us. While men turn away from wrong and do what they know is right, and keep hungering and thirsting after righteousness, moral progress is the assured result.

The particular function of aspiration in the moral sphere is to mediate between vision and obedience. It is a mighty motive power by which our spiritual knowledge is utilized for the purposes of our moral activity. Without the uplifting and impelling force of aspiration, ideals would never be transformed into realities; and so it is a necessity of the moral life that men should cherish their spiritual aspirations. The voice of the imperative voice, but before its high behests can be carried out there must come some urging from the heart's desire. It is faith and hope, admiration and love—and these may all be summed up in aspiration—that enflame us to walk without fainting, to run without weariness, and even at times to mount up on eagles' wings. 'Let us learn to have noble desires,' said Schiller, 'and we shall have no need for sublime resolutions.' And what is moral aspiration but an impulse of noble desires which, having been left unattended, will grow forward, as on the bosom of a swelling tide, towards the realization of the highest moral ends?

2. But it is in religion still more than in ethics that aspiration finds its especial home and sphere, for aspiration is the outgrowth of the soul in search of complete spiritual satisfaction and bliss which, even could they be perfectly realized, would not avail to satisfy it. 'Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it rejoices in Thee' (Augustine, Conf. i. 1). Nothing but personal communion with the Divine can satisfy the innermost wants of the aspiring human spirit. It is to the experience of aspiration as a psychological fact that the origin of religion may be traced. In the visible world men saw around them on every side the tokens of change and decay, of transience and evanescence. But this sense of the perils and of the reality of all earthly things brought to light their own possession of the idea of something or some one real and permanent; and instinctively their hearts went out in dumb longing to seek the Unknown God. And this self-consciousness grew clearer in the course of man's sojourn, the contradiction between the inner life of feeling and desire, of hope and endurance, and the hostile powers of nature by which he was encompassed and opposed, would fill his soul with a still deeper longing for communion with that higher Power akin to himself by whose help he might gain the victory over the world.

The aspirations of the religious soul naturally express themselves in forms of worship. And if at first the forms in which men emboss their relations were crude, material, grotesque, and even repulsive, they testified none the less to a sincere longing after God. The blood of the sacrifice was the blood of a covenant between man and his deity; the sacrificial smoke, as it rose into the air, was a symbol of the spirit's desire
to rise heavenward; the sacrificial meal was a sacrament of fellowship between the god and his people. Moreover, as men grew in the power of spiritual conception and apprehension, their aspirations became purer, and began to find expression in visions, prophecies and revelations of the inspiring Spirit from above stoons down to raise and inform the aspirimg spirit from below, there comes the utterance of the purest spiritual desire: 'As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, 0 God.'

There is a wide difference between the aspirations of morality and those of religion. Not only is the ethical ideal an abstraction, it is an elusive abstraction. As we pursue it, it recedes before us. The horizon moves onward as we advance, and the actual and the ideal never meet. Religious aspiration, on the other hand, being a longing of the human spirit for personal communion with the Divine Spirit, is able to enjoy an immediate fruition of its object. With the dawn of religion in the soul, the restless heart of man finds rest in God. Not that there is no room in the religious life for further progress and fuller aspiration; the room for progress is infinite, and the call to it is never hushed. But progress here is not towards, but within the sphere of the infinite, and the very attempt to make additional infinities or increments, to become possessed of infinite wealth, but it is the endeavour, by the constant exercise of spiritual activity, to appropriate that infinite inheritance of which we are already in possession' (J. Caird, Phil. of Rel., 284).

Hence the life of Christian faith, in which the experience of communion with God is most fully realized, is a life of aspiration satisfied yet never sated, resting joyfully in its object and yet longing to apprehend it more fully.

LATER AVADAEN.

It became customary for every Aryan to spend a series of years (at least twelve, according to Apatamba, Dharmasattra, 1. 1. 2. 16) in the hermitage or the house of a brahmanical teacher. It became the duty to prepare his brahmanical pupils for their future vocation, and to teach those of the Ksatriya and Vaisyas castes in order to inculcate in their minds the necessary directions for all their future life. (We must remember, cf. Manu, A. 4. 1; that it became customary to give this instruction and, only thus can we understand the incomparable influence which the Brahmans gained and maintained over the Indian people.

It would seem that not only the outward apparel, but also the method of instruction, was different for the three castes; thus in Art. Ar. 3. 2. 6. 9 the rule is laid down to communicate a certain theory or operaavrastre, 'not to any one who will not himself become a teacher.' In return for this instruction the pupils had to work for the teacher in house and field; they attended to the sacred fires (Chhând. up. 4. 10. 1), they looked after the cattle of the teacher (Chhând. up. 4. 4. 5), collected for him the offerings of charitable pilgrims, and performed other duties to prepare himself for the conclusion of his studies in his house. In the leisure time left from the duties to be performed for the guru, the Veda was studied; the teacher recited it verse by verse, and the pupils had to repeat it until the whole was learned by heart. It was perhaps not so much a time of learning as a time of vigorous training, as the word ārama implies. The principal rule was strict obedience to the orders of the teacher (of which we read extravagant examples in Mokshas. 1. 83. f.). It was a period devoted to practice in self-denial and mortification. But the brahmanical system of life had the tendency to extend this ārama, or self-mortification, over the whole life of the Brahmans, and as far as possible of all the Aryas. Not all, after having finished this course of study, founded families and led a life of handcraft, and trade. They were ruled and taxed by the Kṣatriya, the kings, and those who with them had carried out the conquest of the country. But another class claimed and obtained a preponderance over both the Vaisyas and the Kṣatriyas. 'The Brahmans,' were developed into a separate order, into the regular existence, and roamed about as beggars. These last were known as saṅghajñas, 'throwing away everything,' or pariivāyako, 'vagabonds,' or simply bhikṣus, 'beggars.' It was only later that these various kinds of āramas, 'religious mortifications,' were developed into a distinct order within the whole life, the aim of which was to obtain methodi-
ally and by gradual progress which that appears
as an abrupt demand in Matt. 19. 21.
According to this later system, the life of every Brahmana (and not only of these, for the rules given in Manu, vi, seem to extend also to Ksatriyas and Vaishyas) had to pass through four ārānas, or ascetic stages. Every young had to be (1) brahmacārin in the house of a teacher; (2) gṛhaustedhi, performing the duty of founding a family; (3) a vānaprastha, a hermit in the woods, devoting himself to gradually increasing austerities; and (4) to lead a life of complete parivṛjaka, roving about without home or property, living merely on alms, free from all earthly ties, and awaiting his end, delivered even before it from all earthly attachments. How far the practice corresponded to this theory, given in Manu and other texts, we do not know; but we are free to confess that in our opinion the whole history of mankind has not much that equals the grandeur of this thought.
After this general survey let us proceed to consider the history of the ārānas in the Vedas and the post-Vedic age.

2. The Ārānas in the Veda.—In the older Upaniṣads the theory of the four ārānas is seen in course of formation. Chānd. up. 8. 15 mentions only the Brahman-student and householder, and perhaps有待者, in reward for study, the begetting of children, the practices of yoga, abstinence from doing injury, and sacrifice, a departure hence without return. Chānd. up. 2. 23. I names the tapas (of the anchorite) side by side with these as a third "branch of duty." There is still no progressive series. Rather, according to this passage, the Brahman-students, in so far as they do not elect to remain permanently in the house of the teacher, appear to have devoted themselves partly to the householder's state, partly to the life in the forest. Chānd. up. 2. 23, 8. 15 mentions the ātman in the forest and the sacrificer in the village appear side by side. Chānd. up. 2. 23. I contrasts all three branches of duty with the position of the man who "stands fast in Brahman." So too, in Brīh. up. 3. 4. 22, those who practise (1) the study of the Veda, (2) sacrifice and almsgiving, (3) penance and fasting, are contrasted with the man who has learned to know the ātman, and in consequence becomes a muni and pārśvarjīn ("pilgrim"). Both houses of this stage appear to have passed, and therefore the supreme goal. In the cognate passage Brīh. up. 3. 5., on the contrary, the brāhmaṇa is still distinguished from the muni as a higher grade. In Brīh. up. 3. 8. 10 also, the knowledge of the ātman as the highest aim is differentiated both from the sacrifices and benevolences (of the householder) and from the practices of tapas (of the anchorite).
All these passages assume only the three stages of Brahman-student, householder, and anchorite, and none find him in the tracts of the men who know the ātman. The last were originally "exalted above the (three) ārānas" (atigāromāni, as it is said in Svet. up. 6. 21, Kaivalya up. 24). This very position, however, of exaltation above the ārānas became in course of time a fourth and highest ārāna, which was naturally assigned to the end of life, so that studium, and the positions of householder and anchorite (which stood side by side), preceded it as temporary grades in this successive order. Until the post-Vedic age, however, as we find him in the tracts of the men who know the ātman, the fourth ārāna, between the vānaprastha practising tapas and the anyayāsin who has succeeded in attaining māyā, was not strictly carried out. An intimation of the fourth number of the ārānas is perhaps already afforded by the words of Maṅḍ. up. 2. 1. 7:

"Mortification, truth, the life of a Brahman, instruction." Otherwise the oldest passage which names all four ārānas in the correct order would be Jātaka up. 4: "When the period of Brahman-studentship is ended, a man becomes a householder; after he has been a householder, he becomes an ascetic; after he has become an anchorite, let him travel about on pilgrimage."

(1) The Brahmacārin.—Svētaketu was the son of (Uddālaka) Aruni. To him said his father, Svētaketu, go forth to study the Brahman, for none of our kṣatriyas and vaśyas is my dear son, is wont to remain unlearned, and a (mere) hanger-on of the Brahman order." (Chānd. up. 6. 1. 1). From this remark it seems to follow that at that time entrance upon the life of a Brahman-student, while it was a commendable custom, was not yet universally enjoined upon Brāhmans. The entrance also of Satyakāma upon studentship appears to be his voluntary determination (Chānd. up. 4. 4. 1). It was possible for a man to receive instruction from his father, as Svētaketu (Chānd. up. 5. 3.), or at the hands of other teachers, as the same Svētaketu in Chānd. up. 6. 1. 1 (contradictory to the passages just quoted). The request to be received must follow forty (śūrṣe, e. śūrṣe, Maṅḍ. up. 1. 1. 3), i.e. according to Brīh. up. 2. 7, with these forty days. The student takes the fuel in his hand as a token that he is willing to serve the teacher, and especially to maintain the sacred fires (Maṅḍ. up. 4. 19; Chānd. up. 4. 4. 5. 13. 7, 8. 1. 2. 5. 10, 6. 11. 2; Maṅḍ. up. 1. 2. 12; Praśna. up. 1. 1). Before receiving him, the teacher makes inquiry into his birth and family (Chānd. up. 4. 4. 4), but yet, as this example shows, in a very indulgent manner. Sometimes instruction is given even without formal reception (Jāmāṇyika, Chānd. up. 4. 4. 5). The period of instruction is twelve years (Chānd. up. 4. 1. 10), or a "series of years" (Chānd. up. 4. 4. 5). Svētaketu also begins to receive instruction at the age of twelve (Chānd. up. 6. 1. 2), and continues his study for twelve years. During this time he has "thoroughly studied all the Vedas" (Chānd. up. 6. 1. 2), namely, the verses of the Rigveda, the formulas of the sacrifice, and the hymns of the Sāmaveda (Chānd. up. 6. 7. 2), apparently therefore only the saṁvēdas. In other instances there is no trace of the name (Chānd. up. 6. 1. 2). In one example Upakosala has tended the sacred fires for twelve years, and yet the teacher can never make up his mind to impart to him 'the knowledge' (Chānd. up. 4. 10. 1–2). Satyakāma is sent at first with the teacher's herds of cattle into a distant country, where he remains for a succession of years (Chānd. up. 4. 4. 5). A further act of service on the part of the brahmacārin consists in his going to beg for the teacher (Chānd. up. 4. 3. 5). On festival occasions also he is sent in the train of the teacher, awaiting his commands (Brīh. up. 3. 1. 2). Together with and after these acts of service, 'in the time remaining over from work for the teacher' (yugro karma-ālāsaya, Chānd. up. 8. 15) the study of the Veda is prosecuted. The consequence was sometimes self-conscious rather than real enlightenment (Chānd. up. 6. 1. 2). We further find the students wandering from place to place; they hastened, as stated above, from all sides to famous teachers 'like waters to the thirsty' (Trīṭṭa. 13. 18). For the sake of study, the land of the Madras (on the Naphrys) 'in order to learn the sacrifice' (Brīh. up. 3. 7. 1. 3. 1). As a rule, however, they lived as antalāsaṁ in the house of the teacher, and not a few found this manner of life so congenial that they
"settled permanently in the teacher's house" (Chhānd. up. 2. 23. 1). The others were dismissed at the close of the period of studentship, with advice (Bṛh. up. 4. 2) or admonition (Bṛh. up. 4. 4). After he had studied the Vedas with him, the teacher admonishes his pupil: "Speak the truth, do your duty, forsake not the study of the Veda; after you have presented the appropriate gifts to the teacher, take care that the thread of your race be not broken" (Trīṭt. up. 1. 11). Further admonitions follow, not to neglect health and possessions, to honour father, mother, teacher, and guests, to be blameless in works and life, to honour sages, to bestow alms in the appropriate manner, and in all duties to exercise due care, according to the judgment of approved authorities.

(2) The Gṛihastha.—'He who returns home from the family of the teacher, after the prescribed study of the Veda in the time remaining over from work for the teacher, and pursues the private study of the Veda in (his own) household in a pure neighbourhood (where Brāhmans are permitted to live), trains up pious (sons and pupils), subdues all his organs in the ātman, and, besides, injures no living thing except on sacred ground (at sacrifice), he, indeed, is called this manner of life all his days, enters into the world of Brahmans and does not return again' (Chhānd. up. 8. 15). According to this passage, the householder may remain in that state all his life long without sin (Bṛh. up. 5. 10), on the contrary, for those 'who in the village worship with the words "Sacrifice and pious works are our tribute"' for those, in other words, who continue in the householder's state to the end of life, the transient reward in the moon and a return to a new earthly existence are appointed.

The most imperative duty of the householder is to establish a family and to beget a son to continue his father's works. To beget a son is considered a religious duty. In Taṅṭr. up. 1. 9 it is enjoined side by side with studying and teaching the Vedas. Frequently (Chhānd. up. 3. 17. 5, 5. 8–9; Bṛh. up. 6. 2. 13, 6. 4. 3) it is allegorically described as an act of sacrifice. In Taṅṭr. up. 1. 11 the pupil, among other admonitions, is charged to take care and maintain this duty. "The pupil is the father of his father," says: For the pupil is 'more the son than the son' (Chhānd. up. 5. 10. 1). Penance and fasting are only the means by which Brāhmans 'seek to know' the ātman (vividūṣāṇi, Bṛh. up. 4. 4. 22). According to some, tapas is indispensable as a means to the knowledge of the ātman (Maitr. up. 4. 3, Na atapakṣaṃ atuṣṭaṃ dharmam 'district'), according to others (Jābhā up. 4), it is superfluous; and this view is more in accordance with the whole system. For as long as the goal was a transcendental one, the hope might be cherished of approaching near to it by severing means of asceticism the ties that binds to this life. If, however, emancipation is the discovery of one's self as the ātman, and therefore something that only needs to be recognized as already existing, not to be brought about as though it were future, the asceticism of the svānapragnāṇa and gṛihastha is a mere theistic knowledge, the emergence of the gṛihastha's sacrifice and study of the Veda (Bṛh. up. 3. 5. 4. 4. 21). He who knows the ātman is ātigrāhānim, 'exalted above the (three) ārāmas' (Skt. up. 6. 21). He has attained that which the ascetic only aspires after. Work of this nature is the ascetic's, or svānapragnāṇa's, or gṛihastha's, according to his individuality and from all that pertains to it, as family, possessions, and the world (Bṛh. up. 3. 5. 4. 4. 22). He is called svānyāsī, because he 'casts off everything from himself' (sva-maḥ); parivīra, parivīryākha, because he 'wanders about' homeless; and bhikṣū, because without possessions he lives only as a 'beggar.'

(4) The Svānyāsī (parivīryāka, bhikṣū).—The svānyāśa, which is originally only the "abandonment" of the entire brahmanical mode of life in the three ārāmas, assumed in course of time the position of a fourth and highest ārāma, which, as a rule, though not necessarily, would first be entered upon towards the close of life after passing through the stages of bhramachārīn, gṛihastha, and svānapragnāṇa. It thus, however, gained a further meaning. If it was originally (as a natural consequence of the knowledge of the ātman it became a final and most efficacious by which it was hoped to attain that knowledge. The svānyāśa, accordingly, is represented as such knowledge of the ātman and to emancipate in a series of later Upanisads, of which the most important are Brhadā, Svānyāsā, Arunya, Kaṇṭhikārṇī, Paranāhūṣūṇa, Jābhā,
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Aśrama. We find in them a full account, with numerous contradictions in details, of the preliminary conditions imposed upon the sānyāsin, of his departure from life, of his dress and equipment, of his food, place of abode, and occupations.*

3. The Aśramas in post-Vedic time.—Although the Upanishads teach that every man, Śūdra as well as Brāhmaṇa, after the ascertainment of the knowledge of which, whether originating in an Ārya or a Śūdra, would lead to emancipation, yet the Brāhmaṇas were too much under the influence of old traditions to put this doctrine into practice, and thus the Śūdras were, and are, looked down on from the highest religious community with the Āryas. So much the greater was their care for the spiritual welfare of the three superior castes, and the four āśramas became the via salutis through which every twice-born man (deva) had to pass, i.e. every Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya, in order to reach the highest goal. As in Vedic times, so also in the later period of Indian life, it was the rule that every twice-born man had to become first a brahmachārin. In this stage he lived in the house of a teacher, persisted in the fulfilment of the Āśrama duties, and on this account, received, through the study of the Veda, the intellectual stamp for all his future life. He then, as gṛhastha, had to marry, to beget offspring, and to fulfill the duties of teaching and learning; sacrifice he performed in his house or temple, or others, giving alms and receiving presents; besides this there were five daily observances incumbent upon him: to satisfy the gods by sacrificing, the Bṛis by studying the Veda, the fathers by offering funeral oblations, men by almsgiving, and animals by feeding birds, antelopes, and other denizens of the forest. Afterwards he passed to the state of vānaprastha as it is described in Manu, xi. 2, and Mahāb. xii. 245. 4: ‘When the householder sees his skin wrinkled and his hair white and the sons of his sons, then he has to retire to the forest,’ in order to extinguish in himself, by austeritys gradually augmented, all the remnants of worldly attachments. ‘In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter, if he dwells in wet clothes, the Veda gradually increasing the rigour of his austeritys’ (Manu, 6. 23). Further, ‘after having purified himself in the three social stages from all stain of sin, let him wander towards the highest goal with undaunted courage, a brahmachārin.‘

In this stage of svānyāsin, ‘one who has abandoned everything,’ he roamed about without home (parivṛtajāta), and lived merely on alms (bhikṣa). At a period of life when, according to our thought, aid from others is more than ever needed, the aged man was left to himself without any care or attendance: ‘let him flee from society as from a serpent, from comfort as from a hell, and from women as from a corpse’ (Mahāb. xii. 246. 13); ‘let him not look forward to death, let him not look forward to life, let him await his time as the servant awaits a command’ (nīdisāna, which is the better reading both in Mahāb. xii. 246. 15, and in Manu, vii. 45).

We subjoin a few more verses on the state of the svānyāsin from the sixth book of Manu. ‘Let him put down his foot purified by his sight, let him drink water purified by (sitting with) a cloth, his drink itself purified by truth, let him keep his heart pure’ (60). ‘Let him patiently endure what words, let him not insult anybody, and let him not become anybody’s enemy [by the sin of anger (māsā)].’ ‘by the sin of (perishable) begetting any angry man let him not return show anger, let him be gentle when he is cursed, let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scathing, according to the four gates of the (neighborhood).’ (61).

by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and divination, nor by the authority of the Vedas, or of the Sūtras, let him ever seek to obtain alms’ (60). ‘Let him not (in order to beg) approach a house crowned with hermits, with Brāhmaṇas, brāhins, and Vaiśyas;[ for] his dress, and his nails, and beard being clipped, carrying an alms-bowl, a staff, and a water-pot, yet he continually wanders about, controlling himself and not hurting the creatures (62); ‘let him not beg once (a day), let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms), let him make a shallow approach to a person himself attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments’ (63). ‘When no smoke ascends from the kitchen, when the pestle lies motionless on the grindstone, when the embalming has been completed, when the cows have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed, let the ascetic always go to bed’ (66). ‘Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains something, let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, free from metal and other impediments’ (68). ‘By eating little, and by standing and sitting in solitude, let him restrain his senses, if they are attracted by sensual objects’ (69). ‘By the restraint of desires he should destroy, not only the destruction of flesh and hatred, and by the abstinence from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality’ (60). ‘In order to preserve living creatures, let him always by day and by night, even with pain to his body, walk, carefully scanning the ground’ (69). ‘When by the disposition (of his heart) he becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death’ (60).‘

For further information about the four āśramas we must refer the reader to the detailed treatment of them in Manu, bks. ii.–vi., and to the parallel literature, the Dharmasūtras. See also Ascbticism, pp. 243–246. Of special interest also is the short description, Mahāb. xii. 191–192, which, being in prose, may have been inserted from an old Dharmasūtra.

If it is true that the highest aim of mankind is not to be found in this worldly existence, but in the realm beyond, however closed to our knowledge this may be, it is none the less true that the attempt, as we have it in the four āśramas, to transform the whole earthly existence into a preparatory school for eternity, merits recognition and admiration even from those who have reached the highest degree of civilization. The Indian system does not demand what is impossible; it does not tear men away roughly and abruptly from that attachment to the world which is innate in them. It offers the opportunity in the stage of gṛhastha to enjoy life, and by enjoying it to convince oneself of its futility. It then, in an advanced age, in the stage of vānaprastha, tends to a systematic mortification of sensuality, and it describes in the next stage the gradual withdrawing of the practitioner from the world, the end of his days, has become free from all worldly fetters, and is best prepared for departure. What we say of so many precepts of the Gospels we may say also of the four āśramas: although they are by no means mutually exclusive, and follow one after another, yet they may serve in a certain sense as a pattern, since the way of thinking manifested in them may in other forms and modifications be precious for every age.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given throughout the article. See also Ascbticism (Hindu), Upanisads.

ASSAM.—1. Religious history.—There is no part of India which is more interesting in some respects to the student of Hinduism than the Assam valley. As everyone knows, Hinduism professes to be a race religion, the religion of the inhabitants of Bhārat-varṣa, of the Hindu people. Yet, since the origin of the Hindu religion is Vedic, and the Vedas were the collected hymns of the so-called ‘Āryan’ immigrants, the two hundred millions of people now calling themselves Hindus must, in part at least, and probably in large part, be the descendants of races who were converted to, or more properly adopted into, Hinduism. Indeed, the later developments that have sprung from Vedic, thorsh-ship must be due in great measure to the influence of aboriginal

*SBE xxv., 207–213.

See Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte d. Philosophie, i. 3, pp. 90–93.
beliefs on the simple nature-worship of the Aryan invaders. That was essentially democratic in its natural denigration of the intellectual aristocracy of priests, philosophers, and the highly cultivated warrior chiefs who played so important a part in the development of Hinduism, must have been due to conquest, at once physical and moral, of the lower by higher races. Yet in more parts of India the tension and the struggle are so distant that all memory of them is lost. The Dravidian of the South and the Bengali of the East alike believe that they were always Hindoos. The higher castes and classes, it is true, have dim traditions of a time when their ancestors, fairer and slimmer and lighter in figure than the aborigines, migrated from North-Western India. But the lower castes have no such traditions, and no curiosity as to how their distant ancestors came to be accepted into the Hindu community. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this rule. On the whole, however, it is only the ethnologist who can conjecture from the physical aspect of the various races of India that they were once non-Hindus and spoke some non-Aryan language. But in the Assam valley the geography and the geology and the historic causes, which will presently be stated as briefly as possible, the process by which aboriginal tribes are accepted into the Hindu fraternity is seen in actual operation at the present time, and, by analogy and in some cases by actual historic indications, the process can be traced back from some two thousand years. In the Assam valley we are on the border-land of the Hindu faith, and see the most tolerant and receptive of creeds in contact with the beliefs of Indo-Chinese races. It is singularly interesting to note how alien blood and alien civilizations are quietly assimilated by the slow, gentle, and irresistible force of Hindu ideas.

In the earliest times of which we have any knowledge, what we now call the Assam valley was the nucleus and centre of the great independent kingdom of Kamarpura (q.v.), a name which still survives as that of the modern District of Kamrup, whose capital, now Gauhati (or Guňhati), was then famous all over India as Prajayottishpur, the 'Capital of Eastern astrology.' This kingdom appears to have extended from the Brahmaputra river to the Siang and the valley of the Brahmaputra river, but also the whole of Eastern Bengal down to the sea, and in addition (a thing even more difficult of belief for the modern traveller) the rugged and narrow Sibitor, or Indus, valley, between the Salings and Haman was apparently in the Bhutanese hills that the kings of Kamarpura obtained their store of mineral wealth, and especially of copper. They were powerful monarchs, cultivated, warlike, and enterprising. Each dynasty, as it arose into power, attracted the attention of the Brahmins, and, by one or other of the fictions common to early law and early religion in all countries, was adopted into Hinduism. It was, indeed, by common consent, at Prajayottishpur that there came into being the Tantrik form of Hinduism, that form which gives special prominence to the female energy of the deity, his active nature being personified in his Lakši, or 'wife.' Devi, the Lakši of Siva, is the energy chiefly identified with the mystery of sex and magical powers, which are the leading topics of the Tantras, the scriptures (though, of course, not the sole scriptures) of this form of Hinduism. On the Nilachal hill, a beautiful wooded eminence near the town of Gauhati, still stands the temple of Kamakha Devi, one of the forms of the Lakši of Siva. The legend that explains the ancient sanctity of Kamarpura and of Kåmgirı (the religious name of the Nilachal hill) is as follows:

Såi, the first wife of the god Siva, died of sorrow at the discomfiture she saw on her hand by his body, which was licenced by the interruption of his famous sacrifice of burn-offering. (It may be worth mentioning, as a picturesque circumstance, that the weekly feast of the Brahmins of the Himal and Aka hills catch fire in the dry winter season, and on the 12th and the 28th days of each month, by the falling of rain on the sacred peak of the Kåmgiradev Hill, which is approached by a long ascent, a flood of weeping and wailing is heard by all who approach it. The people to this day assert that the far-off glare of the sky is caused by the reviving ashes of Daksa's interrupted sacrifice, and are satisfied with the glowing tales of accidents so far away and in such distances, the people to this day assert that the far-off glare of the sky is caused by the reviving ashes of Daksa's interrupted sacrifice, and are satisfied with the glowing tales of accidents so far away and in such distances. Daksa's interrupted sacrifice, and are satisfied with the glowing tales of accidents so far away and in such distances.

As the legend sufficiently indicates, the princes and upper classes of the kingdom of Kåmaru were Hindus, probably spoke some Indo-European dialect derived from Sanskrit, and were accepted as of Indian race. But the bulk of the people were not the least of many of whom Hinduism is an addition, and who do not now, Hindus. It is interesting, and not without more than ethnological interest, to indicate briefly what they were.

In the greater part of India, except in the extreme North-West, the people have a strong infusion of Dravidian blood. In the South they speak what are known as Dravidian languages, and the South Indian races of the delta are apparently akin to African peoples. In the North-East the Dravidian blood is mingled with, and especially Indo-Chinese, infusion of recent origin (assam valley and others). Brahman and astrologers resemble their Bengal neighbours, and the Donna, a large fisherman caste, are plainly of Western origin. But the bulk of the people there are evidently people of ancient stock, intermixed to some extent with blood, and their physical appearance is of the 'Mongolian' type, bearing more or less, the characteristic aspect of the yellow races. They have themselves (with the exception of the Ahoms) no record, historical or traditional, of their advent into Assam. But the languages they speak are some close to the successive invasions of Indo-Chinese folk from the north-east and the south-east of the valley. The oldest Indo-Chinese language spoken in Assam belong to the Mon-Khmer sub-family, which has recently been named by Schmidt of Vienna the 'Austri' family of languages. Schmidt claims that it extends from the north of the Mekong river to the north of the Brahmaputra river, the edge of the Mekong itself, and his History of Indian Languages (1864) enumerates the primitive inhabitants of Assam, under the name of Samoda, who was ruling in Upper Burmah in A.D. 105, and also that of Hindus who led the Tchamphans or Shan in their conquests of the maritime Mekong in the 14th century. As Gait says, must have passed through Assam, as, probably, did the Hindus from Kambôd, in N.W. India, who founded and gave its name to the Cambodian kingdom in Indo-China. It is possible that Mon-Khmer peoples invaded and gave there language temporarily to much of North-Eastern India, as well as to parts of Burma. But the only Mon-Khmer tongue surviving in Assam is that of the Khais, now inhabiting and giving their name to the mountains between Kamrup and Sylhet. These interesting people remained independent until they came under British rule, and have not even now come under Hindu influence. They are of the same stock as the Khams of the Basques in the Pyrenees. Elsewhere the Mon-Khmer language of Assam, whether the dialect of the Mon-Khmer speaking Mantches in the north, or the dialects of the Bung, or the dialects of the Bung, have become completely assimilated, and can no longer be distinguished.

The next wave of Indo-Chinese invasion is represented by the various peoples who speak the Thoto-Tibetan languages, of which Assam has three main groups of dialects. The first of them is Nagi, spoken in and to the east of the Ngà hills. The second is the Ñir-Chin, spoken by the Mon-Khmer of Cachar, and the third, the Central, by the interesting race known as the Miiks, who now inhabit an outlying bastion of the Khais hills jutting into the Assan again. The people here are good painters, as yet hardly at all come into contact with Hinduism, and, as the Khais, retain their own caste and religious system. The most ancient and most important group is that now (since Brian Hodgson's celebrated investigations into their language and genealogy) known as Dalai, or the people of Dalai, the Bung of the Northern Assam; the Dimasas, who live in the hills between Tovong and Chiar; the Géros and Tijeras, inhabitors of the coast of the Assam, and all plains-folk known as Lians and Râbías; and (if they really
belong to the Bodo race) the Chutiyas of Lakhimpur and the great Mijil island in the Brahmaputra. It is possible that the people now speak Bodo languages were all of common origin. But the wide-spread survival of this group of words suggests the possibility of a more general influence. It is possible that some of the ancient Bodo languages were still spoken in recent centuries, and that the imposition of any caste restrictions, the assimilation of race was complete. It is impossible to find any ethnological difference that would suggest any significant differences between modern Bodo languages, except in so far as those who live in the plains among the Bodo people have adopted a tutee to the same extent as have the Chutiyas. But they live in a very slight degree, of 'Aryan' blood. The Koch race in Bengal has become completely Hinduised, has adopted the Bengali language, and is practising multiform, to which modern converts from other Bodo races are still admitted. The Khyenas, once a Bodo ruling race in Northern Bengal, have already been totally identified. But the Mechus and the Chakrachis, though some of these regions, are still physically, linguistically and culturally living as Bodoes, to the extent that are still visible, not far from Balpuris at the foot of the Arik hills. The Akas, whose chiefs now, on occasions of state, wear costumes evidently borrowed from Tibetan Buddhists, are said to claim descent from Bhallukas. It is certain that many too are a remnant of the race driven into the hills, was once more or less Hinduised, and may yet be accepted into the Hindu fold.

But there are many such legends, all, or nearly all, relating to powerful Assa monarchs. One of the most famous of these was Naraka Asura, son of the Earth, who is said, in the Mahabharata and Vishnu Purana, to have carried off the fairings of Aditi (the mother and daughter of Daksh, above described) to his impregnable castle of Prayagisvara, where Kryna, at the request of gods, went and killed him and recovered the jewels. In the Harivamasa the same story is told in a slightly different form. Naraka's son and successor was Bhagadatta, who not only was frequently mentioned in Assamese tradition, but at least was mentioned of him in the Parcen of the Epic, the tale is told of how Arjuna attacked Bhagadatta and compelled him to pay tribute. Subsequently, it is related that the prince was driven out with his mother and an assistant of Duryodhan in the last struggle between the Kauravas and Pandavas in Western India.

Those who are interested in the legendary period of Assamese history will find a full account of it in Gait's History of Asam. In the first half of the 7th century, we at last get a glimpse of authentic history from the famous Chinese traveller Huien Tsang, who visited Kumar Bhaskara Varman, then king of Kamarupas. Asam was not then, or apparently at any time, a Buddhist country. The king and the upper classes were the inhabitants of Hindus, the humble folk were not yet recognized as Hindus at all. This, in the end, was perhaps an advantage, as we shall see when we come to more modern developments of Assamese Hinduism.

From the 7th to the 12th century, the sole knowledge of the country is derived from inscriptions on copper plates, most of them discovered by Gait, which were records of grants of land made to various individuals or classes. These documents list contains titles of kings, and enable the historian to settle a few dates at rare intervals. When the Ahoms entered the Brahmaputra valley in 1252, the old kingdom of Kamarupa had been the birthplace of much of modern Assam. But the introduction of Assam proper may be said to begin. The Ahoms were Shans who descended into the valley over the Patkai pass from Upper Burma. M. Terrien de Lacsouperie, the eminent authority on this subject, says that the Shans are the outcome of an intermarrying of Mons, Negritos, and Chinese. They were a manly and hardy race, and (an unusual thing in the East) possessed the historic instinct very strongly. Their bu-ran-jis (the word is one of the very few Shan words in the Assamese languages) are chronicles comparable for accuracy of detail and picturesque of presentation with those of any country, and from this time on we have a systematic account of the rise, decay, and fall of the Ahom rule, which resulted finally in British supremacy in Assam. The name Assam was successfully invented by the Ahoms, and the Ahom language was assimilated to the country.

The religious history of the Ahoms (g.r.) closely resembles that of previous rulers of the country. They, like their predecessors, finally established themselves at Pragjyotishpur (which gradually came to be called Guahati) and at several towns and palaces in Upper Assam. The kings and their Ahom subjects intermarried with their predecessors in the country,
and became, as zealous Hindus, defenders of the famous shrine of the Tantrik goddess Kamākṣā. But the bulk of the quiet, innocent, and cheerful Hindus of Assam, not Tantrik Tamils, were, like the followers of Chaitanya in Bengal, Vaiṣṇavas, and hold a creed which is manifestly tinged by Buddhist influences. Their faith is that of the Bhāgovata, enthusiastic worshipers of the Indo-Chinese races that invaded the country, the Father of his creations, as accessible to prayer, as having been incarnate in human form, and as one who loves humanity. The soul is regarded as eternal, and extinction or absorption is not considered as possible or desirable. Rather is it the opinion of the Vaiṣṇava that, in order to incarnate himself, and make his devotees, the bhakti, or ‘devotion,’ and prayer, fellowship with and ultimate approach to the presence of the divinity (see Bhakti-Margā).

2. Sāktism.—(a) Historical aspect.—This new religion, to which the majority of the converts to Hinduism from the humber races and classes now belong, came into being at a time when the Assam valley was divided between the Koch kings of the West and the Ahom kings who were establishing their dominion in the East. One of the greatest of the present state in Assam was killed in 1584 after a rule of nearly fifty years. In his time the Koch power reached its zenith, chiefly owing to the warlike ability and energy of his brother, the celebrated commander Silārā. Nara Narāyana himself, lessee of the Koch, a studious and industrious, who greatly encouraged the spread of the Hindu religion. Like all the rulers of Assam, he was himself a Sākt (a worshipper of the Sīttī of Sīva), and he rebuilt the temple of Kamākṣā Devī, which had been destroyed by Mahārāja of Bengal. He ordered many Brahman priests from Bengal to conduct the religious ceremonies at the temple, and, to this day, the paravattī gusain (‘mountain priest’) who is the chief priest at Kamākṣā, is a Bengali from the great seat of Bengal religious and culture at Nudd. The temple contains two stone figures which are said to represent Nara Narāyana himself and his warrior brother Silārā (or Sukhadiya). What Sāktism then was (and what still is in principle) may be judged from the ceremonies conducted at the opening of the temple: the whole ceremony cannot do better than quote from Gait’s History.

‘At this time Sāktism was the predominant form of Hinduism in this part of India. Its adherents base their observations on the Tantras, sects of religious works that are the basis of various ceremonies, prayers, and incantations prescribed in a dialogue between Sīva and his wife Pārvati. The fundamental belief is that the female principle is the source of all power and nature as manifested by personified desire. It is a religion of bloody sacrifices from which even human beings were not exempt. In the Kālīka Purāṇa it is stated that a man without blemish is the most acceptable sacrifice that can be offered, and the manner in which the victim is to be dealt with is laid down in great detail. When the new temple of Kamākṣā was opened, the occasion was celebrated by the immolation of no less than a hundred and forty men, whose heads were offered to the goddess on saivers made of copper. Accord- ing to a description of the ceremony given in a paper called Bhogā, who were voluntary victims. From the time when they announced that the goddess had called them, they were instructed to do what they were allowed to do whatever they liked, and every woman was at their command; but when the annual festival came round, they were killed. Maryhill’s copy in the British Museum is a Tyā office, and in the Ain-i-Akbari the people were accused, among other practices, of disfiguring by the examination of a child out of the womb of the pregnant woman and the consequent termination of her full term of months. The religious ceremonies of the sect were elaborately described in a paper entitled ‘On licentious orgies too disgusting to be even hinted at’ (p. 56).

It may be noticed as a historical fact, that the Sāktism of Kamākṣā was the religion in turn of dynasty after dynasty of decadent monarchs, each promulgated from a state of semi-savage conduct by adoption into Hinduism. It may be, on the one hand, that something of savage brutality and lust were imported into the cult by association with primitive beliefs. Certain it is that all the royal families, whether of the Brahmaputra valley or of the adjacent Surrā valley, sent to the shrine their adherents to all the excesses and abuses that go with panic-stricken cruelty. It is a fact, too, that life in the soft, enervating, and malarious climate of Assam invariably produced physical and moral decay in the fine and finely-bred Indo-Chinese races that invaded the country. When the British took possession of Assam, the Burmese were in occupation of the valley, and were belying their Buddhist creed by cruelties probably unequalled in savagery in any part of the world. Had they established their rule in the Brahmaputra valley, and thereby, there can be little doubt that they, too, would have come under the influence of environment, and that their race would have become enmasseled by commixture with the degenerate plains-people. Certainly the Tantrik religion of Kamākṣā was one of inconceivable cruelty and degradation. Before going on to describe how in the 16th cent. a reformation of the utmost importance and interest altered the whole aspect and application of Hinduism in Assam, it may be well to state briefly what the Sāktism of the Brahmaputra valley is known to be.

(b) Sāktism at the present time.—The modern manifestations of the cult of the generative and reproductive forces of Nature are undoubtedly less brutal and more humane, and the influence of Hinduism in the Brahmaputra valley is known to be.

4. The Sāktism of Assam contains, a larger foreign population in proportion to its total numbers than any other Indian province, have effected a real change in the tenets, perhaps, and certainly in the manners of Sāktā. Sāktism in Assam, and the Hinduism of the Brahmaputra valley, the scriptures of the sect, a religion of blind terror, of uncontrolled excesses, of the terrible mystery of birth and death. The root-idea seems to be that Nature creates only to destroy; that she creates only to be destroyed. The doctrine begotten only because it is foredoomed to early destruction. The Sāktist can indeed say of his Kamākṣā, or of some other form of the generative powers of boon nature, that, like the Lucretian Venus,

‘per te quomiam genus omnem animant
Concipilur, vitae aurum luna solet.’

He can, indeed, take pleasure in the recurring marvel of love. But behind seems to lurk a morbid sense that life and death go hand in hand, or rather that one is the shadow of the other. The Venus of the Nilachal hill is Mistress of Life, and Love, and Death, it is inferred that weak mortals, her children, can do her service by loving, by begetting, by slaying. This sentiment is very widely, if obscurely, present in the minds of Hindus in Assam even the redoubtable Tantrik priest Navin Chandra Sen, the most eminent of living Bengal men of letters, the sense of the mingled horror and rapture of Sākti-worship is expressed in a way that no mere description by a foreigner could convey. The novel contains, incidentally, a graphic account of the appalling cyclone and tidal wave which swept over the district of Chittagong in
October 1897. The whole description is a vivid reminder of the fact that this remote corner of Bengal was once part of the vanished kingdom of Kamarupa, and still preserves its ancient attitude towards the inscrutable mysteries of our common existence.

The tale opens with a singularly beautiful and poetical description of the Kuttapong coast in late autumn, of the blue sea flecked with foam as the water of a lake reflects the setting sun. The gentle billows rise and fall, the sky overhead, the yellow sands shining in the happy brightness of morning sunshine, and behind them the rich gold of ripening rice fields. The dense green foliage of which the brown-roofed cottages of the peasants are nestled to the north. The sacred peak of Chandra-shekhar, crowned with the gleam of the white temple of the goddess, and to the south lies the rocky island shrine of the local Venus at Mashiak, an Indian Cyprus on a small scale.

The annual festival at Nilachal on old time, human sacrifices were offered to the goddess of Life and Death. The people are happy in the expectation of a plentiful harvest. They are preparing the simple presents with which they rejoice the hearts of their relatives and children; their minds are filled with gratitude for safety, and prosperity, and sufficient food. But the goddess is bent on warning her creatures that death is her function as well as life, and love, and happiness. On the feast day of the goddess, the people gather. The folk are quietly sleeping, the great wind blows suddenly with visible warning, and, catching up the rising tide, plucks it in a charming indescribable destruction over the sleeping coast, involving all—happy houses, men, women, and children, ripening fields, the bodies of prey, and the sacred animals, even the birds of the air—in one common holocaust. The goddess has exacted her own sacrifice, since men no longer offer another. The chapter is significantly headed 'Rarna-Kirttra,' the 'Field of Battle.'

And this, be it noticed, is not a description written by a fanatic priest. Naivin Chandra Sen is an English scholar, and an administrator who rose high in the British service. He has ceased to be an ardent student of English literature, and, as his poetical works show, is deeply interested in the study of religion. But the warp and woof of the devotional texture of his mind is made up of the ancient conceptions which gave the Brahmins of Bengal a long supremacy in the religious atmosphere of the Eastern, and the kingdom of Kamarupa its old reputation for magic, sorcery, and divination. It is still a land of spells and charms; and mystic formulas, rightly used, still have power to bless and curse, to draw on fellow-mortals the smile or frown of the unseen deity. There is no logica basis in all this, because, by a quaint fancy, that is the period during which Mother Earth, obscurely identified with the goddess, is unclean. Conversely, the great river Brahmaputra, which flows under the shrine, is, for reasons mythological and other, ceremonially impure throughout the year, except on the annual bathing-festival of the Asokasamta, when ablation in his waters becomes as cleansing as bathing in Mother Ganges herself.

In the Report on the Census of Assam, taken in 1891, Gait writes as follows:—

Their religious ceremonies (i.e., those of the Śāktas of Eastern Bengal and Assam) have frequently been the subject of adverse criticism. Robinson says* that some of the formulas used at the festival in honour of Kali relate to things that can never become the subject of description, and that "the most enterprising of the pretentious priests of Kali are likely to exhibit which it is scarcely possible to suppose the human mind could be capable of devising." I am not aware on what authority he formulates this pretentiousness that the formulas are supported by other writers, and have not, so far as I know, been contradicted. It is well known that dancing girls are never supposed in the least to be engaged in the worship of Kali, which makes the objection very weak. The main objection is founded on the and of the idea that a great deal of licentiousness is permitted under the guise of religion. Here Gait refers his readers to the account of Sankar-devi by Monier Williams in his Religious Life and Thought in India.

The five essentials for worship are the five Ma/taras, or 'five M's'; namely, Madya, wine; Matyas, fish; Madra, 'packed grain and myrrh'; and Maha/bhata, 'the indulgence of sex.' B. C. Allen has a similar account of modern Śāktism in the Assam Census Report for 1901.

Before quitting the subject of Tantrik worship in Assam, it is only right to warn the reader that descriptions of the cult of the goddess are too extensive to be given. Few enthusiasts must not be accepted as a fair account of either the religious beliefs or the ethics of the great bulk of Assamese Śāktas. Like most Eastern Indians, and especially those who have an infusion of the Western Chida-Śakti, these are a mild, contented, and smiling race, little given to excesses of any kind, good sons, husbands, and fathers, and, so far as the long experience of those Europeans who have lived among them shows, not more addicted to grossly superstitious practices than the bulk of humanity. Religion with them, as with most races, is left in its more esoteric forms to priests, experts, devotees, and enthusiasts. There are a few dancing girls at the Kâmâyā temple, it is true, and it is to be feared that these are devoted to the perversely logical extremes of a creed of panic terror, and morbid exaggeration of the facts of sense. But there is no part of India where womanly virtue and modesty are more valued and more consistently practised than in Assam, which in this respect compares very favourably with the neighbouring Bengal. widowhood and prostitution is rife. In truth, the Śākti-worship of Kâmâyā can hardly be considered as belonging to Assam in any proper sense. It is the creed, so far as it is Assamite at all, of the upper classes, a few of whom are by way of being the better class. There can be no doubt that, except at the temple itself, it has been purified by contact with the true national religion of the country, the reformed Vaishnavism, to which it is a pleasure and a relief to turn.

3. The Vaisnavism of Assam.—(a) The historical aspect of Assamese Vaišnava-worship.—When the Koch king Narā Nāriyāna (1529—1554) ruled in Western Assam, and the Ahom king Chuhumung, whose Hindu name was Swarga Nāriyāna (1497—1509), ruled over the eastern part of the Brahmaputra valley, the great social and religious reform initiated in Bengal by Chaitanya spread to Assam, and became the foundation of what is still the popular and prevalent form of Hinduism in the country.

In still earlier times, when the Ahoms entered the Brahmaputra valley, they were still under the sway of the goddess, who were known as the Bāra Bhujuś, and these claimed to be descendants of Sānadora, the minister of an ancient and still anonymous ruler of Assam kingdom. Sānadora and his son were on the throne on the expulsion of Arimatā's son Reina Singh. Reina and his son Kismat were both powerful men, who learned in the Brahmanic sciences and con amore, by his own real name, and in whose house was born the revered Sheikhul Musālik, who then ruled in Central Assam, and the powerful Chātiliya monarch whose capital was at Sādyā, near the north-eastern frontier. Ultimately, however, they fell victims to the usual law of decay to which all Assamese dynasties have been subject, and were subdued by the rising Ahom power. As in so many other cases, this semi-royal family became reconciled to the common lot of Assamese humanity, and, save for some lingering pride of race and some intellectual aspirations, were absorbed, as far as we can learn, by the mass of the people. One of Sānadora's descendants, named Rajā, settled at Bardowa in Central Assam, and his son Kishore was the father of the great religious reformer Sankar-deva.

This is one of two versions given by Gait of the origin of the first of the reformers of Assam. The other story does not differ in material points from that which has been summarized above. It,
too, describes Sankara Deva as the descendant of famous chiefs, but speaks of these as the wardens of the northern marches.

It is said of Sankara that he early recognized the crude and cruel practices of the Life and Death, and was puzzled by the anomalies of the Śākta religion, obvious enough to modern students, if they present few difficulties to simple races surrounded not only by hampshire but by the frequently hostile and always terrible and incomprehensible force of a land without sunshine, and of an earth subject to earthquake and storm. Sankara’s fate was cast in a happier and more peaceable time, when there was an equilibrium of forces. For instance, who quarrelled with his teaching the Koch and the Ahom, and when men had leisure to think of the possibility that human beings might conceivably live at peace together, and that the religious world might not be torn by a schism.

He spent twelve years in Bengal, chiefly, it is supposed, at Nuoda, where he learned the religious ideas of a greater than himself, the famous Bhaktivinoda. He lived, like the Bhagavad Gita his scripture, and Kṛṣṇa, the heroic incarnations of the cult, in his time. He is one of the most eminent of the many teachers, both before and after Chaitanya, of the Bhagavata religion, which in some of its forms so closely resembles the teachings of Christianity that it has been supposed by some that the doctrine of bhakti, or personal adoration of a divine Father, was borrowed from the Thomsane Christianis of Southern India (see BRHAT-SARA). Sankara, at all events, abused priests, idols, and castes, and taught that all the priestly books and the caste of Saktas, and all the immortal souls, and capable of being freed from sin and sorrow by beseeching these prayers to their loving Father. He at first strove to propagate his ideas, his earnest desire to finds converts affords another parallel with Christianity — in the Ahom domination. But the Ahom kings were under the domination of the people they ruled, and Sankara was compelled to take refuge at Barpeta, in the kingdom of the idol and enlightened Koch king Rana Nārāyana. It is said that the kings had many interviews with him and even proposed to become his disciple. But Sankara, with characteristic modesty, refused the honour.

This story may be recorded in a concise and picturesque form the fact that the Vaisnavas of Assam never tried, as their Brahman predecessors had done, to win over the ruling classes. Their ‘kingdom,’ if the expression may be used without irreverence, ‘was not of this world,’ and they were content to influence the ordinary classes, races and classes, those which orthodox Hinduism had, with some vague memory of the old ‘Āryan’ exclusiveness, regarded as Mlecchas and barbarians. It is said by modern followers of Sankara that he had studied the Bhagavad Gita, before he proceeded to Bengal, with Hari Deva and Dāmodar Deva, subsequently to be themselves founders of minor Vaiṣṇava sects. It is possible that there was at this period a widely spread wave of religious inquiry and a silent revolution against the physical. This is said to be the cause of the Saktas, at least a curious coincidence that, when Luther and other reformers were rebelling against the abuses of Roman doctrine and discipline, a precisely similar movement should have produced Hari Deva in Bengal, and Kṛṣṇa Deva in Orissa, Chaitanya in Bengal, and Sankara in Assam.

Sankara is said to have lived to great old age, and to have died in the year 1669. He was succeeded by his favourite disciple Madhava, a Kāyastha like himself. Among those who still follow the teaching of Sankara, are the Nārāyana, who with even greater reverence than Sankara himself, and the sect is commonly known as the Māhāpurüṣyas, the followers of the ‘Great Man’ or Teacher, i.e. Madhava. But there were some who, on the other hand, united with Sankara’s system in the influence of old-time ideas, and resented the founding of a hierarchy of Kāyasthas as religious guides. Several Brāhmañc disciples preceded and founded sects of their own. The most important of these Brāhmañc disciples were Dāmodar Deva, Hari Deva, and Kṛṣṇa Deva, who founded numerous chattras, or centres of religious instruction. The most important and interesting of these are the institutions, not wholly unlike Buddhist monasteries, at Aunāli, Dakhināpi, Guranur, and Kurukshetra — all in the remarkable Majuli island, perhaps the longest river-island in the world, which lies in the Brahmaputra, between the modern Districts of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur. There is little Sāktism now except in Kāmarūt Lāuri; and that of the Vaiṣṇavas in Lower Assam is mainly Mahāpurūṣya. No great change has taken place, including Nowgong, east of the Kalang, is inhabited mainly by followers of the Bāmiynyas guṇais.

But even in Upper Assam the Brāhmañc did not in early times exercise an unquestioned sway. There was one Aniruddha, a Koliya or writer by profession, who quarrelled with Sankara, Deva, and founded the Moamāria sect, which played an important part in subsequent political events, and is known to all students of Assamese history as the origin of the famous Moamāria rebellion. It is said that the rulers of Assam first contumeliously given by the Brāhmañc to the low-caste followers of Aniruddha, who lived by a fresh-water lagoon which abounded in the coarse fish known as moa. His disciples were known as ‘killers of moa fish.’ They became ‘fishers of men’ to considerable purpose in later times, and furnished a hard nut for the Ahom rulers of Assam to crack.

For a time the Mahāpurūṣyas and Bāmiynyas between them practically ousted Sāktism from Assam. Its restoration was due to the pride of the famous Ahom king Sukhrungphula, better known by his Hindu name of Rudra Singh (1600—1714). He wished to adopt Hinduism, and was too proud to accept the saren, the oath and formula of orthodoxy, from a subject. He imported one Kṛṣṇārāma Bhūtācharya from Nuddea, and made him parvatia gusain, the high priest of the mountain-temple of Kāmikā. Kṛṣṇārāma was a Sākt, and the Court and its dependants adopted his form of Hinduism. The new gusain’s priestly arrogance was at last shown when Rudra Singh, who had been educated by his son, Suneypolah or Lakhśa Singh. Kṛṣṇārāma refused to recognize the young king, on the ground of illegitimacy. Laksuri Singh accordingly imported another Sākt priest from Bengal, who was the founder of the family of the Na Gaisain, the ‘New Priests,’ as the Parvatia Guaisins are the heads of the Nāi Gaisins, who together with them form the nucleus of Sāktism in Assam. There are, however, a few representatives still of the old indigenous Sāktism of the Assam valley, who, though they may be a savage race, are known by the title of Māyakī Mura, the ‘Dareheads.’ Gaif believes that Sāktism has more vital force than Vaiṣṇavism. ‘Many Vaiṣṇavas,’ he says, ‘are attracted by the more realistic worship of the Śaktas, and offer sacrifices at Kāmikā, despite the remonstrances of their spiritual guides.’ In truth, Vaiṣṇavism, as practised by its humbler converts, is but a stage removed from the animistic cred of the aboriginal races of Assam. It involves chiefly the giving up of good roast pork and rice-beer — luxuries to which the castes that have Indo-Chinese blood in their veins are much addicted. Sāktism, on the other hand, puts little check on sensual gratification, if it is always possible for enthusiasts of either sex to regard themselves as incarnations of the male or female form of the deity, and so to please divinity by pleasing themselves.

(b) Vaiṣṇavism at the present time.—It remains to say a word as to the Vaiṣṇavas as they now are. Laymen are under the supervision of the Vaiṣṇavins of one chattr or another, to whom they have taken the vow of obedience. They are visited from time to time by bhaktas, or disciples of the chattras, who exact the doles or fines by which the community is maintained. They are mostly simple and innocent enough folk, not much given to religious or critical speculation. Their
rustic existence is so uneventful and uncharacterized that a very plain and uncomplicated theory of moral and material existence suffices. The Mahāpūraṣāyas never regard Sankara and Mādhava as avatāras, or incarnations of Viṣṇu, though neither of them claimed this presentation in his lifetime, and would, indeed, have regarded such an assumption of divine honours with horror. The way to salvation among them is founded on the performance of deeds and the devout pronouncing of the name of Hari. Worship is carried out by the performances of sankirtan, the enthusiastic singing of hymns accompanied by much beating of drums (dhol) and clashing of cymbals (aṭṭā). Additionally, the incarnation of Dot Avatār, of Viṣṇu are believed in. Caste prejudices, though theoretically opposed to the tenets of the sect, were not wholly destroyed by Mādhava himself, and are slowly but surely reasserting themselves, perhaps under the influence of the adjacent Sāktism. The Mahāpūraṣāyas do not, however, recognize caste so fully as the sects that have Brāhmaṇ leaders. The Kālū Bhakats, the monks or recluseś who live in the precincts of the chotāras, are celebrants, ascetics, and wholly ignore caste, as being of the nature of worldly distinctions. In each chotāra, there is an image of Viṣṇu, but this is said by the Kālūs to be a mere concession to the idolatrous weaknesses of the common people. They themselves do not pay any reverence to the idol, and are careful to respect objects near the image. The Bhāgavān Gīta, with, no doubt, in the case of the better read among them, a leaning towards pantheism.

The Mahāpūraṣāyas eat the flesh of wild animals, such as deer, and also all feathered game. They do not eat domesticated animals or birds. It would be worth mentioning that the Assamese word for 'deer' is pakhu, the local pronunciation of the Sanskrit pāku. The deer is, in fact, 'the animal.' The Mahāpūraṣāyas do not kill with the knife or pelt, as most Indians do, but kill only animals to death. Their principal scriptures are a Kirtan and a Doṣār attributed to Sankar Deva, and a Nānakñose and Rattukālī that have been composed by Mādhava. The Kirtan and Nānakñose are anthologies from different purāṇas. The Bhāgavān Gīta is the only work of the chotāra lineage. The Bhāgavān Gīta. The Mahāpūraṣāyas refuse to eat with the Dāmodāriyas, but, curiously enough, intermarriage with them is not unknown. The Dāmodāriyas worship the idol of Kṛṣṇa, and they regard Gopāl Deva as an incarnation of that god. Refusing the spiritual leadership of Śūdras, they refuse, necessarily, to recognize the claims to honours of Sankar and Mādhava. In other respects there is little difference between their tenets and habits and those of the Mahāpūraṣāyas. Though they are careful for Brāhmaṇical supremacy, they are, strange to say, less strict in diet than the Mahāpūraṣāyas, and eat the flesh of goats, pigeons, ducks, etc., following in that respect the example of their Brāhmaṇ teachers. Nor are they so particular as Śūdra caste in matters of personal cleanliness.

The followers of Hari Deva regard their leader as an emanation of Kṛṣṇa, but do not on that account deny that Sankar was also an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Among them prevails the practice of the bhakat-seva, which permits their Brāhmaṇ leaders to accept indiscriminately all offerings made to them by their jajāmnas, or disciples. Hari Deva himself was an enthusiastic admirer of Sankar and Mādhava, but in modern times the tendency of the sect is to regard himself as a rather not to identify themselves with the Dāmodāriyas.

Finally, a few words must be said as to the followers of Gopāl Deva. Gopāl was a disciple of Sankar, who quarrelled with his leader, and started a chātra of his own. But it is said that the misunderstanding did not wholly destroy the liking and respect for one another, and it is difficult at the present day to see much difference between the beliefs and practices of the followers of Gopāl Deva and the Mahāpūraṣāyas. The former hold a much more formal festival in honour of their founder, but in other respects are much of the same as members of the rival sect.

4. Methods of conversion.—The most important method of conversion to Hinduism in Assam, but these were always reserved for ruling princes and powerful tribes, and were only conceded to converts"; that described by Gaity as 'conversion by fiction.' As he says (Genses of Assam, 1891, p. 83):

'The Brāhmaṇa ingratiate themselves with the head of the house, discover that he is a Hindu of unexceptionable antecedents, whose ancestors have for some reason thought fit to conceal their identity, and present him with a brand new genealogy, in which his descent is traced back to some god in the Hindu pantheon or some potestate in Hindu mythology. Thus the Koch kings are said to be descended from Siva, who, assuming the form of Baria Mandali, had intercourse with his wife, who was no other than an incarnation of Parvati. While a divine origin for the king was thus furnished, the rest of the family were not forgotten. It was explained that the Kachari kings were Kṣatriyas who fled eastwards to escape the wrath of Parasurāma, and had remained there ever since, disguised as brahmanes and Kuki-Chins. The Kacharis, however, were similarly converted, and, after their ancestry had been satisfactorily traced back, the two classes were placed (about 1700 A.D.) in the body of a large copper image of a cow, and were thence produced to an admiring people as an original Hindu convert. At the same time the claim of that part of the country were also admitted to be of Kṛṣṇa origin, and were allowed to assume the sacred thread on declaring their adherence to the sect of the Brāhmaṇ. Thus the Brāhmaṇa and the Kachari both professed the conversion of the Manipurias (or Meitei, the Kuki-Chin race inhabiting the Impāl valley) happened in precisely the same way. Arjuna was alleged to have been the founder of the royal family, while the masses of the people, like the Kacharis, were admitted to be Kṛṣṇa's converts. The Kuki-Chin are of the opinion that Kuki on conversion is at liberty to describe himself accordingly and to assume the sacred thread. For the Ahoms, Indra was selected as the mythical progenitor of the kings, but no special origin as such has been assigned to the common people, so that an Ahom on conversion takes as low a place in the Hindu caste system, in his own estimation, as he does in that of orthodox Hindus.'

Here Gaity adds an interesting note to the effect that Indra also enters into the traditions of the Mon-Assam races of Burna and the Far East. The Ahoms and the Vaishnavas of Assam state that the Kuki-Chin have been admitted into Buddhist mythology (Languages of Farther India, p. 41). It is just possible that the Ahom kings brought the tradition of their heavenly descent with them from Burna, and did not obtain it from their priestly attendants.

The fictional system of conversion had its advantages. It admitted whole races at a time into Hinduism. But it involved important concessions, which the Brāhmaṇas were not likely to make unless they could receive some compensation in return. Converts who belong to tribes for which a high ancestry has already been invented, continue to claim admittance to their reputed caste—generally, of course, a high one. But nowadays conversion is sporadic as confined to humble folk, and such people are kept much lower footing than the kings, warriors, and invading races of old time. Sometimes they change their tribal name and enter a caste specially reserved for them. Sometimes they even become Hindu without changing the title of their priests.

In the Assam valley the Koch caste is usually allotted to converts—a circumstance not without interest when it is considered that Koch was originally the name of a race whose members, in Northern and Eastern Bengal, changed their name to Rajghatia. The name has been adopted Hinduism. The true Bodos of the Kachari Dwars usually enter this caste, while their highland
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consins, the Di-ma-iisi, as already related, have been raised to Katriya rank. But even the name of Kachir cannot be assumed all at once. A Kachir, for instance, begins by being under the protection of a gujiri and taking the oath of obedience, or sarav. He is then called a Saraniya. At this stage he still eats pigs and fowls, and continues to drink beer and, less frequently, distillates. Next he (or rather his descendant) becomes a Modahi, which implies the renunciation of alcohol. By slow degrees the annual yearning for unholy food and drink diminishes or disappears, and, having become a ceremonially pure Hindu, the aforesaid Kachir is said of his race. It seemed natural that he should invest his savings in a polygamous union, and he was at some pains to convince his missionary that he could find nothing in the New Testament to prevent a layman from being the husband of two wives. It was, of course, impossible for his pastor to accept his view of the case, but he married a Kachir girl en secondes lois, and himself in due course became a Hindu Kachir.

At the present time the ferment of political agitation which is stirring in Bengal has spread, to some extent, to the educated classes in the Assam valley. The movement is largely a Hindu movement, and, until the fervent Sakti of Mātā, or mother, to whom the Bande Mataram hymn is addressed. This hymn is usually interpreted as an invocation of the mother-land; and, in one sense, it undoubtedly has this meaning. It is possible to make the trouble for this context in the well-known novel of Amaudha Math, from which the hymn is taken, will have any difficulty in convincing himself that the invocation has also an esoteric sense, and implies the adoration of a female divinity, who is, more or less disguised, the Sakti of the old cult of the vanished kingdom of Pragjyotishpur. The neo-Saktis who, in Bengal and Assam at least, head the new 'national' movement towards autonomy and independence of British rule, boldly claim, on the one hand the intellectual ability, an equality with European races, and, on the other, have exhibited a marked desire to be admitted to the amenities of European society. They themselves confess that the social and political progress of Japan has given the hint for this new ambition. It will be a matter of much interest to see how the followers of the more esoteric and, according to European ideas, less pure and elevating form of Hindu belief will be able so to transmute their social system and ideals as to obtain admission into the fraternity of modern Europe. Of the intellectual ability of the Arvo-Dravidian upper classes of Bengal and Assam, the heirs of the ancient civilization of Kāmarūpā, there can be no doubt. That most of them are good citizens and excellent in their dealings with one another is equally undoubted. For it may be that traces of hemp, rather than the society depicted, for instance, in the tales of Apulcins—a society which nevertheless retained something of the administrative instincts of Republican Rome. It would be unwise to dogmatize or prophesy in a matter whose solution must depend partly on the good sense of the Buddhists. It would be unfair to remind the political reformers of Assam that the shrine of Venus Kamakāśa still draws its throngs of worshippers and furnishes revenue to priests who are much as were the priests of Venus Kāma in China, when the theocratic station of Gahāri was the proud and famous capital of Pragjotsishpur, an early English account of which may be read in the travels of Ralph Fitch, who visited the country of Couch, or Quichen, as he calls it, when Nara Narayana still ruled the diminished remains of the old kingdom of Kāmarūpā.

Sec, further, separate artt. on ĀHOMS, Bodos, Khasis, Lushais, Manipurs, Mikhes, Nágás.

For an account of the Muhammadanism of Assam see King and Assam and Assam, and for the Buddhists see BUDDHISM (in Burma and Assam).


J. D. ANDERSON.

ASSASSINS.—I. Names.—'Assassins' was a name given, mainly by European writers, to a community properly called Ta'limītātes (Instructionists) or Isāmītātes ('followers of Hashan Sa'īlî'), forming a branch of the Bhūtātātes (Bhuta-Tattvātātes) of the Inner Meaning'), Ismā'īlīs ('adherents of Ismā'īl b. Jāfar as-Sādiq'), or Sab'Itātes (Hepadtātes), and sometimes confused with the Bābītes or Hurmizdtātes and Qarnātātes (q.v.). For the origin of the name Assasin (spelt in base-Latin documents asasini, asiassini, asassini, hassassanti, heissessin, etc.) many improbable conjectures were offered till it was finally identified by de Sacy (Mém. de l'Institut, iv. 44) with the Arabic hashšāshīn or hoshshiyā, 'drinkers of hashshāsh' (an extract of one or two hundred years or occasioning properties, with which there is reason to believe that the members of the sect were at times drugged). The story, however, to that effect which is told by Marco Polo (3rd ed., Yule, i. 139), though parallel with some Eastern narratives (see von Hammer, Minus de l'Orient, iv. 555), can only be regarded as a romance. The name hashšāshīn with its synonym has as yet been found in very few Arabic authors, and applied to the Syrian branch of the sect; and seems to have been a term of abuse, given to it by its enemies, who associated deceit with the habit of drinking this liquor (ZDMG xx. 591).

2. Tenets. The tenets of the community are very imperfectly known, partly owing to the rarity of MSS. emanating from it, and partly because their doctines were essentially esoteric, and communicated in their entirety to very few persons. It is, however, certain that the system of the Ismā'īlīs was a conflation of philosophic pantheism, emanating from India, with the formulas of Islam. The development of the doctrine until the process was facilitated, and which won them the name Bābītes, was that every text of the Qur'ān had a hidden meaning, which was to be followed

* De Sacy's references we may add Mufid al-ulūm (Cairo, 1819, p. 50), where hashšāsh is said to be the food of the Muḥibādat (the name by which the sect is known to its enemies).
to the exclusion of the literal sense. The name Sab'ītes is ordinarily interchanged with Shī'ites, as implying that the former recognized only seven imāms, whereas most of the Shī'ites recognized twelve; the seventh being that Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, who was supposed to have died before his father (who therefore left the imāmate to another son Māsā'). Or others may hold that he pretended to have imbibed some mis-\textit{t} from the Shī'ites. 

Since the some soul of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, who was 

the first imām, was the leader, or retain his title to the imāmate and handed it over to his son Muhammad, a real or pretended descendant of whom afterwards asceticism and 

debasing activities of the sect. Some of the matter given by Mirkond is derived from a work by the celebrated Nizām al-Mulk, vizier of the Seljuks, who was well acquainted with Ismā'īlī doctrines and mabinations. The most elaborate account as yet discovered is that in the chronicle \textit{Jami' at-Tawāris} (ed. "Melis, Or. 1654"). This is told in the form of a dialogue between him and Sabah, a certain Muslim who had a knowledge of the doctrine. The statements of this work and others bearing on the same subject, have been submitted to searching criticism by W. C. Brown (A Literary History of Persia, ii. 190 ff.), who has disposed of certain familiar myths, which need no longer be repeated. According to this, his father's house was Khalīf, but he had migrated to Qum, where Hasan was born; both originally belonged to the Shī'ite sect of Twelve, but the son was converted to the sect of Seven through the influence of a missioner named Amir Darrā'ī, and some of the famous preachers and travellers Najjār and Khūrāsānī. These missionaries, societies founded by whom had already honeycombed Persia, were agents of the so-called Fāṭimī Khālīfahs of Egypt, at whose court ambition which had failed to secure the ascetic and antiformal fanaticism of the Ismā'īli sect, was now in control of Baghdad, naturally sought compensation. The myth to which reference has been made assigns Hasan a motive of this sort, which is not mentioned in the source.

About the year 472 A. H. (A.D. 1080) Ḥasan went to the court of the Egyptian Khalīfah Mustaṣṣir, and studied the doctrines of the community which he had joined. But he did not stay more than two years in Egypt, having espoused the cause of the Khalīfah's elder son, who was murdered by his father to succeed him, but was later displaced in favour of another son. Ḥasan Sab'āh maintained that the expressed resolve of an imām was unalterable. He obtained, however, some sort of certificate as Ismā'īlian missionary, and introduced his doctrine to Persia, already playing that part in Persia, whither he returned in 1081; and a writer on religions in 1083 at the court of Ghaznī already mentions Ḥasan Sab'āh as a successful preacher of Bātinism in Khurāsān, with a library of his own (Schefer, p. ed. 1901).

According to Ibn Ṭabīr (ed. Tornbery, vol. x. p. 213), the Ismā'īlian revival with which Ḥasan proceeded to associate himself about this time began at Sāwā, where eighteen men met to perform worship in the style peculiar to the sect. Thereafter the centre of the movement.-472 A. H., and the first assassination took place, the victim being a \textit{mii'adhdhin} (\textit{caller to prayer}), whom they had vainly endeavoured to convert to their doctrines, and had murdered when they feared he might betray them to the local authorities. The vizier Nīṣābūrī al-Mulk ordered a carpenter who was suspected of the murder to be executed with great brutality, and thereby exposed himself to the vengeance of the sect. Since Ḥasan Sab'āh's conduct is said to have been dictated by dissatisfaction and ambition, and the desire to be master of Persia, the vizier's orders must, with the occasion for his conversion; but the order of events is not quite certain. What is clear is that the sect was highly unpopular with the orthodox, though the skill of the missionaries caused it to spread in secret; and that the sectarians quickly felt the need of a stronghold in which they could be safe from persecution. The first fortress seized was one near Ḵa'īn between Isfahān and Šībār (see C. E. Yates, \textit{Khurāsān and Seistan}, 1900, p. 62). That of Ḵa'īn, which fell into the hands of Hasan, was on a small rocky island, covered with a solitary rock, about 300 yards long from E. to W., very narrow, not 20 yards wide at the top; about 200 feet high everywhere save to the W., where it may be 100" (JEGS viii. 431; cf. ill. 15). Ḥasan gave his vizier Ḵa'īl Malik Juwainī the right to inspect the fortress before his occupation of it, and the vizier thence extracted a brief history of the community, which he afterwards inserted in his chronicle called \textit{Jahān-Kushī,} tr. by De-}

\textit{\footnote{When the Qur'ān says Jesus had no father, the meaning is that he received instruction from no trustworthy teacher: when it says that he raised the dead, it signifies that he brought knowledge to dead understandings.}}

\textit{\footnote{Rather more interesting is their gloss on the Qur'ānic name of al-Sab'ā. They supposed the names mentioned. These names they supposed to stand for the first two Khalīfahs, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who kept the first imām, 'Ali, out of his rights. With regard to the existence of God they maintained a sceptical attitude, so far at least as ‘existence’ might be regarded as an attribute; for their public symbol was at times ‘we believe in the God of Muhammad.’ In their cosmogony the world of mind was said to have first come into existence; the world of soul followed, and then the material world. The latter was due to the victim being a \textit{mii'adhdhin} (\textit{caller to prayer}), whom they had vainly endeavoured to convert to their doctrines, and had murdered when they feared he might betray them to the local authorities. The vizier Nīṣābūrī al-Mulk ordered a carpenter who was suspected of the murder to be executed with great brutality, and thereby exposed himself to the vengeance of the sect. Since Ḥasan Sab'āh’s conduct is said to have been dictated by dissatisfaction and ambition, and the desire to be master of Persia, the vizier’s orders must, with the occasion for his conversion; but the order of events is not quite certain. What is clear is that the sect was highly unpopular with the orthodox, though the skill of the missionaries caused it to spread in secret; and that the sectarians quickly felt the need of a stronghold in which they could be safe from persecution. The first fortress seized was one near Ḵa'īn between Isfahān and Šībār (see C. E. Yates, \textit{Khurāsān and Seistan}, 1900, p. 62). That of Ḵa'īn, which fell into the hands of Hasan, was on a small rocky island, covered with a solitary rock, about 300 yards long from E. to W., very narrow, not 20 yards wide at the top; about 200 feet high everywhere save to the W., where it may be 100" (JEGS viii. 431; cf. ill. 15). Ḥasan gave his vizier Ḵa'īl Malik Juwainī the right to inspect the fortress before his occupation of it, and the vizier thence extracted a brief history of the community, which he afterwards inserted in his chronicle called \textit{Jahān-Kushī,} tr. by De-}}
is said to have purchased it for 300 pieces of gold from an 'Aliid who happened to be governor, and on whom Hasan imposed by professional asceticism and piety; and he probably obtained authority among the Isma'ilians by persuading them to use the Khilaf, whom they acknowledged as their chief. Hasan caused the land surrounding his fortress to be carefully cultivated, and this may have led to the legend which associated with it gardens of delight that could serve as a counterpart of the Islamic Paradise.

Like other founders of dynasties in the East, Hasan was a preacher and controversialist. Works by him* or by his colleagues, embodying Bâ'itite doctrines, excited sufficient attention to evoke replies from the foremost theologian of the time, al-Ghazâli, who wrote a work dedicated to the Khalif Musta'qil (487-512 A.H.), whose reign coincided with Hasan's tenure of Alumit. A second tract written by him in answer to the 'Instructionists', called 'The Just Balance (al-Qâdîs al-Musta'qil)', was published in Cairo, 1900. It is in the form of a dialogue between Ghazâli and a member of the sect. The latter maintains the doctrine of a hidden instructor, who can see all that is going on in the world, on the authority of his mother, 'and our master the late Alumit', as well as a work entitled Dâmmân lÎsâfâhîn, and the inhabitants of the fortresses. The treatise is occupied mainly with an account of the forms of the syllogism and the logical fallacies, and an attempt to show that there is no need for an infallible instructor. The book must have been written before 515 A.H., when its author died. The writings of Hasan were burned by one of his successors; but some of them were current in the time of Shâhristânî, who in his work on Sots and Schools, ed. Careton, p. 151 A.D. (1049 A.H.), copied some excerpts from others translated from Persian into Arabic. The purpose of this treatise appears to have been to deprecate the independence of the reason, and prove that for knowledge of God (which with this sect was equivalent to salvation) recourse must be had to a divinely-authorized teacher, whence the sect are sometimes called at-tâ 'Enmîyâ, or 'Instructionists'.

Undoubtedly his purpose was completely to ensnare the mind of his disciples, who may even have been brought by their assiduous preaching and the fascination of the sect. Assasination was from the commencement of Islam a common way of dealing with enemies, Hasan Salâh appears to have systematized the process in a manner previously unknown. A doctrine which is ascribed to the Isma'ilians by a late writer, but which may well have been taught also by Hasan Salâh, was that the soul is imprisoned in the body for the purpose of executing in all points the orders of the imâm. If the soul quits the body while fulfilling its duty of obedience, it is delivered and transported to the regions of the upper lights; whereas, if it disobeys, it falls into darkness (Quatrémè, Mines de l'Orîent, iv. 363).

One class of disciples, called Filûdîs, were ready at all times to assassinate those whom the head of the sect marked out for death; and in accordance with the doctrine described they were instructed in the art of their own lives readily in making such attempts. Nevertheless these persons received a special training qualifying them for such missions; they were taught foreign languages and the ceremonies of war, and it is said that they were instructed in a variety of disguises. Hence the assassins dispatched by the 'Old Man of the Mountain,' in order to win the confidence of their destined victims, would play a part for a series of months, or even years. The terror certainly felt by those whom a certain sect is called by Muhammad al-Makûl, Malik Shâh, 'the book killed with' (Alî Yâr al-Hasanâh, ed. Amezoa, p. 139).

Hasan Salâh could strike from his fortress and was enabled to extend his possessions and make terms with various rulers. In the second year of his residence at Alamut he struck down Nigel al-Mulk, khalif, short of his hand, and the Sultan Malik al-Mulk, his chief, who, after the death of his master, was killed by his own nephew as governor of Khurásân. During the war between Bakşîyârûq and his brother Muîlamad, numerous fortresses were acquired by the chiefs of the sect, mainly in the region called Kûhistan. The knowledge of the existence of this society, and that many persons in high posts at the Seljûk courts were their secret adherents, caused terrible anxiety and dissatisfaction. Whether wished to retain the tenures him of belonging to the Isma'ilian sect; delations multiplied; suspicion hovered over every one' (D'Ollason, Histoire des Mongoles, iii. 159). The Sultan Bakşîyârûq, son of Malik Shâh, was himself accused of favouring the Assassins, and was compelled to raid their country, without, however, achieving any important results.

Not long after the acquisition of Alamut by Hasan Salâh, the Assassins became strong in Syria also. Whether these Syrian Isma'ilians at the time of their first recognized the authority of the 'Old Man of the Mountain' is not certain; a detailed account of their history is given by Quatrémère, to which something is added by Defrémery in J.A., 1854, 1855. Ten years after the seizure of Alamut, we hear of the Isma'ilians establishing themselves at Aleppo; and for a time they enjoyed the almost unconcealed favour of the Seljûk prince of that place, Ridwân, who is thought to have employed their services in getting rid of his enemy Yahşî ad-Daula, prince of Emeâ's (a.d. 1100). The names of their leaders at this time are given by G. H. of the authors of the history of the Assassins, by the name of Alûb Bakrî and his chief, Abû Tahtî al-Salîq (Abû Yâ'âta l-Hasanâh, p. 149). Through the machinations of the latter, in 1106 they obtained possession of Apamea, whence, however, they were ever driven by the Franks. Ridwân's successor, Alû Arslân, the Dumb, urged on by the Persian Seljûks, organized a massacre of the Isma'ilians in 1113; yet their numbers and power kept increasing, and in 1126, through the efforts of their agent Ibnâbrî and his influence with Zahîr ad-Dîn 'Atabâk, they got the better of the Seljûks; but however, they were driven in 1129 owing to a massacre of their adherents in Damascus. In 1140 they acquired a highly important stronghold, Masyûf or Masyâf, and in the second half of the 12th cent. they were in possession of ten or eleven fortresses. Lists of the persons of eminence whom they killed have been made out by many writers. These were sometimes persecutors of the sect, but not infrequently the head of the community took pay from some foreign prince to strike down an enemy. In 1148 one of their number killed the Frankish count of Tripoli, in consequence of which the Templars invaded their territory and compelled them to pay tribute. On 29th April, 1192, an ensign of the 'Old Man of the Mountain' killed Conrad of Montferrat, signor of Tyre and titular king of Jerusalem; different accounts make the 'Old Man of the Mountain'—or rather Rashîd ad-Din, at this time independent head of the Syrian Assassins, resident in the fortress of Kabî—despatch the Assassins at the instigation of the Khalif, and at the same time, the Assassins in this case were disengaged as monks. The ability with which the Isma'ilian chiefs could execute assassinations caused them to receive commissions for such acts from both Eastern and Western princes, including the Byzantine emperors. And much of the business was ascribed to them which were innocent.
ASSASSINS

The throne founded by Hasan Sabah was occupied by seven successors—Buzurg Umîd (518–532 A.H.), his son Muhammad (532–557), his son Hasan (557–560), and his grandson by marriage Al-Salih Arslân Sabah (Hasan's adoptive son; 560–618), his son Al-Salih Arslân Bâbars (618–654), and Al-Salih Arslân Bâbars was taken by the Mongol leader Hálagh, and the fortresses of the Assassins in Persia were stormed one after another. This last date corresponds with A.D. 1256. In Syria the power of the Isma'ilians continued somewhat longer, and as late as 1265 presents are said to have been sent by various European monarchs; but the ruler of Egypt, which, after the fall of Baghdad, became the head of the Isma'ilian order and succeeded in regaining possession of their fortresses, all of which were occupied by the Egyptian Sultan Baibars in 1273. Baibars, however, continued to favour the sect, and to make use of members of it when he required assassins; and a curious treaty is mentioned between his general Qâlûhân and Margaret of Tyre, in which the Egyptian undertakes that no servants of his with the exception of Assassins shall molest her. At times they were able to regain possession of their fortresses, and in 1326 held as many as five. Many of the later Mamlûk Sultans counted themselves among the admirers of Al-Mamûn, and they were in reality the heirs of Nizâr. It is not too much to say that the Isma'ilians were at one time the depositaries of the religious spirit of Syria.

On the other hand, the Isma'ilians have been called by Browne, Literary History of Persia, II, 190, 'Assassins, or those of the sect founded by Hasan Sabah, whose followers, who were called the Isma'ilians, were still represented in India by a community called Khôjâs, who trace their origin to the mission of an Assassin named Șadr ad-Dîn, who some centuries ago made converts among the Hindu trading classes in Upper Sind. Col. Yule in his edition of Marco Polo (3rd ed., i. 140) gives the following statement that the sect multiplied considerably in Sind, Kachch, and Gujarât, whence they spread to Bombay and Zauzíbar. Their numbers in Western India were then probably not less than 50,000–60,000. Sir W. Hunter (Gazetteer of India, 3rd ed., i. 52) adds that they are especially numerous in the Peninsula of Kathiawâr. They have also established trading colonies along the East coast of Africa. The leader of the main body of the Khôjâ community was then the Persian prince Aghâ 'Ali Shâh, whose predecessor, the well-known Aghâ Khâkh, who lived as a resident of Bombay, left behind him many legacies. He was the troubadour who wrote the ballad said to have been written by Aghâ Khâkh. In the 19th century, the troubles that drove him from Persia. About this person some further details are given by Yule in the passage quoted. Having raised a revolt in Kirmân, he fled from Persia to Sind in 1849. He had been imbued with Isma'ilian teachings and had been educated in a religious community called Khôjâs, who trace their origin to the mission of an Assassin named Șadr ad-Dîn, who some centuries ago made converts among the Hindu trading classes in Upper Sind. Col. Yule in his edition of Marco Polo (3rd ed., i. 140) gives the following statement that the sect multiplied considerably in Sind, Kachch, and Gujarât, whence they spread to Bombay and Zauzíbar. 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ASSIMILATION (Psychological).—The term 'assimilation' in psychology represents a form of union or combination between presentations or presentational elements, but its precise application has been variously interpreted.

(1) In its general use, referring to a phase of the apprehensive process, a presentation is 'assimilated' when it is taken up into, and becomes an effective moment in, the total consciousness present at the time of its arrival. No new presentation is available either for memory or for knowledge or for practical application, until when it has been thus brought into connexion with other elements of consciousness, and with the general forms and tendencies of conscious movement which constitute for psychology the 'self.'

(2) Historically, the first usage of the term was the converse of the above: many of the Scholastics spoke of knowledge as taking place by assimilation of the knower to the thing known, after the Greek principle (ἐγκαταστάσις τοῦ  ἔμνου τοῦ ὑμνου): so Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Suarez, and others.

(3) In modern psychology, 'assimilation' is applied to a form of association (q.v.), namely, simultaneous partial association, the features of which are (a) that it takes place between elements or parts of presentations, not between individual or independent presentations, as in ordinary association by contiguity; (b) that the two (or more) elements which enter into the association are simultaneously given in consciousness, although one is usually a 'sensation' (i.e. peripherally excited), the other necessarily a 'representation' (i.e. centrally excited); (c) that they cannot be separated or distinguished by direct analysis, thus corresponding to the 'inseparable association' of English psychology.

Instances are the union of colour and form in visual perceptions, of tone-quality and distance in the perceptions of sound, of tactual quality and 'hardness' or 'softness,' 'smoothness' or 'roughness,' in the perceptions of touch.

(4) More definitely, 'assimilation' is applied to the synthesis of similar elements or elements of similar quality, and is contrasted with 'complication,' a synthesis of presentations of diverse quality and diversity.

(5) On this view, of which Höffding and Ward are the chief exponents, an assimilative process is of the essence of perception. In its simplest form, perception is recognition (or direct cognition), i.e. the awareness of an impression, or group of impressions, as familiar, as already experienced, without any added idea or image of the previous presentation arising in the mind. The impression may have been new, not associated with an added quality or colouring, by which it is distinguishable from a wholly new impression. This added character or mark Höffding calls the 'Einkongenheitseigenschaft,' the 'quality of known-ness.' It has been explained by Külp through (a) the wave theory of similarity and power with which the known excites other ideas, and (b) the peculiar mood or feeling which the known arouses, as contrasted with the unknown or unfamiliar. Both of these features, however, are common to other forms of repeated consciousness; they illustrate the law of practice, according to which all function, and especially nervous function, 'is made easier by repetition and practice.' A more important feature in Höffding's theory is that recognition or perception involves an assimilation between two elements, either the reproducing impression (a) and the reproduction or revival of the earlier impressions (a₁, a₂, etc.), the whole being symbolized by

\[ a + a = a \]

(a) a is not, however, an explicit or free idea, but an 'implicate (gebunden) representation'—a tied idea. But according to Ward there is no revival of earlier impressions: 'We have to do now with the retentiveness of a waxen tablet but with the plasticity of a growing structure. The inchoate beginning, so far from being reproduced, is obliterated and superseded by the supervening detail; and even when the acquisition is complete, the perfect identity of the new with the old forbids us to talk of memory of ideas.'

Thus (i.) assimilation is the process underlying all acquired perception, as distinct from sensory impression on the one hand, and the organized sensations, or perceptions, which seem to form the stimulus of instinctive behaviour on the other. (ii.) It is a product of mental activity (through interest, intention, action by way of trial and error, etc.) in which past experience is correlated with the present situation. But (iii.) this influence is not mediated by distinct images or free ideas, which are a later product. (iv.) It marks a distinct step in mental growth, and is correlated with a special degenerational nervous system (the cerebral hemispheres).

(v.) Individual development, phylogeny (the evolution of the nervous system in animals, and pari passu of the forms of animal behaviour) and mental pathology (cortical or sensory, psychic or 'soul,' and verbal blindness, etc.), support the view that sensation, perception and assimilation, free ideas, and association are both distinct in their psychical nature and origin, and have as their 'basis' distinct physical functions and structures.


L. L. E. M'CINTYRE.

ASSIMILATION (Religious).—All development, that is growth, must proceed by means of assimilation. That is to say, religion, if it is to grow, must assimilate whatever is good and true in general culture (Tiele, Elements, i., 242), or, if that is too wide a statement, then we may say it

'Mind, N.S. iii. 592.'
must appropriate whatever conduces to its growth—
all that makes its creed clearer and deeper' (ib. 290); it may appropriates, and this is true, because, not merely ‘imitate or adopt it’ (ib. 297). What is thus appropriated will in the process be transformed to some extent, for it is ‘assimilated’ to religion or to the form of religion into which it is taken up. Of course, it can only be transformed to the extent to which it is assimilated. Thus it takes up from the environment something good and true, and assimilates it, will be affected by what it takes up; it will be brought into accord with the civilization from which it has appropriated the good or true idea; it will be different from what it has left behind, but it has developed or grown. But, in thus growing by means of assimilation, it must remain true to its type, it ‘must form, maintain, and vindicate its own character’ (ib. 242). It will also maintain and vindicate its own character shedding dead leaves, throwing off waste tissue. And the matter thus thrown off is not matter which ought never to have been taken up, but matter which—useless and even dangerous as it now is, cumbering the ground on which it is found—was once, when first taken up, a living element in the growth of religion. In now rejecting conceptions or formulae which are dead, and being dead are injurious to continued growth and life, we are neither denying that they once were essential nor condemning the past generation with whom they originated. We are simply submitting to the test of time and the discipline of their use. If it is true, if the progress of assimilation is the continued metamorphosis which they enjoyed and exercised, the same right to grow in the same way as they—by shedding dead leaves and putting forth fresh ones.

Thus far we have illustrated the meaning of ‘assimilation’ by reference to ideas which a religion appropriates from its cultural environment; and such ideas, though they may, at the time when they were taken up, have represented the highest scientific or philosophic knowledge of the day, may with the advance of knowledge cease to occupy that position; they may become dead leaves on the tree of knowledge, and if so, then religion, too, must shed them—or share decay with them. But a religion in the course of its history may—and if it is to grow, must—come into conflict with other religions and convert men from their old form of religion to the new. In such a case the converts cannot and do not empty their minds utterly of their old religions ideas. Some form of transaction or accommodation between the old and the new is inevitable; and no religion, even the most powerful, can get in contact. Some of the old ideas are taken up by the invading religion; but they are not simply adopted as they stand; they are assimilated. And, naturally and necessarily, they are assimilated to those elements in the new religion to which they are most akin; and they strengthen those elements. Thus, if the new religion recognizes the existence of evil spirits, whether as the cause of disease or of other ills, the gods of the old religion may appear as demons in the new. Or, if the new religion recognizes saints and angels, some of the old gods may persist by a corresponding metamorphosis. And in either case the metamorphosis immensely strengthens the element which it has reinforced. But though it strengthens the particular belief by this process of assimilation, it does not necessarily transform the religion as a whole. It has absorbed it better as religion. On the contrary, the very belief which it strengthens may be one which religion, to live, must ultimately cast aside.

‘Assimilation’ is not necessarily and always beneficial to the Church. For example, the form of religion which organism may assimilate what is injurious to it.

On the other hand, what is assimilated from the old religion may be advantageous, in a greater or less degree, to the new. The habit of worshipping on stated occasions may exist in the old religion and be made the basis of another, the very core of the new. Yule and Easter testify by their names to the fact that they existed before Christianity, though they have been assimilated, and in the process of assimilation have been transformed, by the Church. Yule was thus taken up into Christianity and baptised into the truth, but it was not merely this or that outward form of worship; we have to recognize the selective assimilation and consequent consecration of many current customs and institutions and ideas’ (Hillingworth, Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 94). As an example of such ideas we may take the Logos doctrine. That idea was taken up—whether from Philo or from ‘the general intellectual atmosphere of which he was a representative product’ (ib. p. 88)—and baptised into Christianity by St. John. But it was not adopted just as it stood; ‘the new faith fashioned a new thing’ out of it (ib. p. 89), the new ‘term was, so to speak, taken out of its old associations, to be employed thenceforward as a Christian symbol’ (ib. p. 90).

At this point, the difference of opinion manifests itself as to what assimilation ‘means and implies. It may be maintained that assimilation never implies an addition to the original creed of Christianity—‘never the imposition of a new article of faith’ (Hillingworth, p. 98), but simply the ‘progressive assimilation of the religious ideas which they enjoyed and exercised, the same right to grow in the same way as they—by shedding dead leaves and putting forth fresh ones.

This view may seem to imply that the formulation of doctrine is of necessity progressive; that the process is always one of interpretation, never of misinterpretation; that the result is always to bring out what was implicit in the teaching; and that those who hold this view have the means of knowing, and the power of declaring, infallibly, what was and what was not implicit in the teaching of Christ Himself. In the absence of such power, our confidence that the process in any given case is one of interpretation and not of innovation must vary with the particular circumstances of the case. Let us illustrate this by reference to the Logos doctrine. Every one will admit that out of the Philonian doctrine the new faith fashioned a new thing; viz. the Johannine doctrine. But we ask, was this what it was not? Is it evident that there was that in the new faith which was capable of being interpreted or explained by the terms and the conceptions of the Logos doctrine. But will it be maintained that, if the Philonian doctrine had been non-existent, the Logos doctrine would never have appeared, all the same, exactly as it actually does, in the Gospel according to St. John? No one can maintain that. Had the Johannine doctrine been non-existent, no one would or could maintain that it was implicit in the teaching of Christ Himself. And had the Philonian doctrine been unknown to St. John, the Logos doctrine would not have existed in the Fourth Gospel. But the Philonian doctrine did exist; it contained some truth; and that truth was recognized, appropriated, transformed—the Johannine doctrine into the Logos doctrine. Of course, by the truth of the matter, it is not possible that the Logos doctrine was ever anything that the Johannine doctrine was not. But it was possible that the Logos doctrine was not more than what the Johannine doctrine was, and that is the exact nature of the question. To say, however, that Christian doctrine was not affected by what it assimilated, that it remained what it was, and that it is now exactly what it would have been had it never assimilated anything whatever from the environment in which it developed, is a position which no one will undertake to maintain.

Christian doctrine took over what was good and
true in the Philonian teaching; and it has grown consequently in a way in which it would not have grown otherwise. The Christian creed has grown clearer and deeper, because it had the power of appropriating and assimilating from its environment what there was good and true in that environment (ib. p. 144). But the power of assimilation, where it exists, is not always exercised; and, where exercised, is not always exercised wisely. We are not able to say either that Christianity left nothing good assimilated or that everything it did assimilate was good. Neither, therefore, can we say that everything it did assimilate was implicit in the teaching of Christ Himself. We may be justified in saying, if we will, that in Christ for us we must believe—that the growth and development of Christian doctrine, so far as it is the unfolding of what was implicit in Christ's teaching, is the work of the Holy Spirit, or of the Church following the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But it is simply not true that the Church has always, invariably, and in every respect, followed that guidance: our confidence that any given action is the result of that guidance . . . must vary with the particular circumstances of the case" (ib. p. 100).

The fact that any given action is the result of the action of the Holy Spirit is not necessary, but it is always the case that it was done under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. So far as the Church submitted to that guidance, it appropriated what was best and truest in the surrounding life and thought of its own purposes" (ib. p. 124). And that statement is as true of the present day as it is of the earliest days. But evil as well as good may be assimilated; has been, as a matter of history, assimilated; and, as a matter of fact, is being assimilated. The mere fact that a custom, institution, or idea has been assimilated does not prove that it was imported into Christ's teaching. The fact of assimilation is one to be "constated" by scientific investigation. The value of the assimilation and of its consequences is a different question, and one which should be kept distinct.

If Christianity should come to be the dominant religion in Japan, it will inevitably, in becoming so, assimilate much from Buddhism; and it may be that the resulting form of Christianity will in some respects be higher than any hitherto taken by Christianity. That is a possibility which is a possibility that one who believes in the infinite potentiality of Christianity will for one moment care to deny. But the higher form, in such case, will be a higher form of Christianity. The process will be one of assimilation. The result may be for the world that it is possible for men to make greater self-sacrifice, and to lead a more Christ-like life, than has hitherto been the case with any Christian people.

ASSOCIATION. — Association, or, the more frequently used phrase, Association of Ideas, denotes a doctrine of both philosophical and psychological import. In philosophy it is the explanatory principle of that theory of knowledge which would derive all knowledge from items of sensation. Psychologically, association denotes the doctrine which deals with the reproduction of past experience by a present object of consciousness. The so-called "Laws of Association" express the conditions under which reproduction takes place. Three such laws have been formulated and are still in current use: the English textbooks of Psychology. (a) Law of Contiguity: a present object will recall any object with which it was contiguous in space or time, e.g. the sight of a visitor from one's native place revives memories of that place. (b) Law of Similarity: a present object will recall any other object that is similar to it. The sight of one person revives the memory of another whom he in some respect resembles. (c) Law of Contrast: a present object recalls an object contrasting with itself, e.g. a childless hearth revives the memory of a mother's merry crew of boys and girls. It is this particular psychological doctrine which is the foundation both of association as a philosophical principle and of association as a comprehensive psychological theory.

It has been claimed by Sir W. Hamilton* that Aristotle was the first to formulate the Laws of Association. The passage upon which the claim is based is from de Memoria et Reminiscientia, a translation of the latter part of which Hamilton gives in full, together with his own emendations in, and commentary on, the text, in the note in question. After dealing with memory, Aristotle contrasts with it recollection (ἀναμνήσεως).

"The occurrence of an act of recollection is due to the natural tendency of one past experience to follow another; it may, indeed, be necessary, in order that the sequence is to occur; that the former event should have occurred, and that the latter event should be the occurrence of the second process will take place in every case. It is the difference that some people receive a greater amount of recollection from a single event than others in the same circumstances. That is the reason why there have been on frequent occasion, and in some instances, after seeing the things once we remember them in particular things are different, for which there are many who have seen them frequently. Thus, when we recollect, one of our previous psychic changes is stimulated which leads to the remembrance of that one after which the experience to be recollected is to be recollected is to be recollected. Consequently we hunt for the next in the series, starting our train of thought from what is now present, or from some coming, as from something similar or contrary or contiguous to it." * Plato had already noticed the same striking cases of relationship between recollected idea and present object (Philo, Phileb., 98 C.): "The sight of his lyre the lover will recollect the beloved. The picture of Simmius is apt to remind one of Simmius.' Recollection may be derived from things either like or unlike." There had, however, been no formulation of the principles involved or any attempt at a scientific theory of recollection as such. All knowledge was recollection.

The fact of association was recognized in the teaching of the Stoics and Epicureans, but no new contribution was made towards the theory either by them or later by the Scholastics.

The first important formulation of a theory is that of Thomas Hobbes. In Human Nature(1650), Hobbes distinguishes between the casual and incoherent flow of ideas in dreams and the orderly flow—

when the former thought introduced the latter . . . The cause of the coherence or consequence of one conception to another is their first coherence or consequence at that time when they were produced by sense: as, for example, from St. Andrew the mind runneth to St. Peter, because their names are read together; from St. Peter to a stone, for the same cause; from stone to foundation, because we see them together; and for the same cause, from foundation to church, and from church to all good people, and from good people to tumult; and, according to this example, the mind may run almost from anything to anything.

In addition to this form of the flow of ideas, which would be order in accordance with the Law of Contiguity, Hobbes notices another and different form which one might in general term "appetitive," on account of the cause assigned for it.

"The cause whereof the appertaining of any one of them, who, having a conception of the end, have next unto it a conception of the next means to that end."
In Hume’s philosophy, on the other hand, Association, in its connection of ideas, plays an all-important part. In the Treatise on Human Nature (1739-40), he brings forward association as the doctrine of ideas, not for ideas of memory, wherein the connexion is ‘inseparable’ and is ‘the original form in which its objects were presented,’ but for ideas of imagination. We are to regard it as ‘a gentle force which concerns the body’, in the qualities from which it arises, and by which the mind is after this manner conveyed from one idea to another, are three, viz. Resemblance, Contiguity in time or place, and Cause and Effect.

From the Exposition concerning Human Understanding, we learn that Hume regarded himself as being the first to enumerate or classify the principles of association. In this later treatise he recognizes them as principles of connexion for memory and imagination alike.

Although in his theory of knowledge Hume shows an advance upon Hobbes, both in the application of the principle of association to explain our conceptions and in his systematization of the whole doctrine, yet his psychology of association is inferior to that of the earlier writer. Beyond the classification of the principles there is little attempt at a theory of association. Of its effects are everywhere conspicuous; but as to the how and why they are mostly unknown, and must be resolved into original qualities of human nature, which I pretend not to explain.  

It is in Hartley’s Observations on Man (1749) that we first meet with association as a comprehensive psychological faculty. Here for the first time there is a methodical analysis of the phenomena of mental life and a thoroughgoing attempt to show how the more complex mental phenomena are derived from the simpler by means of association, memory being but one particular case of this.

Here the passions and the phenomena of conduct are shown as products built up by the association of ideas (traces of sensation) with the simple sensations of pleasure and pain, and with automatic movements; just as similarly imagination and reasoning are but cases of the association of ideas with one another and with the senses.

Hartley’s psychological theory is closely bound up with his physiological one as to the nature of the processes which take place in the nervous system. The main outline of the general theory is best given by his own propositions, and from the psychological point of view some of these are important enough to warrant quotation in extenso.

* To omit that kind of discussion by which we proceed from one idea to another, and there are often other instances, first in the sense there are certain conceptions of concepts which we may call ranging; examples whereof are: a man can imagine or construct a figure and then trace it. There is yet another kind of thing lost; the bounds casting about at a flint in hunting; and the ranging of spiders: and herein we take a beginning arbitrary.

* Another sort of discussion is when the appetite gives a man his first practice in that honour to which the appetite maketh him think upon the next means of obtaining it, and that again of the next, etc. And this the Latins call successus, and it is the same as the methodical and even fortuitous. There is yet another kind of discussion beginning with the appetite to recovery of something lost, and proceeding from the present backward, from the thought of the place where we miss at, to the thought of the place whence we came last; and from the thought of that, to the place before it, till we have crossed the same way wherein we had the thing we miss: and this is called Reminiscence.

The recognition of these appetitive associations might have led to new theories as to the origin of the association link, but Hobbes did not pursue the theme any further, and his successors do not appear to have noticed the group of associations which he here singles out.

In a logical and psychological doctrine of remembrance becomes also a philosophical one, the principle of his theory of knowledge, as it was thereafter the principle for the empirical school.  

1. All experience being ... but remembrance, all knowledge is remembrance;* for it is either sense-knowledge and the remembrance of it, or knowledge of the truth of propositions and how things are called, which latter again arises from experience—

* which is nothing else but the remembrance of what antecedents have been followed by what consequents.†

2. When a man hath so often observed like antecedents to be followed by like consequents that, whenever he seeth the antecedent, he looketh again for the consequent, or when he seeth the consequent, maketh account that there hath been like antecedent; then he receiveth the knowledge of having been before, or another, as clouds are signs of rain to come, and rain of clouds past. This taking or losing of signs by experience is that wherein men do ordinarily think:**

§ It is the power of arbitrarily devising signs and so increasing associations that differentiates man, the rational being, from the brute beasts. Without such signs the coherent flow of ideas would be at the mercy of chance—

* for one conception followeth not another according to our election and the need we have of them, but as it chanceth us to hear or see such things as shall bring them to our mind. The experience we have herof is in such brute beasts, which, having the providence to hide the remembrance of their meat, do nevertheless want the remembrance of the place where they hide it, and thereby make no benefit thereof in their hungry time: but man at this point begins to distinguish somewhat above the nature of beasts, hath observed and remembered the cause of this defect, and to amend the same, hath made by the mind an instrument to set up a connexion in his mark, the which when he seeth it again, may bring to his mind the thing he hath by it, by which he may be set up in those marks: his learning in writing and reading, his use of words, these marks, are those human voices which we call names or appellations of things sensible by the ear, by which we recall into our mind some conceptions of the things to which we gave those names or appellations.†

To John Locke belongs the authorship of the phrase ‘Association of Ideas’; yet Locke does not even mention association in his psychological account of memory.‡ The phrase for him denotes the connexion of ideas ‘that in themselves are not at all akin’, as opposed to those which ‘have a natural correspondence and connexion one with another. This strong combination of ideas, not allied by nature, the mind makes in itself either voluntarily or by chance, and hence it comes in different men to be very different according to their different inclinations, education, interests, etc.**

Association of Ideas is for Locke the explanation of words, and intellectual habits, but it is not given any philosophical or general psychological significance.

*Treatise on Human Nature, ch. i. §§ 3, 4, 5; ch. ii. §§ 1 and 2.
† Ib. ch. ii. § 1.
‡ Ib. ch. iv. §§ 9 and 10.
§ Ib. ch. iv. §§ 1 and 2.
** Ib. ch. v. §§ 1 and 2.
†† Ib. bk. ii. ch. 33.

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† Concerning Human Understanding, pt. i. § 1.
‡ Concerning Human Understanding, pt. i. § 1.
§ Concerning Human Understanding, pt. i. § 1.

* The white medullary substance of the brain is also the immediate instrument in which this idea and idea of idea is produced, or, in other words, whatever changes are made in this sub-
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mental phenomena in which association, or, as Brown prefers to style it, suggestion, was used as the explanatory basis. In place of the varieties of powers or mental faculties given by Reid and others, Brown grouped all intellectual phenomena under two fixed and in the same state, as each might have formed part of other trains, and in which the particular state of mind that arises by suggestion does not seem to be of any consideration; the state of mind which preceded it.

The primary laws of simple suggestion are resemblance and contrast, while contiguity is treated as a secondary law. To simple suggestion belong conception, memory, imagination, habit.

Relative suggestion is the capacity for feeling resemblance, difference, proportion or relation in general, where two or more external objects or two or more feelings of the mind itself are conceived by us.† To this capacity belong the so-called faculties of judgment, reasoning, and abstraction.

The true psychological descendant of Hartley is James Mill, in whose Analysis of the Human Mind (1800) we have the first formal treatment of the psychology of vibrations, used as the great explanatory principle of psychology. The phenomena of the human mind are analyzed into two classes—intellectual and active—and the psychology of these is a doctrine of elements and compounds. Sensations, including pleasurable and painful feelings, are the elements, the whole of the remaining furniture of mind being set forth as products, compounded out of these elements in accordance with the Laws of Association. Ideas are traces of sensation, and spring from exist in the mind. The sensations are either of which they are copies.‡

This order is synchronous and successive order in time, and synchronous order in space. Contiguity is thus the fundamental Law of Association, resemblance and contrast being treated as special cases. Not only do simple ideas, by strong association, run together, and form complex ideas, but a complex idea, when the ideas which compose it have become consolidated so that it always appears as one, is capable of entering into combinations with other ideas, both simple and complex.

Conception, imagination, classification, abstraction, memory, belief, inference, are shown by analysis to involve nothing but our sensations and their ideas compounded by association. Similarly for the phenomena of conduct. Will is analyzed as a product of association where a certain action is desired, it is associated as cause with pleasure as effect; the idea of the 'outward' appearance of the action excites by association the idea of the inward feelings which are the immediate antecedents of the action, and then the action takes place. There is no place here for a doctrine of Free Will. Whatever power we may possess over the action of our muscles, must be derived from our power over our associations; and this power over our associations, when fully analyzed, means nothing more than the power of certain interesting ideas, originating in interesting sensations, and formed into strength by association.†

This strength, we told, depends upon the vividness of the associated sensations and the frequency with which the association occurs.

As compounds formed in this way are not associated with an exact law, mental phenomena admit of scientific treatment. Psychology need no longer stand without the rule of science; its method resembles that of the mechanical and physical sciences. The

† Observations on Man, Props. 2, 4, S-12.
‡ I. Analysis of the Human Mind, vol. 1, ch. iii.
§ I. Lectures on Philosophy of Human Mind, Lect. 32.
The psychological statement of genesis, even if accurate, is no longer accepted as a logical criterion of the validity of relationships. Consequently Mill attempts to find an independent justification for our belief in the predominance of cause, belief in the relationship of cause and effect in particular; and in this attempt his theory of knowledge breaks down. Psychologically he regards belief as being primordial. It makes the difference between memory and expectation to be one hand and imagination on the other. 'What, in short, is the difference to our minds between thinking of a reality and representing to ourselves an imaginary picture? I confess I can perceive no escape from the opinion that the distinction is ultimate and primordial.' It is present whenever an association of ideas is entertained, absent in the case of others. It is present in every inductive inference, and its logical justification is 'experience'; the inferred connexion of ideas conforms to fact. Yet even in the simplest inference, since the judgment must embrace 'unobserved' as well as 'observed' cases (for otherwise it would be no inference), this guarantee, conformity to fact, already implies logically our belief in the uniformity of nature. In the uniformity of the unobserved with the observed; that is to say, the logical justification of the inference itself involves belief. Thus the attempt to establish as an induction the uniformity which every process of inference presupposes is doomed to failure; and Mill ends by confessing that inference is not from uniformity, but according to it. What is important philologically is not this failure to establish inductively the Law of Causation, but the recognition which this abortive effort involves, viz. the recognition of association as an inadequate doctrine in the theory of knowledge. This point might be illustrated from Mill's own subsequent writings on Utilitarianism, where he uses association for the purpose of removing psychological difficulties in the way of his main logical thesis rather than for positively supporting it.

Alexander Bain in his Senses and Intellect (first published in 1855) shows adherence to the Laws of Association as the principles which should dominate the presentation of his psychology. Thus he writes in the preface to the first edition: 'in treating of the sensuous and the subjective faculties, the latter is abandoned. The exposition proceeds entirely on the Laws of Association, which are described with minute detail and followed out into a variety of applications and applications. Movements, sensations, appetites, and instincts are treated as the raw material, the data to be worked up into the various forms of intellect: memory, judgment, abstraction, reason, imagination. The fundamental properties of intelligence are consciousness of difference, consciousness of sameness, and retentiveness, of which last reproduction is a higher form. The general condition under which retentiveness is manifested is contiguity. This is the basis of memory, habit, and the acquired powers in general. Consciousness of sameness gives rise to the reproductive principle of similarity, which is dominant in invention, reason, and abstraction.

Bain then proceeds to trace out in detail the operation of these two principles upon our movements, sensations, and instincts, and the acquisitions and forms of knowledge to which they separately, and in conjunction, lend. In the Emotions and Will (the first edition of which appeared three years later than the Senses and Intellect), the same general plan of treatment prevails. Emotions and the will are secondary products. Emotions are derived from muscular feelings and sensations, while will is derived from spontaneous movement.
relations to external relations.* * It is correspondence. In our intelligence, then, it will hold that there is a relationship between subjective and objective. This correspondence is the "universal postulate" behind which thought cannot go. The ultimate test by which thought tries a subjective relation with respect to its objective validity is "inevitability of the opposite."

"To assert the inevitability of its negation is at the same time to assert the psychological necessity we are under of thinking it, and to give our logical justification for holding it to be unquestionable."

Of such certainty are the "necessary" truths and ultimate premises of our knowledge. Thus, for their Spencer, as with the earlier writers of the association school, the theory of knowledge is "psychological." This gains some additional plausibility because it is the task of psychology to trace out the processes by which the correspondence between the subjective and the objective relation is produced. In its task it must, through the doctrine of heredity, draw upon the experience of the race as well as on that of the individual. The various faculties—memory, imagination, reason—are different stages in the evolution of this relationship.

"Mind is the law of similarity. Each primary or vivid feeling is joined to and identified with a faint feeling (secondary), which has resulted from similar vivid feelings."

"Knowing a relation as well as knowing a feeling is the assimilation of it to past kindred; and knowing it completely is the assimilation of it to past kindred exactly like it. But since within the present class the process of one into another insensibly, there is always, in consequence of the imperfection of our perceptions, a certain range within which the classification is doubtful—a certain cluster of relations nearly like the one perceived, which become incessant in consciousness in the act of assimilation. Along with the perceived position in space or time, the contingent positions arise in consciousness."

Therefore results the so-called law of association by contiguity. When we analyze it, contiguity resolves itself into likeness of relation in time or in space or in both. . . . Thus, the fundamental law of association of feelings is that each, at the moment of presentation, aggregates with like that the past experience. The act of recognition and the act of association are therefore aspects of the same act. And the law of contiguity is valid, besides this law of association, there is no other; but all further phenomena of association are incidental."

This somewhat lengthy quotation will serve to make clear what is meant by "association" in the latter term and the language meant to Spencer. It is now a general name for the essential characteristic which Spencer finds in all processes of knowing—assimilation. Since consciousness is dependent upon change, there is also, in every process of knowing, "differentiation"; consciousness is continuous differentiation and assimilation and contiguous assimilation. The finer the degree of differentiation and assimilation, the higher the degree of differentiation.
This is the parallel of differentiation and integration in a given process. In an organized increase in complexity of structure goes hand in hand with increase in function, and the establishment of closer connexion between part and part, with fuller organization of function.

We remember that the laws of structure and function must necessarily harmonize, and that the structure and function of the nervous system must conform to the laws of structure and function. If, then, we shall see that the ultimate generalizations of psychology and physiology must be, as far as the same primordial truth, both are expressions of the same fundamental principle;—

"Viewed as a generic feature of knowing, association is not a mechanism for combining items of knowledge, but is the principle of growth whereby past progress is retained and further differentiation made possible. In the old doctrine the complex idea contained the elements out of which it was composed; here the higher process absorbs the lower, the new the old. So different is the doctrine, that one may be tempted to wonder why Spencer's psychology should be ranked with that of the association school. The reason is this: the conception of the problem of absorption is higher, and the lower, the new the old, is taken unchanged from the theory of association.

Throughout the history of the school the advance in the theory of association as such is practically nil. This is chiefly due to the fact that we distinguish some one form as more fundamental than others, e.g. Mill selects Contiguity, Spencer Similarity, or to subsume them under some more comprehensive law, such as Hamilton's Law of Redintegration, but for all alike the theory of the process itself remains on the same level. Things are associated because they are alike, or because they are contiguous in space or time. A hint of an internal analysis of association is given, as we noticed, by Bain, and it is the study of the 'conditions' of association that marks the close of what is strictly to be called 'association psychology.'

Closer study of the 'how' and 'why' of mental development renders necessary broader conceptions than any which can be yielded by the three laws of association. Similarly, closer study of the memory processes brings a demand for a fuller statement of the conditions under which one fact of consciousness is able to suggest some fact of previous experience, and of the extent to which such a memory is a 'revival' (see MEMORY).

German psychologists stood outside the association school; it would be an omission not to refer to Herbart, in the general conception of whose psychology there is considerable likeness to that of Hartley and Mill. The first presentation of Herbart's psychological doctrine was the Lehrbuch zur Psychologie (1815). This was followed by the fuller and more reasoned exposition in Psychologie als Wissenschaft neu gegrundet auf Erfahrung, Metaphysik, und Mathematik (1824-1825). Herbart rebelled against the dogmatism of 'faculty psychology.' He found Locke's treatment of mind as a storehouse of ideas a least truer to experience than the analysis of mind into faculties current in the school of Wolff. The faculties are set up as genera and treated as causes, when there has been, and can be, no study of the particulars from which alone such generic notions could be reached. Such psychology achieves nothing but hair-splitting distinctions between these faculties, and yet withal acknowledges an unknown unity in which these faculties are contained. The whole method of this psychology is a need of reform. It is impossible to reach genuine and substantial particulars, i.e., it is impossible to use induction and analogy in psychology, because our knowledge of these particulars is unavoidably defective; consciousness is in perpetual change. The new method of which Herbart speaks (Reflexion, Entwicklung, and Würzung) or completion by means of constructive hypothesis. One is entitled to use such a method only if the existence of certain relations can be demonstrated, viz., relations wherein the positioning of one member renders necessary the positing of the other.

The whole task of psychology will be to complete the known facts of inner experience, and to establish relations by which these facts shall be connected, in accordance with general laws. Psychologists have failed to find conceptions appropriate for psychology, because they have not been mathematicians, and have thus not realized the special adaptability of mathematical notions to the ever-changing phenomena of consciousness. Further, it is, in Herbart's view, necessary for psychology to be based upon metaphysics. Psychology is brought face to face with the problem of the many in one, for behind all the varying mental conditions is the unity of mind. That is to say, psychology is brought face to face with the problem of the function of consciousness is in perpetual change, psychology is brought face to face with the problem of change, transformation.

Herbart's psychology, therefore, is prefixed by speculative notions. The method is to arrive at a concept of the soul. This is defined as a simple substance, without parts, without any plurality whatever in its quality. What this quality is we can never know. Like all other substances, the soul's activity consists in self-preservation. Each reality or substance conserves itself against other substances, and from these conservative activities arise relations, plurality. The efforts of the soul in opposition to other substances are its ideas. These ideas are not produced by any spontaneity of the soul, but arise only in its strife against other realities; they arise, then, from external conditions, and have their quality determined by these conditions. In so far as these ideas come into relation with one another they are forces, and in virtue of their opposition to one another have a quantitative character. Every idea is a tendency, and as such is never destroyed; it may be arrested, totally or partially, or pass from consciousness to sub consciousness, but it will ever strive to reestablish itself, and will do so when opposed by removed or reinforcement come through relations to sense. The subject-matter of psychology is not the soul, but these relations between ideas; hence the metaphysical speculations and the general consideration of mathematical relations are followed by a statis and mechanics of ideas.

It is in his reaction against 'faculty psychology,' and in his reduction of inner experience to simple events of a homogeneus character, from whose interplay arise all the diverse forms of consciousness—memory, imagination, feeling, will, etc.—that we see the resemblance between Herbart's conception of psychology and that of Hartley or James Mill. In the metaphysical bases of their thoughts and in their methods of exposition, the German and the English writers are poles apart.

In the more recent German psychology, and independently of Herbartianism, the influence of the association school can be seen, despite the fact that the errors of its doctrines are sometimes laid bare in a none too gracious manner. Wundt has treated psychology as a doctrine of elements and operations, thus bringing the physiological Psychology, which represents his standpoint in general psychology better than the more specialized Physiological Psychology or the lectures on Human
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and Animal Psychology, we find the following division of topics: (1) psychic elements; (2) psychical compounds; (3) inter-connexion of compounds; (4) psychical developments; (5) principles and laws of psychical development. The elements, of course, are no longer the simple ideas of, say, Mill, but abstractions, the ultimate factors into which the simplest experience can be analyzed by thought: elements of sensation, and elements of feeling. The compounds, too, do not correspond to complex ideas; they are the phases of experience which can be recognized as having a determinate character, e.g. an emotion, such as anger, or a simple perception; they are not, therefore, mere sums of the elements which enter into them. Moreover, such compounds are only components of experience; that is to say, in any given state of consciousness we have an inter-connexion of such compounds, e.g. the emotion in connexion with perception.

The connective processes, again, are not the old forms of association. Various processes are distinguished for building up compounds and extensive union; for the inter-connexion of compounds, association (which, however, is not association of ideas, since no such phenomena as ideas in Mill's sense—copies of sensations—are recognized) and apperception. All save the last find their determining conditions in the state of that which is connected; but the last, apperception, is a volitional process involving choice, the motives of which can be explained only from the whole previous development of the individual consciousness. As 'volitional' it is placed on a different level from the others. * This treatment of apperception connexion is peculiar to Wundt, and is connected with his ontological view that 'will' expresses the ultimate reality of the soul.

The same general ground-plan is followed by Külpe in his Outlines of Psychology. Psychology is defined as 'science of the facts of experience in their dependency upon experiencing individuals' †—a definition of the science which assigns a leading rôle to bodily processes, since 'individual' signifies corporeal individual. The connective processes, therefore, are viewed as dependent upon psycho-physical conditions. The laws of reproduction are explained in relation to the conditions of centrally initiated sensations—the 'ideas' of English psychologists—and apperception is treated as being in principle a concomitant union without any part of reproduction. ‡ For the essential conditions of the origin and maintenance of the feature which especially characterizes apperception, viz. attention, we are referred outside consciousness to the central nervous system. §

Wideiy different as the specific doctrines are from those held by the earlier English writers, yet, nevertheless, the scheme of classification adopted for the scientific exposition of psychological facts would seem to be derived from the writings of the association school.

As was stated above, current English psychology does not use association as an explanatory principle. Traces of the older method of exposition are, however, to be found in Prof. Sully's text-books, Outlines of Psychology and The Human Mind, although these embody the results of modern research and learning. The three aspects of mental life—intuition, the feelings, and conception or volition—are treated separately. Under each we have a serial order of phenomena; from elements of sensation, feeling or volition, successively higher products are built up by elaborate processes. These processes are: differentiation, assimilation, and association. The last is discussed in connexion with retentiveness and reproduction, and is conceived as the process 'which binds together presentative elements occurring together or in immediate succession,' and as being a 'main factor in development, resulting in a progressive elaboration of very simple and less complex, and more complex products.' † Attention, is, however, treated as a determining condition for the elaborate processes, and this saves their operation from being purely mechanical.

The old method is entirely departed from in the psychology of Stout and Ward. Ward's conception of differentiation and integration, in the continuous advance of which processes mental development consists, shows an advance on that of Spencer.

We shall find in the growth of a seed or an embryo far better illustrations of the unfolding of the contents of consciousness than in the building up of molecules: the process seems much more a segmentation of what is originally continuous than an aggregation of elements at first independent and distinct.  

Unity of consciousness is not something which psychological theory has to account for as a product or growth, but is that from which psychology takes its start.

Working backward from this we find it now, we are led alike by particular facts and general considerations to the conception of a totum objectum or objective continuum which is gradually differentiated, thereby becoming what we call distinct presentations.  

'The notion, which Kant has done much to encourage, that psychological life begins in a confused multiplicity, and is only after the most minute analysis purified into a simple definition, is a common one, but it is the hypothesis of the conception of a totum objectum that is the mystery of the psychology of a totum objectum.' * The conception of a totum objectum is, in fact, the conception of the subject.

Changes within the total field of consciousness, and persistence of the old alongside of the new (retentiveness), give the bases for differentiation, and subjective character or feelings; that is to say, the continual concentration of attention on 'this' or 'that' within the total field explains its further progress. The connexion of sensations with movements is the first phase of integration; the pleasure or pain which accompanies sensation causes change in the distribution of attention, and thus causes movement, the initiation of 'that,' the suppression of 'this,' the suppression of 'that.' First 'natural selection,' then 'subjective selection,' will bring about such syntheses, and thus presentations originally in no way connected will come to be united together; the consciousness of presentative association is a particular instance of this. Association by contiguity is as such inexplicable; for 'contiguity' Ward substitutes 'continuity.' A and X, which have no connexion one with another, occupy 'the focus of consciousness in immediate succession. This constitutes their integration. ** Through the movements of attention they are now parts of one whole, form what Ward terms a continuum, are continuous one with another. These movements of attention 'come in the end to depend mainly upon interest, but at first appear to be determined entirely by mere intensity.' †† The power of variously distributing attention is the one power which Ward desires to leave the subject of consciousness, and it is in virtue of this power that the subject plays the rôle of agent.

In Stout's psychology we have a similar view of the unity of consciousness and of the processes of differentiation and integration.

The process of consciousness is a process of incessant change; the changes are partly due to the play of external impressions, and to other conditions extraneous to consciousness itself. But this is rarely, if ever, entirely so. The process is in part self-determining. The successive phases have by their very nature a tendency to pass into other phases.  

'This tendency is connection, and it is connexion which correlates and gives a special character to other...

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* Cf. § 47. † Cf. § 65, ir. by E. T. Titchener. ‡ Cf. § 77. § Cf. 1b. § 76.
wise disparate and disconnected processes. For such unity the 'general condition is that the successive phases of a conscious process shall constitute a movement towards a definite aim or terminus.' There must be continuity of interest, and for this, retentiveness is essential; later phases of a conative process owe their meaning to the earlier. So in general, it is the 'dispositions' or 'traces' left by previous experience which make development possible.

Continuity of interest lies at the bottom of all association and reproduction. In association by contiguity the re-occurrence of any one of the members of a conative unity 're-excites the whole divine impression of knowledge of the latter to the members of such disposition. There is direct continuity between the suggesting and the suggested idea. In what is called 'association by similarity,' the suggesting factor re-excites a disposition having a member similar to, or partially identical with, itself, and, as in the medium of this similar or partially identical member; there is thus no direct connection between the suggesting factor and the members of the re-excited disposition. The continuity of interest is indirect.

With both Ward and Stout, therefore, association takes its place as a process depending upon the fundamental laws of psychical development, as explanation, not explanation.

ASSUMPTION AND ASCENSION.—Meaning and scope.—The idea underlying these theological conceptions is the idea of communication between the natural and the spiritual order, and of a passage from the former to the latter. As the idea of 'Revelation' presupposes the possibility of movement from heaven earthward, so the idea of 'Ascension' presupposes the possibility of movement from earth heavenward. In some form or other other these conceptions have so often through religious systems; and in primitive religions they are set forth in terms of the geocentric philosophy of antiquity. The earth is the centre of the universe. Heaven, the abode of the gods, is above us in the skies; and the heavenly messengers is represented as a physical descent, a 'coming down,' while their departure is a physical ascent, a 'going up.' So too the movement of human beings to the spiritual region is a 'going up,' an uplifting; and the language of devotion bears perpetual witness to this. The translation of souls, the terms of the doctrine may be so clear that the man may be unable to determine, as he looks back upon it, whether he was 'in the body or out of the body.' Such was the case of St. Paul, who recalls (2 Co 12:4) how he had been 'caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' But it is only if the translation be of body as well as of soul that it comes within the scope of this article, which does not embrace an inquiry into 'visions,' or 'dreams,' or 'intimations' of the Divine (see these articles).

I. ASSUMPTIONS OF SAINTS.—1. Bodily translations to heaven, for purpose of revelations.—The apocryphal and apocalyptic literature of Judaism and of Christianity furnishes (see Bible) some illustrations of bodily 'assumptions' into heaven, granted to individuals, that they might be informed of spiritual truth. 'Assumptions' of this kind are temporary only; and, the vision ended, the man returns to earth. The language of Ezek 8:25 was, perhaps, not intended to be literal, and (see 12:12) speaks not of holy tree than as a voluntary means to the exaltation of the spirit; but the story of the transportation to Babylon of Habakkuk, who was lifted up 'by the hair of his head' (Bel 30), implies a translation of his body. Granted a belief in the possibility of such earthly experiences (which underlies much Eastern folklore, as in the Arabian Nights), the step is easy to the belief in a translation of the body from earth to heaven.

1. (The most remarkable legend of this kind is that of Enoch, discussed below (2, 1). But there are other instances of the universe; these conceptions are common.

2. Abraham.—In the Testament of Abraham (ed. M. R. James, 1892), Michael takes Abraham up in a cloud with angelic chariots, to show him the world of men from the standpoint of heaven. Abraham then is brought back to his house, where after an interval he tells the rabbis that they might be informed of spiritual truth. 'Assumptions' of this kind are temporary only; and, the vision ended, the man returns to earth.

3. Isaiah.—In the Ascension of Isaiah (chs. 7, 8), Isaiah is raised to the seventh heaven, where he has a vision of the Beloved, after which experience he returns to earth (ch. 11).

4. Rabbinical literature tells a like manner of four rabbis who entered Paradise and were granted revelations.

* A Manual of Psychology, bk. i. ch. ii. § 3.
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(5) Moses.—The story of Moses in later literature has affinities with 'assumption' or 'ascension,' legends of various forms. The two starting-points are the Biblical accounts of his discourse with God on Sinai, and his escape from the Egyptian pharaoh. The first is described in the OT (Ex 3:1-10) and the second in the book of Daniel (Da 9). The OT passages were merged in the source in which the ascension began to be equated with the Ascension of the Messiah, and transferred to him (Ex 3:1-10), and of his secret burial (Da 9). The first of these led to the idea of an 'Apocalypse of Moses,' such as that edited from the Greek by Tischendorf; the second to the stories of his 'assumption' (cf. Jude 9). Thus Josephus (Ant. iv. 48) tells us, as Moses vanished with Eleazar and Joshua, a cloud suddenly enveloped him and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in Deuteronomy that he died, 'fearing lest because of his exceeding virtue men might offer sacrifice at his tomb.' In the OT, the Assumption of Elijah (cf. 2 Kgs 2) and Sir 44:45 says of him μετέτρεψα (cf. Sir 44:45 ἀνέκαρπος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς). Following this tradition, He 11:12 has Ἐκάρπωt μετέτρεψα τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θανατῷ; and the conception of Enoch's 'ascension' without dying is frequent in Christian literature. The same idea appears in Josephus (Ant. i. iii. 4), who says of Enoch, ἀνέκαρπως πρὸ τοῦ θείου, ὥσπερ ὁλὸν τελευτών αὐτῷ ἀναγέγραφας.

(2) Elijah.—The Elijah traditions, like those of Enoch, seem to have developed in two different directions. The first, the apocalyptic trend (e.g. the Coptic by Steindorff) is a Christianized form of a Jewish apocalypse, and bears witness to the belief that Elijah received supernatural revelations (it was long supposed to be the source of 1 Co 15). But the best known form of the tradition is that which starts from 2 Kgs 2:1. Behold, a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder; and Elijah was taken up by a whirlwind into heaven (ἀνέκαρπω καὶ ἐκάρπω τὸν αἰώνα). It re-appears in Sir 48:8 (ἀνεκάρπωτος καὶ ἀνέκαρπωτος) and 49:14: 'Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law was taken up into heaven.' It will be observed that the instrument of his assumption, according to the original story, was a tempest, not a chariot, of fire, as artists have loved to represent it; and that 1 Mc 25:9 explicitly points to the piety of Elijah as the cause of his 'assumption' without passing through the gates of death.*

(3) Other Biblical personages.—In Rabbinical legends, other persons are held to have escaped death by a similar privilege similar to that of Enoch and Elijah: e.g. Eliezer, Abraham's steward, for his faithful service; Ebed-melech (Jer 38:2;); Hiriam; Jabez (1 Ch 4:9); Sarah, Asher's daughter (Gn 46:26); and Pharaoh's daughter. So Ezra was 'taken up' after his vision (2 Es 8), and Baruch had a like privilege (Apoc. Bar., passim).

3. Assumptions after death.—With such 'assumptions' as have just been described, we must not confound the 'assumptions' in which after death the body was removed from earth and caught up to heaven.

(1) Hercules.—A classical example is the legend of Hercules. Being poisoned by the arts of Dejanira, he erected a pyre on the summit of Mount Oeta in Thessaly, and lay down to die. Zeus, appraising his career, surrounded the pyre with smoke, and after the mortal parts of Hercules had been consumed, he was carried up to heaven in a chariot drawn by four horses. Neither his bones nor his ashes could be found, the underlying idea of the legend being that earth was not a worthy resting-place for the remains of one so godlike.+

(2) Virgin Mary.—A Christian legend of the same kind is that of the 'Assumption of Mary,' according to which the first, and after that the dead body of the Virgin was assumed to heaven (see the Transitus Mariae, ed. Tischendorf). 'It was becoming'—so Newman expresses the conviction of the Roman Church—'that she should be taken up into heaven and not lie in the grave until Christ's Second Coming, who had passed according to early Christian belief, Enoch and Elijah were the 'two witnesses' to the world who, when the time was manifested in Jerusalem (117), and whose ascent into heaven (117) was to be followed by the Second Coming of Christ.+

The mythical story of the quest of Hadès for his dead wife Eurydice by Orpheus, who afterwards returned to earth, is the prototype of many of these myths. The story of Plato's chariot to the shades of the dead is far more ancient than that in Virgil, Aeneid, vi., or in Dante. But in these there is nothing strictly comparable with the idea of 'assumption' to heaven.
II. ASCENSION OF CHRIST.—The narrative of the Ascension of Christ (Ac 1:9) is not analogous to the Jewish legends of 'ascension' or 'assumption' in either of the forms which they have taken. One of the most common activities on being dead in order to receive revelations of the spiritual order, as was reported of the seers of the Jewish apocrypha. Nor, again, was His Ascension an escape from the experience of death, as was believed by some to have been the privilege of Enoch and Elijah; but death, followed by a re-creation and resurrection. See also the pre-Marcan and early Christian documents, canonical and extra-canonical, as a withdrawal into the spiritual world with the body which He had taken upon Himself and in which He had lived an earthly life, died, and risen victorious over death. After His Resurrection, His body is represented as spiritualized and as superior to earthly conditions, to a degree which is not asserted of it during the days of His ministry; but nevertheless, according to the Christian tradition, the body in which He ascended to heaven still remains in some way阴 the cross and had been buried in the sepulchre of Joseph. The 'assumption' of Moses was conceived of as consistent with the continuance of his corpse in a hidden grave (see above, p. 152). But this is not the case with the Ascension. It has been treated with the assumption presupposed the empty tomb. Christ's Ascension was a resurrection of His pre-existent state, in His glorified humanity, rather than an assumption to heaven, granted by the favour of the Most High. Its meaning will be considered more fully in a later section (§ 7); at this point, we note that, as described in the Christian tradition, it has no exact parallel in history or literature. This it is essential to keep in mind.

It is next to be observed that there was nothing in the Jewish beliefs about Messiah which would naturally suggest such a consummation of the visible ministry of the Christ. An Ascension, in lieu of death, might have been expected by those who accepted the current beliefs about Enoch and Elijah; but death, followed by a re-creation and resurrection, was beyond the sphere of the first disciples. Looking back upon the Resurrection, they were able to find phrases in the OT which might be thought to point forward to it; and, in fact, that Christ rose again 'according to the Spirit of life in power from the dead' (Rom 1:3-4). But nothing of the kind was asserted consistently of the Ascension. P's 110th was, indeed, quoted, according to Ac 2:24, by St. Peter, and P's 68th was quoted by St. Paul (Eph 4:8), as applicable to the exaltation of the Christ; but that He ascended according to the Scriptures was never an article of the Creed. The Ascension of the Messiah had not been part of the Jewish expectation. Nor, so far as can now be discovered, did the disciples understand the allusions which, in the Fourth Gospel, Christ is reported to have made beforehand to this consummation of His visible Ministry on earth (Jn 3:35-40), any more than they understood His predictions of His Resurrection ( Mk 9:31; 10:33; Lk 18:37; 24:46; Acts 2:29-33; 3:15-19). The significance of this says much for the historical veracity of the tradition; for the exaltation of Christ to heaven was the natural object of the hopes and expectations of the first-century Christians. If anything were expected of Christ by them, it was His exaltation to be with God in heaven; but there was nothing about His earthly Ministry in connection with such an expectation. The Ascension, in any case, had a period of suspense followed by an Advent of Christ in victory and judgment, His Death, Resurrection, and Ascension had no place. In every Christian age the former of these beliefs has been more conspicuous than the latter. In the literature of the Church, the assumption of Christ is the hand of the Father has always been more present in the thoughts of those who call Him Master than His 'Ascension' to His Throne. For the belief that Christ is now in spiritual communication with His disciples, that He guards, forgives, and guides them, is essential to the Christian life. It is historically interesting, it but is not vital, to know how the beginning of this ministry was revealed to the early disciples by the risen Master's final withdrawal from their sight. And, in fact, while the doctrine of the assumption of Christ has always been a principal part of Christian instruction, and a favourite topic of Christian contemplation, the Festival of the Ascension (see § 3 below) has throughout the Church's history main]) been a commemoration of the event, rather than the event itself, in which Christians have been mainly interested. A kindred phenomenon, which points the same way, is the poverty of the hymnology of the Ascension. The subject is one which might be expected to attract the imagination and inspire the poetry of the Church; but it has never done so to any considerable extent.

In strict conformity with these tendencies of later Christian history, we find that, while the Pauline theological literature, which refers to the Exalted Christ in spiritual fellowship with those who are 'in Him,' references to the Ascension as an event are rare. It is always presupposed, as in the phrase 'The Lord himself shall descend from heaven' (1 Th 4:16); for 'ascend' or 'ascension.' But this implication becomes explicit only in Eph 4:8. He that descended (ie. into Hades) is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens,' where the reference to the άνάβασις of Christ is unmistakable. The only other allusion in the Pauline writings to the Ascension as an event is in the fragment of an early hymn quoted in 1 Ti 3:16 (ανελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ).

To these may be added, from the Epistles, Ile 4, (ἀναβεβλατός διὰ διαθήκης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and 1 P 3:22 (οὕτω εἰς τοὺς πόλεμους ἐκ σοφίας). The meaning of the latter, which was written of by the prophets, both of which carry a distinct reference to the ascended of Ascension. In like manner, the allusions in the Fourth Gospel express: οὐδεὶς ἀναβεβλάτης εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνῃ, κ.τ.λ. (Jn 3:3, ἐγὼ δέχομαι τὸν ἅλυμα τοῦ ἀναβέβλατος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ πατέρα μου ... ἀναβεβλατὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, κ.τ.λ. (Jn 20:17). Whatever view be taken as this was noticed as early as the 4th century. οἱ παλαιοὶ τοῖς τοποῖς χριστηθέντος εἰς τοῦν οὐρανὸν καταβαίνοντας εἰς τοὺς πόλεμους. See also p. 152. This is the case with the words printed among the works of Ephraim (Philip, 414, 417).

† This view was taken as early as the 4th century. See also p. 152.
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point shows that the evangelist conceived of it as the beginning of a new era for the followers of Christ. But a withdrawal of this nature into the spiritual region is the essence of the Ascension, to which, therefore, the conclusion of St. Luke's Gospel bears definite witness, even if it be supposed that ἄνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν is a later gloss, explanatory, in the unscholarly language of the see (pp. 151, 156), of the manner of the disappearance of Christ into the spiritual world.

(2) The Acts.—In the later treatise by Luke, the Acts, this kind of descriptive language is used without hesitation when the story of the Ascension is being told: Ἀπεστάλησαν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἐστάτη ἐκ τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ ἕως ἕως τῆς Αὐροίδος (Ac 1:9). According to Acts, that is, the departing Christ was received in a cloud, His disciples following His passage upward with straining eyes. Angelic messengers then informed them that, as was the manner of these things, so would be that of His Return, i.e., in a cloud, from the upper regions of the sky. There is no doubt as to the definiteness with which the Ascension of Christ is here narrated. The testimony of Acts is express.

It remains, however, a legitimate problem, although one of no small difficulty, to determine in what language in which it is described is to be regarded as literal, and how far it may be understood either as symbolical or as the natural, unstudied language employed in an unscholarly age to describe a fact quite abnormal and unique in the experience of the narrators.

The Christian Church for many generations regarded the story as literally precise, i.e., it was believed that Christ went up in a cloud into the higher regions of the atmosphere. It may have been so, just as the great literary interpretation of Luke, ascribed to Christ of His Second Coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory' (Mt 24:31; cf. Mk 14:25 = Mt 26:42) may be the literal interpretation, which was adopted by St. Paul 'we shall be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air' (1 Th 4:17). But it must not be forgotten that this phraseology similar to the eschatological language used by Christ—or, at any rate, ascribed to Him by the Evangelists—is to be found in the Jewish apocalypses, which reflect the popular beliefs of the time.

If the last words spoken of intelligibly at all, they must be spoken of in the language of symbol and imagery familiar to His hearers. And no one doubts the verbal connexion of Mk 14:25 and parallel passages with Dn 7:14: 'There came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples ... should serve him.' It is to be remembered, then, that the Ascension in Ac 1 is described as a 'going into heaven,' conceived of as a process similar to that 'coming from heaven' of which Jewish apocalyptic and Christ Himself had spoken. The cloud and the upward movement are, indeed, explicitly recorded as having been observed, and they present no special difficulty. But it is right to note that they are the natural and almost inevitable accessories of any Jewish narrative which sought to describe the solemn and unique departure of the Christ, or to enrich with detail the brief statement that follows the Ascension (1 Th 4:17).

(3) Sub-Apostolic Literature.—The Appendix to St. Mark, a document of the earliest sub-Apostolic age, gives no information as to the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ which is not found in the Lucan and Johnian narratives. It may have been based upon these, but in any case like them, it follows the Jerusalem tradition.
the Ascension in OT language: ἀνάβησαν αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν (the phrase used 2 K 20:1 of the Assumption of Elijah) καὶ ἐματίασαν ἐκ βεβίων τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. Ps 110:1).

Later writers, Barnabas (ὕπερ αἰρέσεως καὶ ἀδικοτητικῶν), Aristides (καὶ Ἀρισταδέ, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανῶν ἀνάβησαν), Justin (ἀνάβησαν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, Dia, 38), and Irenaeus (ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίων τοὺς ἀνάβησαν, Ηθο. 1. x. 1; cf. II. xxxii. 3, iv. 2), carry on explicit witness to the Christian tradition into the 2nd century. To these may be added the first chapters of the Apocryphon of the Ascension of Isaiah, e.g.: 'They will teach all the nations... of the Resurrection (ἀνάστασας) of the Beloved, and those who believe in His Cross will be saved, and in His Ascension (ἀνάβησας) into the heavens, where He came' (Lk 18:1), a passage which Charles treats as belonging to the earliest part of the treatise, and as probably of the 1st cent.; see also the description in xi. 22 ff. of the Ascension of the Beloved through the seven heavens (a passage which looks like an imaginative amplification of He 4:12).

2. The Ascension and the Resurrection.—Despite the definite language of passages such as those which have been cited, it has been suggested by some writers, e.g., by Harnack,2 that in the earliest tradition the Resurrection and the Ascension were not distinguished. But the considerations already adduced (p. 153) sufficiently explain the omission on the part of some writers (e.g., Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius [yet cf. Magn. 7]) to make explicit mention of the Ascension as an event in itself. To the thought of the first Christians, the credentials of the Gospel were the appearances of Christ after His Resurrection; this historical fact was fundamental. But the evidential value of the Ascension was no greater than that of any other of the Epiphanies of the Risen Lord, when He came (Lk 18:1), a view which was not essential to make separate mention of it. So soon, however, as the Church began to formulate a Creed, the Ascension, as the event which terminated the visible ministry of Christ on earth and inaugurated His invisible ministry in heaven, was explicitly distinguished therein from the Resurrection, as it had already been distinguished in the Acts, in the Marcan Appendix, in Barnabas, and in the 2nd cent. writers. 'He ascended into heaven' is a separate article of the Creed in the earliest Christian records.

Tradition, however, is not quite unanimous as to the interval between the first and last manifestations of the Risen Christ, between the 'Resurrection' and the 'Ascension.' Neither in the third Gospel nor in the Marcan Appendix is there any note of the time that elapsed; and as the story in both cases runs continuously, a hasty reader might conclude that these writers mean to place the Ascension on Easter Day. But it is evident that the Marcan Fragment is only a summary, and not a consecutive narrative. And, although not so evident in St. Luke's account, its summarized character is clear when ch. 24 is scrutinized closely. The Supper at Emmaus was in the evening (24:3); time must be found for the return to Jerusalem, seven miles a.v. (24:2); for the telling of the story to the Eleven (24:3); for the Eleven to act (24:4), for the Discourse there and the Commission (24:47); for the walk of 11 miles to Olivet (24:9). No tradition recognizes the Ascension as taking place in the middle of the night; and yet this is what we understand the text to mean. Yet it is evident that the Ascension took place on 24Apr as describing the events of a single evening.

The fact is that this narrative is not necessarily continuous, from 24Apr to 24May at any rate, and that therefore it does not contradict the statement of Ac 1:1 (cf. Ac 13:3) that 'forty days' elapscd between the Resurrection and the Ascension.

3. Ascension Day.—Forty days is a round number; and although the Church since the 4th cent. has kept the Ascension Day the 40th day after Easter,3 it is not certain that the author of Acts meant it to be taken quite literally. Barnabas speaks of the Resurrection and the Ascension as having both taken place on a Sunday (2 Cor. 15:51). It is possible that he preserves a true tradition about this.4 It has been suggested by Dr. Swete (op. cit. p. 69) that Sunday the 43rd day after Easter would meet the statement of Barnabas, as well as the 'forty days of Acts,' and it may well be that this is the true interpretation of all the data.

4. Origin of belief in the Ascension.—The nature and details of the Church's tradition as to the Ascension of Christ have now been summarized. It is worthy of attention that a priori it would be difficult to account for the origin of such a belief were it not based on fact. Those who explain the belief in the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ as of subjectiv origin, and as due to the emperor of strain in the Christian Church, fail to account for the fact that the Ascension was one of the most important beliefs of the Christian Church, and the interpretations of Jesus in the synoptic narratives, and even the descriptions of Jesus as a prophet or Elijah, would have to be freed from the belief that He had ascended, and had returned to heaven, if the disciples were to continue to believe in the Ascension. Thus it is clear that the Ascension is mentioned in the synoptic narratives, and in the narratives of the Ascension of Barnabas, as well as the 'forty days of Acts;' and it may well be that this is the true interpretation of all the data.

5. Manner of the Ascension.—When it is sought more closely to determine the manner of the 'Ascension,' the data are found to be insufficient. For it is represented as an Ascension of the body, as well as of the soul of Christ, and as by the power of God. It is not that the Ascension of Christ, which they recognized with certainty as the last of the series, and which, therefore, in some respects was unlike those which preceded it. Such an experience was theirs, according to the Lucan narrative, in the vision of the Ascension; and those who do not admit that the narrative is based on a historical event are under the necessity of explaining how the disciples, whose only strength was in the conviction of the nearness of their Risen Master, should have been led to imagine that the extraordinary Epiphanies of His presence had suddenly come to an end.

A careful and valuable examination of his argument will be found in Swete, The Apostles' Creed, p. 64 ff.
the Johannine (Jn 20^\text{th} - 25) Resurrection narratives, the Risen Christ is represented as in a body over which His spirit has complete control. It is the same body which hung on the cross, but it has been spiritualized. To describe it we have to use St. Paul’s phrase, and say that it is now a ‘spiritual body’ (σώμα πνευματικόν [1 Cor 15^\text{th}]), a body which is the final stage of the physical body and which we can understand that such a body would not be subject to the laws of space and time, although it is impossible for us to figure in the imagination its movements. And therefore a physical theory of the Ascension is out of our reach. We are subject to physical laws, and when we clearly see that we fully recognize that they are not binding in the spiritual order, they impose limitations upon the pictures of our imagination.

6. Philosophical rationale of the Ascension.—It is, however, possible to conceive the fact, although not to imagine the manner, of the Ascension, when we remember that it represents the passage from the physical to the spiritual order. Heaven is not a place up in the sky; it is the spiritual world which encompasses us, and which is nearer than can be seen by the bodily eye. It is like a fourth dimension of space, invisible, unimaginable, and yet quite as real and quite as near as the length, breadth, and depth of our bodily environment. To move into this fourth dimension from the earthly life may be the most natural of all movements for the spirit, for for the ‘spiritual body’ which is its envelope, while the process may be, must be, inscrutable for the spirit confined by the natural body.

Of such a process the counterpart would be a movement from the spiritual into the physical plane. ‘Their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight’ (Lk 24^\text{th}): that is the heavenward movement—the passage to the spiritual order. ‘Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst’ (Jn 20^\text{th}): that is the earthward movement—the passage from the spiritual order. In neither case is the movement perceptible; the result alone, in the one case appearance, in the other disappearance, is noted by the bodily senses. Once the reality of the spiritual order is recognized, such movements are not to be declared impossible. The capacity thus to rise superior to the earthly conditions of space, and in the power of the spirit to move unseen to and from the world of spirit, has been claimed by masters of the spiritual life in many lands; notably in the ascetics of the classical world, who do not stay here to examine the justice of such claims, upon which the last word has probably not yet been said by psychological science. Nor is it this the place to enter upon speculation as to the power of spirit over matter, and of mind over body, the limits of which cannot as yet be regarded as defined. But it is desirable to note that the incidents in the Resurrection narratives which have been subjected to the severest criticism as abnormal and incredible present no other difficulty than this, that they presuppose a passage from the physical to the spiritual order. And, in this aspect, the only distinction between the Ascension and the previous withdrawals from sight of the Risen Christ is that the Ascension was the last of a series, and that it was done in a way as to give the impression that it would be the last.

7. Implications of the Ascension from the Christian point of view.—This, however, would be a quite inadequate conception of the Ascension from the Christian point of view, for no account has been taken in the preceding section in the unique Personality of the Ascending Christ. We proceed, therefore, briefly to exhibit the significance of the Ascension—or, more strictly, of the Heavenly Session which is its sequel, and which it initiated—in its relation to the fact of the Incarnation, with which it is closely associated in the Creeds. In what follows, the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation (see IN- CARNATION) is assumed, and an attempt is made to indicate the doctrinal implications of the Ascension, as they have been recognized by the Church looking back upon the Revelation of God in Christ.

(1) Exaltation of Christ’s Manhood.—The Christian gospel is that God became man, (a) to free man from the bonds of sin, and (b) to restore him to the dignity of fellowship with the Divine. (a) The beginning of the movement of Divine Love in Christ Incarnate is the birth of Christ and His Deity. ‘The Word became flesh.’ And the Divine sacrifice of the Cross marks the consummation of the Redemption of humanity. But (b) the Divine purpose is not fulfilled until man is restored to his true estate. ‘The Incarnation could only identify the Redeemer with the essential elements of humanity. It could not spiritualize that bodily organization which is no less a part of the true being of man than his intellectual and moral gifts.

... The Resurrection and Ascension needed to follow, that the ‘resurrection spirit,’ which could not be free, might enter into our spirits, and make us sharers of its victory.’* Thus the end of the movement of the Divine Love is Christ Ascended, i.e. Christ in the Exaltation of His Manhood. The Ascension was οrganization, as Irenaeus has it (see L. 3); it was not a mere ἀνάβασις, or Assump- tion, of Christ’s spirit; it was a true ἀνάβασις, an exaltation, of Christ as the Representative Man to the glory of the heavenly life. The doctrine of the Incarnation does not teach that Christ assumed immanently a human nature, body and spirit, only for the years of His visible ministry, and then abandoned it like a discarded cloak. In the light of the Ascension it means that He is still Man, and that as Man He is in communion with Deity. This is the signification of the Ascension when Christ resumed His heavenly condition, the same yet not the same, for He had become man, who thenceforth may dwell in Him, as He in man.

(2) Completion of His ministry for mankind.—The Ascension, therefore, marks the completion of His ministry in His relation to man. Henceforth His Messianic offices of King, Prophet, and Priest are fulfilled in perfect measure and without the restraints to which He submitted Himself in the flesh. The service of man is always a service of leadership, of counsel, of reconciliation. The threefold office of man can offer to his fellows; he may rule, he may teach, or he may by sacrifice of himself bring them nearer to each other and to God. And in the Ascended Christ as the Perfect Man these ideals are perfectly fulfilled.

(i.) The Ascended Christ as King.—It was under this image that the Hebrews most vividly conceived of the Messianic Deliverer who was to come. Their natural leader in war was their king, who not only directed the campaign from afar, but himself descended to the battlefield. So, too, under the conditions of Eastern autocracy, the king was the judge, who assigned reward and punishment by his own authority. And thus, when Christ spoke in parables of His future relation to mankind, the imaginations were excited to visions of kingly pomp and glories, of kingship and a kingdom: ‘Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power’ (Mt 26^\text{th}); and it is ‘the King’ who is to dispense blessing and cursing at the Last Assize (Mt 25^\text{th}). The Apocalypse represents Him coming forth to succor the nations, ‘King of kings and Lord of lords’ (Rev 19^\text{th}), whose victory at last shall be complete: ‘the

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kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of His Christ' (Rev 11:15). In this there is an inner moral necessity, according to St. Paul: 'He must reign till He hath put all his enemies under his feet' (1 Co 15:25). The rule of the Ascension is the final conquest of the world, and the right of power, is the rule of an absolute monarch; and the Ascension marks the Enthronement of the King. The Hebrew conception of a Messianic Prince merges in the larger conception of an invisible Master in heaven, who lives and reigns in the world of the spirit, and holds the keys of the future.

(ii.) The Ascended Christ as Prophet.—That the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified' (Jn 7:38), is a principle frequently laid down in the Fourth Gospel. The thought of Christ as the Servant of Jehovah, the Prophet who was to be raised up, was prominent in the earliest Christology (Ac 3:22, 23; 77). That He came to reveal the Father's will was His own claim from the beginning (cf. esp. Mt 11:27; Lk 10:20). Nevertheless, this prophetical office, although fulfilled by the Incarnate Christ in such measure as no prophet or seer before Him had reached, was not to be fulfilled in its perfection until after the Ascension, when it was to be exercised through the ministry of the Spirit: 'It is expedient that He should be for a while withdrawn from you, but ye shall see Him.'

(iii.) The Ascended Christ as Priest.—Of the conception of Messiah as Priest there is but little in the OT literature. The idea emerges in Ps 110, of His Eternal Priesthood, although not after the order of Aaron, but 'after the order of Melchizedek'; but the thought was not developed until the Epistle to the Hebrews expanded it. The consummation of the official service of the Jewish priests was reached when, on the Day of Atonement, the sin-offering on behalf of the people having been sacrificed outside, the blood of the victim was brought within the Holy Place, and sprinkled before the Mercy-seat (Lv 16:16). So, it is argued (He 9:11-12), the consummation of the offering of the great High Priest is His Ascension to the heavenly Mercy-seat, where the efficacy of His sacrifice of blood is perpetually pleaded. It is the function of a priest to offer sacrifice, and this is perfectly fulfilled in the voluntary sacrifice of the Victim-Priest, which is efficacious to the cleansing from sin and not merely from ceremonial defilement (He 10:10), and which, further, is unique and needs not to be repeated. He, the higher, and more spiritual, function of a priest is to intercede, and this is perfectly fulfilled in the perpetual intercession (He 7:25) of the Priest who has 'passed into the heavens' (He 4:14), 'made higher than the heavens' (He 7:25), 'who sat down on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens' (He 8:1), whose priesthood is 'unchangeable' (He 7:25). It has been debated by theologians when the Priesthood of Christ began. Is He to be regarded as a Priest during any period of His visible ministry, or only after His Ascension? On this point there is a difficulty in the Hebrews, only in heaven. * The answer seemingly implied in Hebrews is that, while He was always Priest throughout His Ministry and Passion, and while the supreme sacrifice of His priestly

* For opposite views, see Milligan, op. cit., 77 ff., and Westcott, Hebrews, p. 246.

administration was the sacrifice of Himself on the Cross, yet the consummation of His priestly service is to be found in His perpetual intercession in heaven. Just as the Jewish priest did not reach the highest moment of his service until he had ascended to the holy place, so Christ did not fulfill His priesthood in perfect measure until He had ascended. The Ascension marks the complete fulfillment and consummation of His work as Priest no less than as King and as Prophet. For the Ascension was more than for the Passion, there was an inner moral necessity in the Divine counsels: 'exi παντὸς ἐν και ἐν Μιχαήλ ἀιώνιοι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ καταπελτήσεις τῆς τόν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ' (Lk 24:26).

8. Practical issues of the dogma.—While the Ascension has not always been viewed in Christian theology as the 'Glorification' of Christ and the entrance upon His reward, the practical issue of belief in it has always been the same as that which is recorded of its first witnesses: 'They continued in the Temple, blessing God' (Lk 24:25). The vision of the Ascension is a call to worship: Let us draw near unto the throne (He 4:16). That Christ ascended is not only the pledge that His Ministry for mankind is perfect and final; it also conveys the assurance that heaven is near, and that the earthly order is encompassed by the spiritual. The practical theology of the Ascension is the idealism of the Christian life.


ASSURANCE.—See Certainty.

ASSYRIANS.—See Babylonians and Assyrians.

ASTROLOGY AND ASTRONOMY.—See Stars, also Sun, Moon.

ASURS.—The Asurs of the present day are a non-Aryan tribe of the Kolarians in Chota-Nagpur, Bengal. A people of the same name is mentioned in the religious books of the Hindus. According to the Satapatha Brahmana, they are the descendants of Prajapati ('the Lord of the Creation'). How they became evil spirits or A-suras ('not-God') is not clear; the fact alone is stated that they fought against the Devatas for the possession of the earth, and that they were overthrown and finally succumbed. The historical grain of truth in this poetical story is apparent; the Aryans, in their invasion of the country that is now occupied by the Asur, were obstructed by that fierce and savage-like people whom they called Astra, or demons, and whom they expelled and partly annihilated.

Whether the Asurs living in Chota-Nagpur are the offsprings of these opponents of the Aryans or are connected with the Asura builders of those ancient embankments still found in the Mirzapur district, is, of course, an open question; yet there seems to be nothing to exclude such suppositions. This much is certain, that the Kolarians, partly inhabited by the Asurs before the Kolarian and Dravidian tribes entered it from the North-West, when they likewise had been expelled from their former seats by the stronger and more intelligent Aryans.

There are still traces of copper mines in Chota-
Nagpur, which seem to have been worked in ancient times, and tradition attributes these to the Asurs. The conclusion may readily be drawn that the Asurs, therefore, must have been a long-lived people; and for some time as subjects of the conquering race (the Aryans), by whom they became to some extent civilized. At the present time their occupation consists in digging iron ore, melting iron, and using agricultural implements for their neighbours.

When the Kolarians were compelled by the Aryans to seek refuge in the hills and the dense forests of Chota-Nagpur, they met there the Asurs, and a severe fight ensued for the possession of the area. Fortunately for the Kolarians, they met a remnant and again almost annihilated. The remnant fled to the plateau of the Chota-Nagpur and Palaman hills, where we find them to-day. A few of them have emigrated to adjacent districts.

The spirits of the slain Asurs must ever have haunted the superstitions and demon-fearing Kols, and they, perhaps with the help of some Hindu hermit versed in the Purāṇas, invented the so-called Asur legend. In this legend we may perhaps be found some traces of the tradition of the totem. It consists in the assumption that such a legend was current among the Kolarians when the story of the destruction of the Asurs and the dispersion of their remnant was added and mixed up with it in later times. The legend as told at present by the aborigines in Chota-Nagpur amounts to the following story:—

There were twelve brethren (sept) of Asurs with their wives and children. They melted iron, they ate iron, and made such a hollow fire in the mouth for iron furnace that Singhobas were smothered. He first sent two birds with a message of warning, but the Asurs maltreated the divine messengers, suffered them to be shot, and killed them. He then sent the sun-god, who had sent his son in the form of a Kora kori, or leprous youth. He sought and found shelter with an old Mund and chief of his wife. The Asurs got hold of him and threw him into the furnace; but he came out of the ordeal cleansed of his leprosy, and bearing in his hands large lumps of gold. This raised the covetousness of the Asurs, and holding their wives to treat the bellows well, they jumped into the fire, and perished one and all, leaving their wives and children widows and orphans. These surrounded the son of Singhobas and did not let him return to heaven until he had assured them that they might occupy the high mountains, the forest, the sands, and the streams, and offered fowls and goats, and rice and liquor, to feed and satisfy them. Whereupon the old ladies dispersed and became the Naxi, or spirits of the mountains, the sands, the barren fields and the springs, where they receive the offerings of the Asurs as long as they were in being.

The Asurs left behind them to the Kolarian a number of iron objects, consisting of vases, basins, spades, hoes, swords, rings, and ornaments, consisting of amulets and images in the likeness of the Asurs, and these are kept by the Kolarian as relics of their ancestors and as amulets against evil. Among these objects, the most precious is the large iron bell, which the Kolarian reserve for the asula, or sacred dance. The Kolarian, like the Asur, are believers in the power of spirits, and they believe that the spirits of their ancestors are present with them in the form of images or amulets, and that in their presence the kiss is a spiritual one, free from profanation. They also believe that the departed spirits of their forefathers, who must be provided with food, and propitiated whenever they become hungry and irritable. All the diseases and troubles of this life are ascribed to their anger; they must be appeased, therefore, with sacrifices of fowls, presented by the head of the family at the house-altar, the fire-hearth. In new-born children the Asurs see the reborn spirits of ancestors. Witches and the evil eye are therefore unknown within the tribe, but people from without may be the object of an Asur belief, and, when disturbed, of quieting them in the manner described above. Every departed parent becomes a spirit—a good one if he died a natural death, an
evil one if he died suddenly or by accident. In the former case it is essential to provide him with food for the journey beyond, and in the latter to prepare a funeral. It is usual to cremate the body after burial, and when the funeral is held the dead are placed on the funeral pyre. After the funeral meal, which usually takes place during the first eight days after cremation, portions of the regular meals must be placed outside the door of the house in the name of the departed. After the third eight days, the relatives and friends come for the funeral meal, when they partake freely of home-brewed rice-beer. After this, the spirits of the ancestors need no further attention, and may be regarded as no longer present in the body of the people on earth. It is the only unfortunate evil spirit which so frequently becomes irritable and ill-disposed. He is to be feared, and in time of sickness and calamity to be reconciled by offerings of rice and liquor, and by sacrifices. See art. Agnihotra.


ASVAGHOsa.—Asvaghosa is well known as the author of the Buddh-charita, a poetical description of Buddha's life. * To him is ascribed the Akanakara, a collection of Buddhist stories with their respective moral teachings. The authenticity of these traditions is confirmed by the external evidence of I-Tsing's statement,† and the internal evidence does not contradict it.

We learn from the colophon to the Tibetan Buddh-charita, and from a biography of Vasubandhu, that Asvaghosa was a native of Siketa. According to the latter authority, it was he who was summoned to Kabul by Katyayana-patra, the alleged composer of the 'Abhidharma in Eight Sections,' in order to help him in the compilation of the great commentary to the 'Mahayana-sutras.' We learn from Yuan Chwang (Hunen Tsang), this compilation took place under the patronage of King Kanika, who is now generally believed to have flourished in the 1st cent. A.D. That Asvaghosa was contemporary with Kanika is confirmed by the meditation from which we learn about the Akanakara, his work on the text of that Abhidharma. As we learn from Yuan Chwang (Hunen Tsang), this compilation took place under the patronage of King Kanika, who is now generally believed to have flourished in the 1st cent. A.D. That Asvaghosa was contemporary with Kanika is confirmed by the meditation from which we learn about the Akanakara, his work on the text of that Abhidharma.

We are told that Asvaghosa was a learned but humble man, who was at last converted to the Buddhist faith in the nescence of the phenomenal world. The agent in his conversion was Parpyana, a disciple of Parvata, who is said to have preceded over the compilation of the above-mentioned great commentary. After his conversion Asvaghosa worked eagerly for the propagation of Buddhism. He was one of the foremost of the order of the Kusumapura (or Sarnath), not only as a preacher, but also as a poet and musician. When that town was taken by the army of Chandana Kumara, the king of the Yuddhachis, Asvaghosa was carried away to their country in triumph, and the tribute paid to the conqueror by the Mahaguhis. Another biography of Asvaghosa tells essentially the same story. The indebtedness of Asvaghosa to Parvata and Purpyana is confirmed by the expression 'In the Sonmaage at the beginning of the Asvaghosa, while his connexion with King Kanika is elsewhere asserted. †

Thus far the traditions about Asvaghosa's life, which are the oldest sources of our knowledge about him, may be regarded as comparatively authentic. But when we take up many other writings which bear his name, we find ourselves in the dark as to the identity of the person.‡ The name is not more clearly by the Tibetan tradition, which applies many epithets to him. This tradition dates from the 12th cent., and itself seems to be the result of confusion.

According to it, Asvaghosa was living under King Bhimbhara, the son of Chandraapuri, whom the legend connects with the god Shiva. The king of Tili and Malaya in the west. Of six epithets given to the name we mention: Mahaprajna, Dharmakirti, Mañjupa. Comparing these different traditions, we find little evidence in this Asvaghosa the author of the Buddh-Charita, except the connexion of the name with King Kanika or Kanika. The Tibetan author, it is true, states expressly that the Kanika mentioned there is not to be confused with Kanika, yet there is reason enough to suspect his assertion.

The following are the works attributed to a person or persons bearing the name of Asvaghosa:

1. 'Iyunn in one hundred and fifty stanzas.' This has been handed down to us in the Chinese language. Two works, the 'Charita' and the 'Parvati-shastra,' have been attributed to this Asvaghosa, and it is likely that both the above works are the translations of the hymn into Chinese, seems to regard him as different from the author of the Buddh-Charita. On the other hand, there is in the Katha the episode mentioned as Kanika's son.

2. The 'Charita,' a translation of the 'Charita.' It is the 'Great Valour,' which is surely Mahasura in Sanskrit. Another book, 'Transmigration in the Six Cycles,' agrees with the above in substance, and its authorship is ascribed to Asvaghosa.

The two instances above given seem to be confirmatory of the Tibetan tradition, but they are not strong enough to establish the identity of these Asvaghosas with the author of the Buddh-Charita.

4. Another book ascribed to Asvaghosa is 'A Nirgrantha's Inquiry into the principle of Non-ego.' It expounds the contrast of phenomena and non-phenomena, and is ascribed by Pajreypaya to Asvaghosa which is preserved in the Records of the Patriarchs. Probable this Asvaghosa is the same as the Asvaghosa of these Ed. 1901, 1892.

5. There is mention of the name Asvaghosa in the memoirs of Yuan Chwang. This Asvaghosa was a contemporary of the Boddhisattva, and is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as having been possessed by a demon. Though Yuan Chwang calls this Asvaghosa a Bodhisattva, we have no ground for identifying him with the Asvaghosa of the Buddh-Charita.

6. Finally, we have Asvaghosa the author of 'The Awakening of Faith.' This last work represents a well-reasoned exposition of the doctrines of the final metaphysical principle and of the phenomenal world as contrasted with it. Everything phenomenal is unreal, because it is made up of constituents and is governed by the law of causality. Now reality transcends every distinction and qualification. It is the 7 r e 8, and cannot be named tathata, i.e. 'the

* Tr. in SLH. Vol. i, p. 110.
‡ On the connexion of the name with King Kanika, and the questions connected therewith, see F. W. Thomas, in AM. 1903, p. 331.
++ Nanjo, No. 1291 L, translated by T. Suzuki; see above note 9.
Thatness. The final aim of Buddhist enlightenment consists in the full realization of this absolute reality, which is attained by each from most of the other sacrifices, which were exclusively priestly.

The sacrifice began in spring or summer, and, with the preparatory ceremonies, occupied more than a year. First, a suitable victim had to be carefully selected. The animal chosen must be of pure breed and valuable, distinguished by special marks. After it had been set apart for sacrifice by the symbolic act of tethering to the sacrificial post, and had been bathed, it was granted full freedom again. It was allowed to run loose for a whole year, and to be freely in the company of a hundred old horses. A hundred royal princes, a hundred noblemen, a hundred sons of officials of higher, and a hundred of those of lower rank, all armed in accordance with their station, formed its escort and guarded it against danger or theft, without interfering with its freedom of movement. Conflicts or wars (cf. especially Mahabhârata, xiv.) often resulted from attempts to steal the horse during its wanderings. If it were lost, the ceremonial had to be partly repeated and another animal substituted.

While the horse thus roamed about at a distance, the people at home awaited the time of its return, and in the meantime took part in all kinds of festivities. Gifts were offered daily to the god Snitri; daily also at a festive gathering before the king and the court the hotr had to give a recital. Every eleven days this cycle of recitations was repeated. The recital concluded with an appropriate chapter from the Vedas, together with singing, lute-playing, and impromptu verses, composed by a noble bard in honour of the king, the giver of the sacrifice, in which he was compared with the pious rulers of olden times. The recital itself was enlivened by dramatic action. According to the class of persons who formed the subject-matter of the recitation, it was arranged that the audience and chorus to whom the reciter addressed himself should consist of old or young people, snake-charmers, robbers, usurers, fishermen, bird-catchers, or sages. When the year had expired and the horse had returned, the sacrifice began with consecration (sîkálo) of the king.

The ceremony proper consisted of four stages. The first was accompanied by numerous other animal-sacrifices, and by the pressing of the soma. On the second day, the sacrificial horse, decked with gold, was once more yoked with three other horses to a gilded car, driven round the Kurus, and after a victory over the Kurus, as a purification from all sins, is described with epic differences. The avemadha was thus the royal sacrifice per excellént. The privilege of sacrificing the horse belonged only to a ruler whose sovereign power was undisputed. It was designed to secure for him continued success, the fulliment of all his desires, increase of strength and extension of the empire. Consequently the sacrifice was made before an expedition for conquest (digrejyöri), or after a campaign which had ended in victory. The Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa (vii. 21 ff.) gives a list, adorned with antique verses, of the kings of olden times who, after ascending the throne, marched victoriously through the whole earth and then celebrated a horse sacrifice. The avemadha thus became a great State function in the period when the people took part officially, and with which were associated customs of a secular and often very gross character, accompanied by oratorical displays. In the strictly regulated ritual these last were permitted only with strict conditions before the ritual had hardened into fixed rules, they were a matter of spontaneous improvisation.

These two features, its more secular character and its national colouring, distinguished the avemadha from most of the other sacrifices, which were exclusively priestly.
wives of the king with their maids figure among the presents.

LITERATURE.—A. Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur (Strassburg, 1897), p. 149; J. Eggeling, Sex xiv. Introd. called "old

K. Geldner.

ASYLUM.—Asylum (Lat. asylum, Gr. ad, σπείρα, refuge, sanctuarv, near. of adj. σπείρα, in-

violable, from a priv. and σπείρα, σπείρα, right of sanctuary) is a place of asylum, or refuge, from which a refugee is not allowed to be forcibly

1. Among many peoples at different stages of civilization sacred places are asylums. Thus among the Arunta of Central Australia there is a small local town, with a centre called oorntukula, in the immediate neighbourhood of which everything is sacred and must on no account be hurt. The plants growing there are never interfered with in any way; animals which come there are safe from the spear of the hunter; and a man who is being pursued by others cannot be touched as long as he remains at this spot.1 At Maiva, in the South-Eastern part of New Guinea, 'should a man be pursued by an enemy and take refuge in the dabo [or temple], he is perfectly safe inside. Any weapon that was directed at him would miss him, for he had his arms and legs shrivelled up, and he could do nothing but wish to die.'2 In Upolu, one of the Samoan Islands, a certain god, Vave, had his residence in an old tree, which served as an asylum for murderers and other great offenders.3 Among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush there are several 'cities of refuge,' the largest being the village of Mergrom, which is almost entirely peopled by chiles, or descendants of persons who have slain some fellow-travellers.4 Among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush there are several 'cities of refuge,' the largest being the village of Mergrom, which is almost entirely peopled by chiles, or descendants of persons who have slain some fellow-travellers.4

2. In many North American tribes certain sacred places or whole villages served as asylums. Thus the Arkaraks of the Missouri had in the centre of their largest village a sacred lodge called the 'medicinal-lodge,' where no blood was to be spilled, not even that of an enemy.5 'In almost every Indian nation,' says Adair, who wrote about the tribes of the South-Eastern States, 'there are several peculiar towns, which are called the old-beloved, ancient, holy, or white towns'; and they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people that human blood was ever shed in them, al-

though they often force persons from them, and put them to death elsewhere.'6 Among the Acagehan Indians, however, in the valley and neighbour-

s on the head of the chief, and the refugees can then return to his house in peace.6 In Congo French, according to Miss Kingsley, there are several sanctuaries. The great one in the Calabar district is at Omen. Thither mothers of twins, widows, thieves, and slaves flee, and if they reach it are safe.7 In Ashanti a slave who flees to a temple and ditches himself against the fetish cannot easily be brought back to his master.8 Among the Negroes of Acrea, criminals used to 'sent themselves upon the fetish,' that is, place themselves under its protection; but murderers who sought refuge with the fetish were always liable to be delivered up to their pursuers.8

3. On the coast of Malabar a certain temple situated to the south-east of Calicut affords protection to thieves and adulterous women belonging to the Brähman caste; but this privilege is reckoned among the sixty-four anathcharans, or abominations, which were introduced by Brähmanism.9 Among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush there are several 'cities of refuge,' the largest being the village of Mergrom, which is almost entirely peopled by chiles, or descendants of persons who have slain some fellow-travellers.4

4. In Morocco the tombs of saints and mosques offer shelter to refugees, especially in those parts of the country where the Sultan's government has no power; even the descendants of the saint or his manager (mkaddam) can only by persuasion and by promising to mediate between the suppliant and his pursuer induce the former to leave the place.10 In other Muhammadan countries there is, or have been, similar places. In Persia the great number of such asylums proved so injurious to public safety, that about the middle of the 19th cent. only three mosques were left which were recognized by the government as affording protection to criminals of every description.11 Among the Hebrews the right of asylum originally belonged to all altars (Ex 21:13); cf. W. R.

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1 Adair, History of the American Indians (1775), p. 159; see also pp. 185, 415.

2 Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, iii. (1859) p. 167; Bancroft, Life in California (1846), p. 262.

3 Graul, Reise nach Ostindien, ill. (1854) pp. 332, 355.


5 Hahn, Arabische Reisen (1830), p. 122.

6 Arnot, Kafirs (1859), p. 77.


8 Powditch, Mission to Ashanti (1816), p. 365.


11 Polak, Persien, ii. (1865) p. 237; Budech, Im Lande der Sonnen (1886), p. 210; Jackson, Persia Past and Present (1906), pp. 175, 267, 455.

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within the church was recognized in most of their codes. In the Middle Ages and later, persons who fled to a church or to certain boundaries surrounding it were, for a time at least, safe from all prosecution, it being considered treason against God, an offence beyond compensation, to force the sinner to leave the sanctuary.

5. In Greece many sanctuaries possessed the right of asylum down to the end of paganism, and any violation of this right was supposed to be severely punished by the deity. According to an old Roman writer, Bulmerinc, Plutarch in various but legal ways was apprized of the murder and delivered to the next kinsman of the murdered person, to be put to death by him (De 1940).

According to the post-exilic law, the refugee could leave the place, after the high priest's death, without being exposed to the pursuit of the avenger of blood. Indeed,杀人者属的 travaill Comedy (s. 7) it is asserted in the scriptures that there is no crime which may not be pardoned from the fear of God and reverence for the saints. But the right of sanctuary was gradually subjected to various restrictions both by secular legislation and by the Church. The successor of Hillel declared that refuge should not be given to a highway robber or to anybody who devastated cultivated fields at night, and, according to Beamanor's Continuisse Beavonesis (xi. 15ff.), dating from the 13th cent., it was also denied to persons guilty of sacrilege or arson. The Parliament of Scotland enacted that whoever sought the protection of the Church for homicide should be required to come out and undergo an assize, that it might be found whether it was committed of forthought felony or in "cham-bluel"; and only in such cases be he to be restored to the sanctuary, the sheriff being directed to give him security to that effect before requiring him to leave it. In England a misdeafactor who took refuge in a consecrated church could not be removed from it; but it was the duty of the four neighbouring 'vills' to keep the holy place, prevent his escape, and send for a coroner, who then came and parleyed with the refugee. The latter had his choice between submitting to trial and abjuring the realm. If he chose to abjure the realm, he hurried, dressed in pilgrim's guise, to the port of departure, was assigned to a vessel, and left England, being bound by his oath never to return. His land was escheated, his chattels were forfeited, and if he came back his fate was that of outlawry. But if the refugee would neither submit to trial nor abjure the realm, then the contention of the civil power was that, at all events after he had enjoyed the right of asylum for forty days, he was to be starved into submission; although the clergy resented this interference with their sanctuary. In the reign of Henry viii. there were certain places which were allowed to be 'places of tuition and privilege' —in fact, cities of permanent refuge for persons who should, according to ancient usage, have abjured the realm, after having fled to a church. There was a governor in each of these privileged places, charged with the daily duty of murthering his men, who were not to exceed twenty in each town, and who had to wear a badge whenever they appeared out of doors. But while these regulations were to the protection of sanctuary was taken away from persons guilty of murder, rape, burglary, highway robbery, or arson. The law of sanctuary was then left unchanged till the reign of James I., when, in theory, the privilege in question was altogether denied to criminals. The Milman, History of Latin Christianity, ii. (1857) p. 59; Bulmerinc, op. cit. p. 73 ff.; Fuld, loc. cit. p. 130 f.; Breton, de Legibus et consuetudine sanctuariorum clericorum ecclesiasticorum (1857) p. 302 f.; Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages (1863), p. 193.


Gregory ix., Decretals, iii. 49. 6.

Innes, op. cit. p. 138.


Yet, as a matter of fact, asylum continued to exist in England so late as the reign of George t., when that of St. Peter's at Westminster was abolished.4 In the legislation of Sweden the last reference for the privilege of sanctuary is found in an enactment of 1528.2 In France it was abolished by an ordonnance of 1539. In Spain it existed even in the 19th century.4 Not long ago the most important churches in Abyssinia,3 the monarchies of the same country,6 and the quarter in Gondar where the head of the Abyssinian clergy has his residence,7 were reported to be asylum for criminals. And the same was the case with the old Christian churches among the Sudanese at this present day.

Among the ancient Irish the right of sanctuary also existed. This was of two sorts: temporary within the precinct (meagain) of a person of rank, and permanent within the land of a host (brudan) or the glebe (nunod, terram) of a church. The meagain varied according to the status of the owner of the land, ranging from the radius of one spear- cast to the entire plain in which the palace of a provincial king, the king of Ireland, or the Archbishop of Armagh, stood. Within the meagain the fugitive, who by the will of the place and granted formal permission to enter, was safe, so long as he in wise injured the meagain or its owner, for a time, but must sooner or later incur the penalty of his original misled. Within the brudan, on the other hand, a homicide was safe, if he left the district only actually, until he could obtain a fair trial before a brachen, or judge. The right accorded to the meagain of a dwelling was for the protection of the owner against violence on his premises by outsiders—not primarily in the interest of the fugitive, and as it depended on the will—caprice—not the owner, it was uncertain. It was indeed not an asylum at all in the proper sense of the word. But the sanctuary of a church or the asylum of a bruden was absolute and inviolable, depending on no conditions and on no man's will or caprice.8

7. In many cases the tombs of dead or the houses of living persons serve as asylum. The Arab poet Hammid found a safe refuge at the tomb of his enemy's father.9 In the monarchical state of the Eastern Sudan the inhabitants enjoy a legal right of asylum if they have succeeded in escaping to a hut near the burial-place of the king.10 Among the Barotse' and Kafirs the tombs of chiefs are places of refuge. Among the Southern Ovambos of South-Western Africa the village of a great chief is abandoned at his death, except by the members of a certain family, who remain there to prevent it from falling into utter decay; and condemned criminals who contrive to escape to one of these deserted villages are safe, at least for a time. Among various peoples the domicile of the chief or king is an asylum for

criminals; and in some places in West Africa the same is the case with the house of the high priest.2 In Usumbura, again, a murderer cannot be arrested or punished without the consent of the great wizards of the country.3 But even the house of an ordinary man may possess the right of asylum. Among the Bareaes and Kunamas, in Eastern Africa, a murderer who finds time to flee into another country cannot be arrested, and it is considered a point of honor for the community to help him to escape abroad.4 In the Pelew Islands 'no enemy may be killed in a house, especially not in the presence of the host.'5 In Europe the privilege of asylum went hand in hand with the sovereignty of the owner.6 It is the reach of a man's peace was proportionate to his rank.7

8. The right of sanctuary has been ascribed to various causes. Obviously erroneous is the suggestion that places of refuge were established with a view to protecting unintentional offenders from punishment or revenge.8 The restriction of the privilege of sanctuary to cases of accidental injuries is not at all general, and where it occurs it is undoubtedly an innovation due to moral or social considerations. The mere fact that a fugitive's asylum has been attributed to a desire to give time for the first heat of resentment to pass over before the injured party could seek redress.9 But although such a desire may have helped to preserve the right of asylum where it has once come into existence, it could not have accounted for the origin of this right. It should be remembered that the privilege of sanctuary not only affords temporary protection to the refugee, but in many cases altogether exempts him from punishment or retaliation, by giving him shelter among animals which have fled to a sacred place. And if the theory referred to were correct, how could we explain the fact that the right of asylum is particularly attached to sanctuaries? It has been said that the right of sanctuary bears testimony to the power of certain places to transmit their virtues to those who entered them.10 But it is doubtful whether we have any evidence that the fugitive is supposed to partake of the sanctity of the place which shelters him. In Morocco, persons who are permanently attached to mosques or the shrines of saints are generally regarded as more

1 Harmon, Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America (1855), p. 237 (Tacajies); Lewin, Hill Tracts of Chittagong (1880), in Journ. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, XXXII, p. 139; Asialrecht, (1847) 339 (Macassars and Bugis of Celebes); Tromp, 'Uit de Salassa van Koekoek,' in Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde der Nederlanden in Oost-Afrika, II, (1868) p. 54 (natives of Koekoek, a district of Borneo); Jung, quoted by Kohler, 'Recht der Marschallinseln,' in Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, xiv. 447 (natives of Nauru in the Marshall Group); Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia (1861), p. 334 (Samoaos); Kaimanu, in Steinmetz, Rechtswissenschaft der Polynesier, p. 342 (Oakongs); Schinz, op. cit. p. 512 (Wambois); Reehn, 'Das Recht der Amazons,' in Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, x. 50; Merker, quoted by Kohler, 'Bauernaufsiedelung in Ostafrika,' cit. xxi. 20 (Vadabagha); Merker, Die Mission (1904), p. 295. Among the Baroates the residences of the queen and the prime minister are places of refuge (op. cit. p. 75).

2 Muller, Die australische Landschaft, Futh (1872), p. 75; Wilson, Western Africa (1850), p. 129 (Krumen of the Grain Coast).

3 Krapf, Reisen in Ost-Afrika, II (1855), p. 132.


8 Hegel, Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, § 117; Powell, 'Outlines of Sociology,' in The Saturday Lectures delivered in the University of Dublin during the Autumn Session, 1872.


10 Granger, Worship of the Kowmic (1895), p. 223.
or less holy; but, so far as the present writer knows, this is never the case with casual visitors or suppliants, hence it is hardly from fear of the refuge that his pursuer refrains from laying hands on him. Prof. Robertson Smith has stated part of the reason why "the feet of Jupiter's high priest, if they ever were cut, stood as undoubted rights as against a fugitive at the sanctuary is regarded as an encroachment on its holiness." There is an almost instinctive fear of disturbing the peace, and particularly of shedding blood, in a holy place; and if it is improper to commit any act of violence in the house of a pagan, it is naturally considered equally offensive, and at the same time much more dangerous, to do so in the homestead of a supernatural being. But this is only one aspect of the matter; another, equally important, still calls forth an animadversion. Why should the gods or saints themselves be so anxious to prevent criminals who have sought refuge in their sanctuaries? Why do they not deliver them up to justice through their earthly representatives?

The answer lies in certain ideas which refer to human as well as divine protectors of refugees. The god or saint is in exactly the same position as a man to whose dwelling a person has fled for shelter. According to Moorish ideas, the owner of the house or temple must never assist the fugitive: for himself, being in close contact with him and his family and his belongings, the refuge is thought to be able to transfer them curses and evil wishes. He is in the 'dr of his host, and L'dr denotes a compulsory relation between two persons, the constraining character of which is due to the belief in the transference of a conditional curse. Ideas of this sort seem common to all tribes of men who have the fear of the enemy, and are recorded as an invariable place of refuge. Sometimes a criminal can, in a similar way, be a danger to the king even from a distance, or by meeting him, and must in consequence be pardoned. In Madagascar an offender escaped punishment if he could obtain sight of the sovereign, whether before or after conviction; hence criminals at work on the high road were ordered to withdraw when the sovereign was known to be coming by. "In Usambara even a murderer is said to be safe as soon as he has touched the person of a saint," say the Christian and heathen tribes, a saying that is met with in many parts of the earth. For he who escapes punishment if he reaches and throws himself on the king's drums. On the Slave Coast, criminals who are doomed to death are always begged, because if a man should speak to the king he must be pardoned. In Ashanti, if an offender should succeed in swearing on the king's life, he must be pardoned, because such an oath is believed to involve danger to the king; hence knives are driven through the cheeks from opposite sides, over the tongue, to prevent him from speaking. So also among the Romans, according to an old Jewish writer, a person condemned to death was begged to prevent him from cursing the king. Fear of the curses pronounced by a dissatisfied refugee likewise, in all probability, underlay certain customs which were prevalent in ancient Rome. A servant or slave who came and fell down at the feet of Jupiter's high priest, if he raised his knees, was for that day freed from the whip; and if a prisoner with irons and bolts on his feet succeeded in approaching the high priest in his house, he was let loose and his fetters were thrown on to the road, not through the door, but by an innovation. Moreover, if a criminal who had been sentenced to death accidentally met a Vestal virgin, on his way to the place of execution, his life was saved. So sensitive to imprecations were both Jupiter's high priest and the priestesses of Vesta, that the Praetor legally allowed to compel them to take an oath. Among several peoples even ordinary women are regarded, in a way, as asylum, probably from fear of the magic power attributed to their sex. In various parts of Morocco, especially among the Berbers of Jàhèd or northern mountaineers, a person who takes refuge with a woman by touching her is safe from his pursuer. Among the Arabs of the plains this custom is dying out, owing to their subjection to the Sultan's government; but among certain Asiatic Bedawin, the custom was to go to some woman and swear a number of oaths, or even têns. Among the Circassians, a stranger who intrusts himself to the patronage of a woman, or is able to touch with his mouth the breast of a wife, is spared and protected as a relation of the blood, though he were in the enemy, nay through the door, but by a relative.

The inhabitants of Baréges in Bigorre have, down to recent times, preserved the old custom of pardoning a criminal who has sought refuge with a woman.

Now, as a rule, men may by his curse force a king or a priest or any other human being with whom he establishes some kind of contact, to protect him, so he may in a similar manner constrain a god or saint as soon as he has entered his sanctuary. According to the Moorish expression, he is then in the 'dr of the saint, and the saint is bound to protect him, just as a host is bound to protect his guest. It is not only men that have to fear the curses of dissatisfied refugees. Aschylus puts the following words into the mouth of Apollo, when he declares his intention to assuage the punishment of the hero: 'Terrible both among men and gods is the wrath of a refugee, when one abandons him with intent.'


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common Gr. and Lat. form. The origin of this name was a matter of much speculation to earlier scholars. Solon (de Dios Syris, 178) explained it as a corruption of Ἀθηρ, 'great fish,' and connected it with Ἀθηρία, 'f applicable.' These and Gesenius (Comm. Bib. Is. ii. 342) interpreted it as Ἀθηρ, 'greatness of fortune'; Movers (Phönizier, i. 594) as Aram. ḫērā, 'elevit, like Heb. שָׁם, as a designation for 'female'; de Vogüé (Phénix Centrale, Ins. Sem. vii.), followed by Baudissin (Sabin. et Mead. xxxiv. 1870, pp. 92, 169), Baudissin (Studien, i. 238; FRE. ii. 172), Baedeker (Beiträge, 69 ff.), and nearly all recent scholars. Lagarde (Mitth. i. 1884, 77 f.) doubts the correctness of this view, and Jensen (Hittiter und Armenier, 1888, 157 f.) suggests that Atargatis is derived from a hypothetical Hittite goddess Tarkhu. Neither of these scholars has succeeded, however, in disproving the commonly accepted etymology.

'Atar, the first element in the compound, is the Aramaic form of the name that appears in Canaan as 'Atsarāt, (Atartē), in Assy., and Bab. as Aštart; in South Arabia as 'Atar; in Abyssinia as Astar; in Moab as Aštar. Heb. אט and Arab. ات regularly correspond with Aram. אט, so that Heb. אט becomes Aram. אט. 'Athar was soon assimilated into 'Atar (and it was written אט), the usual form in the inscriptions. The phonetic relation of these various forms shows that 'Atar (Ashtar, Astarte) was a primitive Semitic deity who must have been worshipped by the Arameans from the earliest times. The first appearance of the name is in the Annals of Ashurbanipal (Kass'. viii. 112, 124 = KIB ii. 221 f.; Cyl. b, vii. 92 = KIB ii. 215, n. 4), where the form 'Atar-samain, 'heavenly Ater,' indicates the Aramaic origin of the divinity. It appears also in Syrian proper names such as Aţar-lā, Aţar-gari, Aţar-lāri, Aţar-sūr (Johns, Ass. Doomsday Book, 17; Hilprecht, Bab. Exp. i. 51, 70). A gem bears the inscription יטא, 'Ater is strong' (Levy, Phön. Stud. ii. 33; E. Meyer, ZDMG xxxi. 1877, 752, n. 1). From none of these early mentions does it appear that Ater was a male god, masculine or feminine; in South Arabia, Abyssinia, and Moab it is masculine, in Assyria and Canaan it is feminine (cf. Barton, Semitic Origins, ch. iv.). Winckler (Altert. Forsch. i. 528) has shown, however, that Ashurbanipal in two texts equates Aţar-samain with the Assyrian Ishtar, which is always feminine (in spite of the absence of fem. ending). Strabo also (xvi. 783) says that Aţara is the same as Atargatis, and Atargatis is always feminine. Aţara seems clearly to be a dialectic form of 'Aţar, 'Aţar, and Noldéke (ZDMG xxix. 109) explains it on the analogy of Arabic. 'Aţar for 'Aţhar, 'Ashshur, 'Asyria.' Justin (Hist. Phil. xxxvi. 2) speaks of Aretas (Arathēs = Aţhara) as the wife of Damascus, for whom he built a temple. In the light of this evidence there can be no doubt that the Aramaic name was a goddess (see ASHTART).

'Ate or 'Aţeh, the second element in the compound name Atargatis, appears in the forms אט and in Palmyrene proper names, e.g. אטשת, אטחת, אטאש, אטאת, אטאת, אטאת, אטאש or אטאת of Αταργάτης, Ate, 'Ate, 'Ate, Ate, Ate, Ate, Ate, Ate as the name of a woman (de Vogüé, Doc. Sem. No. 30, 5, 19, 63, 74, 107, 143, 54; Mordtmann, Neue Beiträge z. Kunde Palmyra's, S.M.A. 1875, 47; Sachau, ZDMG xxxvii. 1881, p. 740 f.). It appears also in Phoen. inscriptions from Cyprus in the names Ἀτη and Ἀτη (CIS, No. 93, 79, cf. italics); Noldéke, Arch. Orient. Forsch. i. 528; Strabo, xiii. 1888, p. 926; Halevy, Mélanges de critique et d'histori. 1888, p. 215). Gr. inscriptions and authors it assumes the forms Ἀθη, Ἀθη, Ἀθα, Ἀθε. These forms and the masc. verbs in the Palmyrene proper names suggest that 'Ate is a male divinity, but there is so much looseness in Palmyrene in the agreement of the verb with the gender of its subject, that this argument is not conclusive. Pseudo-Melito (in Ottos Corp. Apol. Christ. ix, 426, 605; Cureton, Spicileg. 44, 25 Syr.) describes τατη, 'Ate, as worshipped at Hadyab (Adiabene), and uses the feminine in speaking of her, but this testimony also is far from decisive. As uncertain as the sex of 'Ate is his (or her) identity. De Vogüé and Baudissin think that the name is אט, Ate, in the sense of 'favourable season,' and that it was used originally merely to distinguish the 'Astar of Hrolopolis from other 'Asters, but subsequently was separated from her as the name of an independent deity. This etymology is not unlike the union of two deities into one that is common in the Semitic world, but the separation of one into two is an unknown phenomenon. Levy (Phön. Stud. iv. 7) and Six (Numism. Chron. 1878, 108) hold that 'Ate is a divine name from the three. 'Ate, 'Ate, 'Ate, 'Ate makes this view difficult. Baedeker (Beitr. 71 f) identifies 'Ate with Aţos (a Lydian deity), which appears in the proper names Sadyattes, Myattes, Alyattes, and he appeals to Lucian's story (de Dea Syr. 15) of the founding of the temple at Hierapolis by Atar the Lydian in honour of Rheia, who had estranged him. In that case the phonetic relation of Aţheos to Aţes is the same as that of Aţhara to Aţar (see above). Hommel (PSBA, 1897, p. 81) thinks also that the original seat of the worship of 'Ate was in eastern Asia Minor (see ATE, ATHEOS).

When so much doubt exists as to the character of 'Ate, it is difficult to determine what is the relation of 'Ater to this deity in the compound 'Ater-Ate, or how the character of the primitive Semitic 'Ater is modified by this relationship. Meyer (ZDMG xxxi. 730) and Hommel (L.C.) regard 'Ater as the wife of Ate, but Hadad is always represented as her consort. Halevy (l.c. 224) suggests that 'Ater is the daughter of Ate, and compares 'Ishtar with Aten in Egyptian and other Semitic names. (RePs ii. 173) thinks that, if 'Ate is a real name and not a mere title of 'Ater, he is probably the son of 'Ater (cf. Ishtar and Tannuzu and the legends given below of Atargatis and her son), Baedeker (Beitr. 71 f) thinks that the relationship is Ate = Ate, i.e. Ate has lost his identity in 'Ater, and he appeals to Lucian's story (see above). The philological method cannot throw much light on this problem, and we are compelled to turn to the allusions in the inscriptions and in classical writers in order to ascertain the character of Atargatis.

The earliest references to the worship of this goddess are found in fragments of Ctesias (+ c.e. 400) scattered through the writings of later classical authors (cf. Ctes. Elyk., ed. Bühler, 393-395; Müller, in Dindorf's Hercules, 10 fl.). Strabo (xvi. 785) says that Ctesias calls Atargate Dercétès. Diodorus Siculus (ii. 4), in dependence upon Ctesias (cf. ii. 20), narrates that Aphrodite was angry with Dercétès, and caused her to fall in love with a beautiful youth among those who sacrificed in the temple in Askalon. By him she became the mother of Semiramis, who was delivered by the gods to be brought up by a woman of the palace, and the youth to disappear, and placed the child in a desert, where she was fed by doves. She then
east herself into a lake near Askalon and was caught by a fish with the eyes of a woman. This is the origin of the half-human half-fish image of Derkètō. The same story is repeated by Athenagoras (Legat. pro Christ. 26) and by an anonymous author (Ehr. op. cit. 333 f; Müller, op. cit. 18), who also calls Derkètō the Syrian goddess, Erastos (Hist. 10, 31), and for the statement that Derkètō was saved by a fish at Bambuye (Hierapolis, the modern Membiş) in northern Syria. He also calls her the goddess of Syria. Hyginus (Astron. ii. 41) states, on the authority of Ctesias, that a fish rescued Derkètō from the sea, and therefore the Syrians regard fishes as holy, abstain from eating them, and worship golden images of them. Xanthus the Lydian, a contemporary of Ctesias, cited by Mnaseas, according to Atheneus (vii. 57), states (if the citation be genuine) that Atargatis because of her pride was seized by the Lydian Mopsus and cast with her son leithus (‘fish’) into a lake near Askalon, where she was devoured by fishes. Hesychius (s. e. ἀταργάδης) says that she is called ἄταργάδης.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of the worship of Atargatis is found on a coin bearing on one side the inscription γυνης, Ἀβδ-Ḥadad, on the other γυνης, ‘Ἄταργάτη (De Luyens, Essai sur la numismat. des Sarrak, 1846, p. 39, pl. v.; Blau, ZDMG vi. 1875, p. 395 f.), and was always associated with the cultus of a Syrian deity that belonged to the Persian period, and it is probably to be assigned rather to the early Greek period. It comes perhaps from Hierapolis, and is interesting as confirming the statements of later writers that Hadad and Atargatis were among the great divinities of Syria. Other coins of ‘Abd-Ḥadad show the more usual spelling γυναῖ-. ‘Άταρατη (see Waddington, RV vi. 1861, p. 9 f.; Six, Numismatic Chronicle, 1878, p. 105).

According to 2 Mac. 12, Judas Macabeus in the year B.C. 144 went forth against Carnion and the temple of Atargatis (τη Αταργατία) and slew 25,000 people. In 1 Macc. 6 this is described as το τεινος και καραπίνα. From this it appears that the cult of Atargatis flourished during the Greek period not only in Hierapolis and Askalon, but also in Idumea. An inscription of the same period from Keift-Hauwar, on the road between Damasus and Banias, bearing the word (῾Αταργατη) indicates probably that there was a temple of Atargatis in this place (Waddington, No. 1890).

Excauls in Delos have developed a number of inscriptions to Atargatis dating from a period shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. Here occur the forms Αταργάτη, Αταργάτης, Αταργάτης (BCh iii. 407), and Αταργατη (ib. vi. 495 f., vi. 477, viii. 132). These inscriptions combine Atargatis and Asadas (Hadad) and identify Atargatis with Aphrodite. In one case she is called ἀφροδητη Ἀταργάτη, in another ἄταρατη ἀπορριατη. Her priests are called ‘Hierapolitans,’ either because this was a colony that had come from Hierapolis, or because the priest of Ἅταργατη was called άταρατης (Herod. i. 107, 125, 170), and adds the new information that she was changed into a fish at Bambuye (Hierapolis). Strabo (i. 24) says, ‘Atargate (according to some MSS, Artagnate) the Syrians call Atalma, but Ctesias calls her Derketo.’ Here Atargatis is identified with Athar (= Athar, Athar-Baar, in the same sense as that in which she is identified with Aphrodite in the Delos inscriptions (cf. xvi. 748, 785). Corinthus (i. 68) records (de Nat. Deor. 6) that fishes and doves were sacred to Atargatis, the goddess of the Syrians, and therefore were not eaten. Pliny (N. H. xiv. 15 (14), 69, says of Joppa, ‘There is worshipped the Colchis monster Justina.’ Whether this is to be understood of the sea-monster (ξυντη, whose skeleton, according to Strabo and Pliny, was shown at Joppa, or whether it is to be regarded as a truncated form of Der-ceto, is uncertain. Judas Macc. (vii. 57) states that Syria. Pliny identifies Atargatis with Derceto, and says that she was worshipped at Hierapolis, or Bambuye, or Malog. In xxxii. 2, (8), 17 he speaks of the pond of sacred fish at the temple of Hierapolis. The xii. 44. of the Syrians, and speaks as an eye-witness. He never calls the goddess Atargatis, and refuses to identify her with Derketo of Askalon, because the image in that place had a fish’s tail, while the one in Hierapolis had perfect human form (14). He prefers to call her Hera (247). All of the admits that there is much to be said in favour of the view that she is Rheia (15). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that his ‘Syrian goddess’ is really Atargatis. His title Σεπίσ θέα is one that is constantly applied to this divinity by other writers. Hierapolis is known to have been a chief centre of her cult. The priest of Atargatis at Delos entitles himself Hierapolitans. In the temple was a pond of sacred fish, such as Pliny describes in the temple of Atargatis at Hierapolis; and Lucian himself narrates that the people held that the temple was built by Semiramis in honour of her mother Derketo, and that they abstained from eating fish and doves, in the same manner as the people of Askalon (14).

The temple of Hierapolis is described by Lucian as the largest and richest in Syria. To it pilgrims came from all parts of Syria. It was not only a market-place, but a place of holy worship, and was surrounded with two walls, one of which was very high and very thick. To the roof of the temple were attached one hundred golden images. The first was that of Hera (Atargatis), which had attributes not only of Hera but also of Athene, Aphrodite, Jupiter, Venus, Pluto, Mars, and Cybele. From this temple she carried a cymbal, in the other a cymbal. On her head, which was surrounded with rays, she wore a crown, and she was clothed with a girdle ornamented with the image of Hera. She had a thunderbolt in her other hand and a drum like that of Rheia (22, cf. 19). The second image bore a general resemblance to Zeus, although it was called by a different name. It was, doubtless, Hadad, who was represented armed with a thunderbolt. Between these two stood a third image, the size of which Lucian could not determine. It had no name, he says, but was called merely σεπίσ της, ‘sight’ (Iv. 10, 72) is doubtless correct in regarding this statement as due to a mistake of the part of Lucian for ἱερατος). The third divinity was really ότε, whose name appears in the second element in ἵερατος, Atargatis. As to the origin of the temple, some said it was built by Denculon, others by Attes (ατες), others by Semiramis and her daughter. Some preferred to believe that it was the work of Dionysus (12-29). The priesthood of the temple was very numerous, and was divided into classes of exercised different functions. Denominations among these were the Galli, or eunuch-priests. On
festival occasions young men worked themselves into a frenzy through music and other religious exercises, and then cast off their clothes for a variety of acrobatic feats. At times they were womanly in their attire, and in the same way they were often represented in art, as in the Casa del Chirurgia, cf. *Atth.* 35-43. Of this custom Lucian offers two explanations. One was that it was in honour of Athar, and the other that it was so conducted in the world in female attire; the other was that it was in memory of Comabola, who mutilated himself in order to avoid being castrated by his wife, and then burned the whole in the presence of all the gods of Syria, who were brought by their devotees to witness the rite (69). Domestic animals, except the hog, were offered in sacrifice. These were presented in the temple, and were taken home to be slain, but sometimes they were killed by being cast down from the portals of the temple. Children also were occasionally offered in this way. Pilgrims always slavages their heads when coming to the sanctuary, and young men and women presented their hair in gold or silver boxes before marrying. Taking in honour of the goddess was a common practice (54-60).

Apuleius (Metamorph. viii. 170) speaks of the 'omnipotent and all-producing Syrian goddess.' Julian (Hist. Anim. xii. 2) speaks of the 'divine mother' of the Athenians (viii. 37), and the goddess (the name of *Arýpýara*). Arunaids (*de Accent.* ed. Barker, 36. 18) calls her *Arýpýara*. The *book of Lęgibus*, ascribed to Bar-desanas († a.d. 220) in *Cureton*, Specidy. Syr. 1855, 29, tr. 31, calls her *Taraíth* (*IΔΣΔΨ*), and says that she is worshipped in Syria and Edessa (the Gr. translation speaks of *Iḥēr* as worshipping her in Syria and Osroene). She is also mentioned in *Theogony* as practiced in her worship. Tertullian (ad nation. ii. 8, cf. *Apol.* 24) calls Atargatis the 'goddess of the Syrians.' Macrobius (beginning of 5th cent.) says that among the Syrians the sun is called Hatala, the earth Aradargia. The last was represented mounted upon a lion, with her head emblazoned by rays (Sat. i. 23, 18). Jacob of Sarug (*a.d. 521*), in the documents published by Martin (*ZDMG* xxxix. 1875, 182), states that *Taraíth* (*IΔΣΔΨ*) was worshipped at Harran. Simplicius (6th cent.) has the form *Arápýara* (cf. Lagarde, *H. v. Ablh.* 1860, 238). The *Taluad* (*Abédē zāra*; Ht. tr. *Ewald*, 1866, p. 85, cf. *Götterdämmerung* 27) says that she is worshipped at 252, i.e. Mabog (Iambicy, Hierapolis). In Armenian writers the goddess appears as *Tharatha*. Moses of Chorene (ii. 27) says that Abgar built Edessa and brought into it its idols, Nabok, Bel, Bathinidal, and Tharatha. For other facts see Lagarde, *Armenische Studien* in *AGG* xxxii. 1887, p. 58, § 846; Mordtmann, *ZDMG* xxxix. 43.

From these accounts it appears that Atargatis is merely a local form of the primitive Semitic goddess Ishtar-Atar. Strabo and Hierocles both affirm her identity with Athara, and the Deos inscriptions call her Aphrodite. Like Astarte, she was a goddess of life-giving water and of fertility. The main seats of her cult, Askalon, Karnaim, and Delos, were places long devoted to the worship of Askalon. She was sacred to her as Astarte, and, according to Artemidorus (*Onirocrit.* i. 8), fish were not eaten by the worshippers of Astarte any more than by the worshippers of Atargatis. The emphasis upon sex in the cult at Hierapolis, as described by Lucian, also favors the original identity of Ishtar with Astarte, and the name of Atargatis with Astarte. At the same time it is doubtless true that, in the mind of the common people, the Astarites of Hierapolis was distinguished from the Astarites of other cities as a separate deity, just as Ishtar of Arbel was distinguished by the Assyrians from Ishtar of Nineveh. At Askalon there was a temple of Astarte as well as one of Derketo, and there is no evidence that the Atargatis of Karnaim was regarded as the same as the old Ashtoreth of Karnaim. See ASHTARAT, ASHTAR.

Hierapolis was, doubtless, the starting point of her cult, because her name is Aramaic. Mabog, the native name of Hierapolis, is apparently *taša*, 'spring,' and is derived from a sacred spring in the precincts of her temple. The name of the goddess is the Gr. *Díábyke* from this centre the cult spread in every direction. We find it at Palmyra, in the Haran, at Karnaim, at Askalon, and in the Greek islands. Into every place where the worship of Astarte had gone that of Atargatis seems to have followed. In this period Hellenic influence was so well known in all parts of the Mediterranean, and by Greek and Latin writers she was commonly called 'the Syrian goddess.'

LITERATURE. — In addition to the special references referred to above, see the art., and full bibliography by Baudissin in *J. R. S.* 5 (1857), p. 171; also arts. 'Atargatis' and 'Desya Syria' in *Roscher* (1859) and in *Frayn-Witte* (1894); *Fuchsite*, X.A. 2, 1829, i. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites* 1 (1897), 172-175; White, *Oriental Archaeology*, p. 418; Cheyne, *Oriental Archaeology*, K.B. 1888, 192; Nagel, *Sciences Relig. 1865*, 353-358.

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**ATAVISM**—This word is used in three senses. (1) It is used to designate the bald or Barag, the reappearance of a character not seen in the parents, or even in the immediate ancestry, but found in an ancestral race or in one related thereto. Thus, markedly projecting canine teeth in man have been regarded as re-expressions of a Sinian character, and supplementary to the brachygnathous mammalian characteristics which have been regarded (probably quite erroneously) as atavistic re-appearances of a characteristic of the Lemuroidea. (2) It is used to denote the hereditary re-appearance of a character not seen in the parents, but known to have occurred in a definite period of the higher animal stock. Thus, a child may have the peculiar hazel eyes or a peculiar lack of hair characteristic of a great-grandparent, and not expressed in the intervening lineage. To such cases the term 'reversion' is often restricted. (3) It is used to designate the full expression of a character which is recorded to have occurred in a definite ancestor of the same race (K. Pearson, *Grains of Science* 1900, p. 489), while 'atavism' is restricted to 'a return of an individual to a characteristic not typical of the race at all, but found in at least one ancestor and supposed to express an evolutionary ancestry of the given race (ib.). This would be a useful distinction between atavism and reversion, but unfortunately some scientific writers have used the two terms in the very opposite way; applying the term atavism to (1) and the term 'reversion' to (2) and (3). The distinction which Pearson makes seems quite clear, but we doubt if it is now practicable. (3) It remains justifiable to use 'atavism' and 'reversion' as synonyms denoting the hereditary re-appearance of characters which were latent in the parents at least, but which have not been expressed in definite—not problematical—ancestors near or remote. It need hardly be said that an atavism is not necessarily a deterioration; it may be a throw-back to a higher degree of differentiation. That depends on the direction in which the strain proceeds. The same stock or offspring may have branches with red flowers. In a harmless breed of...
cattle, derived originally from a horned breed, a horned individual may suddenly reappear. A dark brown bantam, crossed with an Indian Game cocking hen, produced amongst others a hybrid offspring which was a jock one-fourth: it is possible that this is a cross between the original wild stock (Ceris Ewart). Similarly, in his horse-tebra hybridizations, Professor C. S. Ewart obtained offspring that were at least partially blended as reversions to an extremely old type of horse, such as is suggested by the striped ponies of Tibet.

Organisms often show peculiarities which their parents did not possess, but which their ancestors possessed. Summing up such cases descriptively, we may say that they seem to illustrate atavism, but the use of the term as an interpretation is not justified. Thus, we may give some reason for believing that the resemblance to an ancestor is due to the rehabilitation of latent items in the inheritance. To do this we have to try to eliminate other interpretations, and that is often difficult. (a) What looks like an ancient feature may be due to an arrest of development through lack of appropriate nutrition. (b) Similar conditions of life, e.g. of food and climate, may induce an acquired or modificative resemblance between the organism and its great-grandparent, but this would not be an atavism. (c) Many organisms normally have certain vestigial organs, and these are often variable. A quantitative variation in a normally present vestigial organ is not what is meant by an atavism. (d) It is conceivable that an independent individual variation may happen to coincide with one that occurred generations before, but this is different from the re-appearance of a latent item in the inheritance. (e) Filial regression, or an approximation towards the mean of the stock, is of everyday occurrence in blended inheritance, and must be kept quite distinct from reversion or atavism. (f) The list of alleged atavisms must also be reduced by the subtrahend of what are called Mendelian phenomena. In certain cases, such as peas and mice, the crossing of two sharply contrasted pure-bred parents results in hybrid offspring which are all like one of the two parents as regards the contrasted characters; when these hybrid offspring are inbred, their progeny resemble in definite proportions the two grandparents.

The fact seems to be that many phenomena have been labelled atavisms which admit of other interpretations, and that genuine atavisms are rather rare. Let us repeat that an atavism is a harking back to a more or less remote ancestor, the harking back being due to the re-assertion or re-reappearance of an ancestral character that has lain for several generations latent or unexpressed.

It seems unnecessary to use the term 'atavism' for the common phenomenon of resemblance to a grandparent. There is every reason to believe that an individual inheritance is like a mosaic, built up of many contributions, through the two parents, from the grandparents, great-grandparents, and so on. It is a normal and frequent fact of inheritance that an offspring exhibits a property that is known to have occurred in grandparents but not in either of the parents. There seems little utility in calling this very frequent 'skipping a generation' an atavism, though it is of the same general nature, and though it is obviously difficult to decide where to draw the line. For how long must a character have been absent or latent before its re-assertion or re-awakening is to be called an atavism? A drone-bee arises from an unfertilized egg; it has a mother and two grandparents, but no father. But it seems rather absurd to consider resemblance to its grand-father as atavism or reversionary. This is a reduction ad absurdum, for the drone-bee would resemble its father if it had one! The case may serve to show that it is undesirable to use the term 'atavism' unless the throw-back is to an ancestor more than two generations anterior.

The exact study of atavistic phenomena must have regard to characters which can be definitely measured and registered, and only when this study has reached secure results will it be possible to discuss with precision what may be called psychological atavisms, re-awakenings, often more fitly termed reminiscences, of ancestral traits which have lain latent, it may be, for generations. The garden of a shepherd's cottage which was swallowed up in a deer forest, lost all trace of its previous cultivation, and became a waste ground. After many years, under more humane conditions, it was re-atted, and there sprang up many different kinds of old-fashioned flowers whose seeds had lain dormant for several generations. So may ancient flowers and weeds now and again reappear out of latency in that garden which we call our inheritance.


J. Arthur Thomson.

'ATE.—A Semitic deity first mentioned in Assyrian proper names such as Ata-tanu, Ata-tana (cf. KAT 1435), then in the Palmyrene inscriptions under the forms ἀτα, ἀταν, ἀταν, ἀτανα, and in Gr. and Syr. writers. This divinity was associated with the old Semitic mother-goddess, Atar-Attar—Atash in the compound name ἀταν 'Attar, 'Atar-gatis (p. 325). The characteristics and even the sex are uncertain. It is possible that the Lydian god Atis is only another form of the name, in which case his myths may be used to supplement the meagre information in regard to 'Atē (see ATIS).

Levis Bayles Paton.

ATHANASIAN CREED.—See CREEDS.

ATHANASIUS.—I. Life.—There is no trustworthy record of the early years of Athanasius, but his writings give us a clear picture of his education and training. (Watkin, Studies of Athanasianism, 2. Camb. 1900, pp. 67-70.) He is acquainted with Greek literature (Horner, Demosthenes, and Plato) and with the later Greek philosophy. In knowledge of the Greek Bible he is second only of the Bishops.

He first passes into the light of history at the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325, at which the Arian party was opposed by 'Athanasius, a deacon of the church of the Alexandrians, who was highly esteemed by Alexander the bishop' (Socrates, i. 20). The rest of the life of Athanasius coincides in the main with the history of the Arian controversy, in which he was the protagonist on the Catholic side. In A.D. 325 he succeeded Alexander as bishop (Cureton, Festal Letters, p. xxxviii.), though it was asserted that he was too young at the time (p. xlv.). It was further asserted that his election was secret (Apoloag. § 6.)

* Watkin (Ar. 67 [71], note) and Robertson (Selected Works of Athan, p. xiv, note) say that the assertion that A. was 'under age' (ioi) at his consecration must be taken with some reservation, and that therefore the conclusion that he was about 30 in A.D. 325; but the argument is precarious. There is not sufficient evidence to show that a canon was accepted at this time at Alexandria prescribing 30 as the age qualification for the episcopate, since Didascalia, both Syriac (Lagard, p. 10) and Ethiopic (Platt, p. 10), lay down the general rule that a bishop must not be less than 50 years of age, and the Apostolic Constitutions (Funk, p. 81) prescribed the same limit. Canon xi. of the Council of Constance (A.D. 314 or later) prescribed 30 as the age for a presbyter, but does not touch the case of a bishop.
The objection to Athanasius on the score of his youth is instructive. He was, indeed, representative of the new age which began with the conversion of the Emperor Constantine. Eusebius of Caesarea, the older contemporary of Athanasius, had been a confessor during the terrible Palæstinian persecution, and so he feared heathenism chiefly as a persecuting power, and was h translate to security when Constantine adopted Christianity. But a new and more subtle danger was arising. Crowds of heathen followed the Emperor with a facile profession of his religion on their lips, and a traditional attachment to heathenism in their hearts. When, therefore, Arius represented the Son of God as a (heathen) demi-god, his teaching meant reading to listeners. To the young Athanasius, the man of the new age, fell the task of detecting the working of the heathen leaven, and of meeting it with Christian medicine.

Athanasius succeeded Alexander in a troubled heritage. Not only were the (new) Arians to be reckoned with, but the old Melitians. In 306, during the Galerian persecution, Meletius, bishop of Lyceopolis, separated from Peter of Alexandria on the ground that Peter's treatment of the lapsed was too mild (E. Schwartz, in O.C., 1901, p. 363). Meletius continued the controversy about the episcopate of Alexander. The Council of Nicaea endeavoured to heal the breach, but the election of Athanasius seems to have widened it; indeed, Gwatkin (Ar. 60, note) thinks it probable that the Melitians elected a candidate of their own, one Theonas.

Athanasius' career as bishop falls into three periods: (a) 328–345, the double contest, personal with the Melitians, doctrinal with the Arians; (b) 348–356, the steady growth of his influence over Egypt, and the decline of Arian power in that country; (c) 357–373, the contest with those who denied the Divinity of the Spirit, and the reconciliation of the old Conservatives of the East to Nicene orthodoxy.

(a) First period (A.D. 328–345).—During the first period the battle waged by Athanasius against Arianism was confused with personal issues. The Melitians worked for his deposition, because he was a strong man and not their own candidate; the Arians aided them, because he was known as an opponent of Arius, and his conduct made his rule to be oppressive, and accused him of violence, and even of murder. At the Council of Tyre in 335, in which several Arian sympathizers took part, Athanasius was deposed. He appealed to Constantinople, but the Emperor compromised the dispute by sending him into honourable banishment to distant Tréves. He returned at the accession of Constantius for a troubled period of sixteen months, but was expelled in Lent, 339, by the prefect Philippus, his enemies asserting that the sentence pronounced at Tyre was still binding. Gregory, a Cappadocian and (according to Epist. Euseyl. 4, 6) an Arian, became bishop. Athanasius fled to Julias, bishop of Rome, and after some negotiations was re-called by 343 by a Council held at Sardica (Soña, in Bulgaria), and was accused of heresy and schism in which he had been condemned at Tyre. The Eastern bishops, however, succeeded from the Council, and refused to receive Athanasius. The doctrinal question lay behind the personal. The result of the Council showed that the Western was in the main (though not Arian) certainly anti-Nicene. In 345 Gregory died, and Constantius conciliated Alexandria by allowing Athanasius to return to his see.

All through his period of exile Athanasius showed himself a true pastor to Egypt and Alex-
ATHANASIANS

i. REDEMPTION.—An account of Athanasius' theology begins naturally with his presentation of the doctrine of Redemption. Athanasius speaks of the death of a Divine Christ as 'the sum of our faith' (καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς πίστεως, Incarn. 19; see, too, Orat. i. 34, where the same term is applied to the doctrine of the threefold name into which Christ is said to be divided); for, after showing the proofs of Godhead from His works, He next offers up His sacrifice also on behalf of all, yielding up His Body and Blood in the steadfastness of His Body, that, firstly, to make men quit and free of their old trespasses, and, further, to show Himself more powerful even than death, displaying His own body incorruptible, as firstfruits of the resurrection of all (Incarn. 29).

In all references to Redemption, Athanasius gives an important place to the thought that Christ delivered mankind from physical extinction. Adam and Eve were 'by nature corruptible, but destined by the grace which followed from partaking of the Word to have escaped their natural state, had they remained good' (Incarn. 5).

They fell, however, and so corruption remained with them; the rational man made in God's image was disappearing (ἀναπαράστασις, Incarn. 6) by a gradual course of deterioration. So the Word by whom man was made came into the world by the Incarnation in order to re-make man, that God's purpose in creation might not be disappointed. The mere coming of the Word in a human body availed in one aspect to save man. Human nature could not finally perish, seeing that the Word united Himself with it.

But a further work remained for the incarnate Word. Death, owing to God's sentence against Adam, had acquired a certain authority; this authority, however, was exhausted by the Passion of Christ (παραπτώματα τῆς ἑγκατάλειψεν ἐν τῷ κρατήρι σώματι, Incarn. 8). This annulment of Death was demonstrated by the Lord's resurrection with an incorruptible body, and those who believe in Christ know that they themselves have become incorruptible through the Resurrection (Incarn. 27).

In connexion with this annulment of the authority of death, the death of Christ is spoken of by Athanasius as a sacrifice or offering (θυσία, προσφορά, Incarn. 10); yet whether to God or to the Divine justice he does not say.

By offering unto death (καὶ ἂνθρωπος) the body He Himself had taken, as an offering and sacrifice free from any stain, straightway He put away death from all His peers by the offering of an equivalent (καὶ εὐθὺς θεοῖς, Incarn. 24). In another passage Athanasius uses the forensic analogy, yet without definitely saying that Christ's death was a satisfaction of Divine justice by a substitution. His statement follows Scripture closely:

Formerly the world was under the dominion of Law, but now the Word has taken on Himself the condemnation (τό κρίσις), and, having suffered in the body for all, has bestowed salvation upon all (Incarn. 14).

But these statements are general; so far (says Robertson, p. 115) as Athanasius works out the doctrine of redemption in detail, it is

under physical categories without doing full justice to the ideas of guilt and reconciliation, of the reunion of will between man and God.'

On the other hand, Athanasius loves to dwell on the spiritual implications of mankind's fall brought through the Incarnation, and the restoration thereafter to man of the lost Divine likeness (Incarn. 14, 15).

If Athanasius does not attain to the Scriptural fulness of the doctrine of Redemption yet his teaching as to the Incarnation and the Passion is Scriptural in its grandeur. He seeks to express what he finds in the Scriptures, and sums up the teaching of many passages in one terse phrase of his own. Regarding the purpose of the Incarnation, his summary is: 'He was made man that we might be made Divine' (ἰδον ἐνθρόνωμεν, Incarn. 54; cf. Orat. i. 39). Any other attempt to summarize the work of the Incarnate Word is renounced by Athanasius.
In a word,' he writes, 'the achievements of the Saviour resulting from His becoming man are of such a kind and number that, if I wished to enumerate them, he may be compared to men who gaze at the expanse of the sea and wish to count its waves.' (Iohann., 31.)

In the ORATIONS. SOY.—Athanasius is best known for his defence of the Godhead of the Son. His older contemporary Arius challenged the whole Christian world by the answer which he gave to the question, In what sense is Jesus the Son of God? For he, it appears, wished to introduce a new doctrine of the Divine unity, and at the same time the doctrine of the personality or separate existence of the Son. Lest he should confound two Gods, he treated the title 'Son of God' as honorific only. Accordingly to Arius, the Father, therefore not eternal, or unchangeable, but a creature (kuros), yet unique among the creatures. The Son as so was later than the Father, therefore not eternal, therefore not God but a creature. This bold logic involved Arius in a great contradiction. Beginning by laying his argument on the title 'Son of God,' he ended by emptying the title of all meaning. The Son was not a Son, but only a favoured creature of God.

The doctrine of Arius is easy to state, for it was only a theory of some conceiving of as limits, but not of the doctrine of Athanasius. It is true, indeed, that Athanasius accepted from the first the Nicene Creed and defended it to the last. Negatively, in agreement with its anthropomorphism, he contradicted the favourite Arius formula, he who is spoken of in the 'book of the ages' etc. Positively, in loyalty to the terms of the Creed, he taught that the Son was born εκ της ουσιας τοι Πατρι, and that He is θεονομος τω Πατρι. But these two last watchwords of orthodoxy were not the invention of Athanasius; nor were they, in their orthodox sense, of Eastern origin. Neither Athanasius nor any other Eastern received them without allowing his thought to play round them and put them to the test.

When we turn from the acknowledged fact of Athanasius' acceptance of the Nicene Creed to study his own works, we are met by two important facts; (1) Athanasius does not restrict himself to the Nicene watchwords, but (2) on the contrary he uses a great variety of language in order to assert the true Deity of the Son. His language is, in a word, a language through which we might perhaps make our way more easily, if we could be sure of the dating or at least of the order of his works. But much remains uncertain. The two apologetic works (c. Gentiles; de Ineuneratione) are usually assigned to his earlier period, but it is not at all certain that this is so; but, as Loofs points out, the same kind of evidence might be urged in favour of a similar dating of some of the Festal Letters. The important Orations c. Arius are assigned by the Benedictines to c. 328 A.D. The short Exposition Fidelis contains no certain indication of date, though it is important to know at what period Athanasius made use of the rather surprising language found in it. If, however, we may accept in general the Benedictine dates in addition to Loofs' early date for Orations, we may say that his latest works Athanasius seems to hesitate less to use and defend the special term θεονομος than in the early work. To this extent there seems to have been a development in Athanasius' teaching.

In his early works, however, far from confining himself to the watchword θεονομος and to the language of the Nicene Creed in general, Athanasius allows himself great freedom, and not seldom seems to avoid θεονομος. Thus in Exposition Fidelis (§ 1) he writes: Των αυτης υς των δωρεαν εικονα τον Πατρι, ου και ιλαρον ("Very Son ..."), while later in the section he uses even θεονομος τω Πατρι ("like to the Father"), the formula adopted by the Homilies in A.D. 330-330 (de Syn. 30) for regarding the issue. In Orat. i. 40, in arguing with his opponents he uses for the name θεονομος a compound word, the formula of the fourth council of Sirmium (de Syn. 8), and in iii. 11 he similarly employs θεονομος και ουσια, a variant of θεονομος. These, no doubt, were intended to be only approximations to θεονομος, but the name θεονομος may be adopted. Thus that in i. 58, where he seems to aim at full and explicit statement, he gives not θεονομος but της του Πατρος ουσιας θεος και θεονομος. In Orat. iii. 1 he writes, in almost untranslatable phrase, αθεονομος δε θεοτοκος τοις τοις θεονομος, 'The Son is the completeness of Divinity and of Humanity.'

Similarly Athanasius seems often to avoid the Nicene [γενετήτα] εκ της ουσιας τοι Πατρι. In the Orations (cf. de Decr. 26; de Syn. 35) he gives θεονομος γενεται της ουσιας της Πατρος. ('proper offsprings of the essence of the Father'). For ουσια, 'essence,' 'substance,' Athanasius sometimes prefers φως, 'nature.' Thus he writes των Μονογενής τοι Ουσίων το εικόνωσις τη φως (Omnin. traditio, § 3), and η φως μια και αληθερη (§ 5). It is clear that Athanasius recognized that the terms ουσια and θεονομος raised few real difficulties. He seems indeed to have been disposed to many thoughts of that which is material, while θεονομος suggested some previously existing ουσια in which both Father and Son shared as brethren (cf. de Syn. 51). Consequently Athanasius received the term only after these two terms had first been used by the Nicene Council, and only for the purpose which the Council had in view. He contended so long not for the un-Scriptural word θεονομος, but for the official condemnation of Ariasism which it registered.

The Bishop of Alexandria 'were compelled (ψιθομανος) to gather once more from Scripture the general sense (τον εικονου), and to write that the Son is of one substance (θεονομος) with the Father' (de Decr. 20; cf. de Syn. 42). But he shrank from attempting to tie this truth to set phrases.

The more I desired to write,' he says, 'and endeavoured to force myself to the following words, the Divine language seemed the more the more I felt the knowledge thereof withdraw itself from me; and in proportion as I thought that I apprehended it, so much more I perceived that speech did not suffice to enable me to express in writing even what I seemed myself to understand; for it was as if I wrote a word unequal to the imperfect shadow of the truth which existed in my conception' (Historia Arianorum : Epistolas, § 1)

Athanasius' own doctrine is best described as a direct and complete repudiation of the teaching of Arius. He denies σωρειτος all Arius' propositions, holding that the Christ of Arius could not be the Saviour of the world. Athanasius maintained that the Son is Divine, because He is the true Son of God (εκ της εικονας ζωη και φως απαντησεως, de Syn. 42). But he shrank from attempting to tie this truth to set phrases.

The more I desired to write,' he says, 'and endeavoured to force myself to the following words, the Divine language seemed the more the more I felt the knowledge thereof withdraw itself from me; and in proportion as I thought that I apprehended it, so much more I perceived that speech did not suffice to enable me to express in writing even what I seemed myself to understand; for it was as if I wrote a word unequal to the imperfect shadow of the truth which existed in my conception' (Historia Arianorum : Epistolas, § 1).

Athanasius' argument for the Divinity of the Son may be stated under five heads. (1) He argues from the notion of a Trinity (τριαδος) that it is folly to suppose that it is partly created and partly uncreated, in part eternal and in part not eternal (Orat. i. 18). (2) He identifies the Son with the Word (Αγως, Orat. i. 28), and urges that the Son must be eternal, because the Father can never have been without His Word or Reason (Αγως, Decr. 15). (3) He appeals to the Divine works of the Son, namely, Creation (Orat. ii. 22) and Redemption (Iohann. 20). (4) By a copious use of Scripture, and particularly of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews, he shows how great is the difficulty of reconciling the Arian theory of the Person of Christ with the language of Scripture. (5) Similarly, he shows that the Christian consciousness demands a Divine Christ (Χριστος, το υπερ ζεμα, & Αοριστος, Χριστος εν εμει, Orat. iii. 2).
careful exegesis of the chief passages of Scripture which they quoted in defence of their views. The passages are collected and discussed in Orat. i. 37—iii. 58. They may be classified under various heads. Some of them seem to speak of the Son as a creature, e.g. 1 Thes. 2:8 (κοσμηματικος, LXX), He 3:2 (ὁ υποστασις της καταρας) and other passages from a lower state, e.g. Ph 2:6, 10; Ps 45:7; others of His entire dependence on the Father, e.g. Mt 11:28; others of His progress in knowledge or of His ignorance, e.g. Mk 13:32, Lk 2:40; others of His public life, e.g. Mt 9:36. Others again seem to draw a line of separation between a limited, human nature, e.g. Jn 17. On the whole, it must be said that Athanasius shows a great grasp of Scripture, and that his interpretations are sounder than those of his opponents. Most of the passages cited above he understands in the light of the main doctrines of Christ, limiting the Arians that their objections are really objections to the Incarnation itself. The passages which refer to advancement he explains less convincingly as referring to the exaltation of human nature through union with the Word by the Incarnation.

iii. Christ’s Human Nature.—The Union of the Two Natures in Christ.—Though Athanasius’ language is not that of the Chalcedonian definition or of the Quicunque vult, he maintains the true manhood and the true Godhead together with the true union of the two natures in Christ. The apparently Nestorian language of such a passage as Exposicio Fidei, § 1 (των ημιερων ἀνθρωπων ἀνθρωπων Χ. Θ. Ν. ώς ἀνθρωπων... ἀνθρωπων καὶ θεων), has to be judged in connexion with other statements of a different form.

1. He became man; he did not merely enter into a man (Orat. iii. 30). ‘It behoved the Lord in putting on man’s flesh to put it on in its completeness with his own persons’ (κατὰ τὴν Ἰδων ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνθρωπόν ἄνθρωπον Ἰσραήλ. Orat. iii. 33). ‘They [truly] confessed that the Saviour had not a body without a soul, nor without sense organs and other things, yet united in this the Salvation Man himself, a salvation of body only, but of soul also’ (Antich. i. 11). ‘If the works of the Word’s Godhead had not taken place through the body, man had not been defined; and again, if the things proper to the flesh had not been predicted of the Word, man would not have been completely delivered from them’ (Orat. iii. 33; cf. 32).

iv. Divinity of the Holy Spirit.—The Fathers of Nicæa contented themselves in their Creed with the brief clause, ‘and in the Holy Ghost’; they added nothing regarding His Person or office. One writer describes the Holy Spirit as an ‘exhalation’ Athanasius kept himself within the limits thus laid down. Though he was engaged in contending for the full Divinity of the Son, though in this context he often uses the Trinitarian baptismal formula and the word ‘Trinity’ (τριάδος), he does not attempt to complete formally his doctrine of the Trinity by extending or adapting to the Spirit the Nicene definitions which asserted the Divinity of the Son. Perhaps he realized that, when the doctrine of the Godhead of the Son was accepted, the acceptance of the Godhead of the Spirit must follow as a consequence.

In the Epistles ad Serapionem, written some time after A.D. 356, Athanasius begins to speak fully of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. He learned that certain of the Arians were teaching that the Holy Spirit is a creature, one of the ministering spirits, superior to the angels only in degree (βαθύνος, Ser. i. 1). It appears also that there were others who disagreed with the Arians as to the Deity of the Son, but were content to regard Him as at least a God, a creature, one of the ministering spirits, superior to the angels only in degree (βαθύνος, Ser. i. 1). It appears also that there were others who disagreed with the Arians. In the Epistles ad Nicæans, the Holy Spirit is not a creature or a being (ὑποστασις, Ser. i. 29). Athanasius unfolds his doctrine of the Holy Spirit in his Epistles to Serapion, much as he develops his teaching on the Son in the Orations. (1) He maintains that the Trinity must be a real (τελειος) Trinity, in which no creature is included (Ser. i. 9, 17, 29, 58; iii. 7). (2) He asserts that the work ascribed to the Spirit implies His Godhead. Thus he asks: ‘Who shall unite (συνδέσεις) you to God, if ye have not the Spirit of God Himself, but the Spirit of the creature?’ (τὸν πνεύματος, i. 29; cf. i. 6). He carefully distinguishes passages which speak of the Spirit as a creature (κοσμηματικος), and rejects the Arian interpretation of them (i. 3, 4, 10), pointing out that πνεύμαta anathymous does not mean the Holy Spirit (i. 4, 9, in reference to Am 4:13; τὸν πνεύματος). Because, he explains, not two but one and the same person, e.g. the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit (i. 28). If his opponents point to passages (e.g. 1 Ti 5:23) in which only two Persons of the Trinity are mentioned, he answers that the Trinity is indivisible (διαλογικος) and united within itself, so that, when one Person is mentioned, the other Persons are understood (i. 14). He accepts fully the doctrine of περιϕερειας, ‘circumincision’, based on Jn 14:17 ‘I in the Father and the Father in me.’

Therefore also, he writes, ‘when the Father gives grace and peace, the Son also gives it, as Paul signifies in every Epistle, writing, Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ’ (Antich. iii. 11).

Athanasius avoids applying directly to the Holy Spirit the contested word διάκονον, except in a very few places (e.g. Ser. i. 27).

He writes: ‘It is sufficient to know that the Spirit is not a creature (i. 17).’ He explains Spirit as ‘unity’ (πυρηνα, ἐν την Μορφή τοῦ Θεοῦ) and the Father’s essence is not a creature, but ὑπόκονον τοῦ Θεοῦ, so neither would the Holy Spirit be a creature, because His is proper to the Son (ὁ ἐκ τῆς Θεότητος ὑπόκονον του Ανθρώπου). That, and immutable and unchangeable (ἐκτενεστως καὶ ἀνάλογως, Ser. i. 26). Usually, however, he asserts the deity of the Spirit through His relation to the Son.

If the Son... (i. 9). He does not ask if His Father’s essence is not a creature, but διάκονον τοῦ Θεοῦ, so neither would the Holy Spirit be a creature. His is proper to the Son (ὁ ἐκ τῆς Θεότητος ὑπόκονον του Ανθρώπου).

v. Procession of the Holy Spirit.—Athanasius can hardly be said to have a doctrine of Procession. He approaches it in Ser. i. 15, where he represents his opponents as saying: ‘If the Spirit is not a creature (i.e. as we hold), but proceeds from (ἐκ) the Father (i.e. as ye hold),’ Cf. i. 33, ‘Who deny that the Spirit (ἐκθετο) is from (ἐκ) the Father in the Son.’ But if this seems to attribute to Athanasius the doctrine of Procession from the Father alone, Athanasius himself (Ser. iv. 4) describes the Son as ‘the Word, by which is proper to the essence of the Word,’ so that the two passages taken together supply evidence that Athanasius approximated to the Western doctrine of Procession from the Father and the Son. The same might be said of de Incarn. cf. Arrian. i. 9. ‘David (a reference to Ps 36) knew that the Son, being with the Father (παρα το Θεος ὑποτελος) is the source (ἐκ τοις πνευματις) of the Holy Spirit, but the genuineness of the passage is highly doubtful (Stückelen, p. 63 f.).

On this mysterious subject Athanasius does not forsake his custom of keeping as closely as possible to the language of Scripture. ‘The Son is the Son of God,’ he says, ‘and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and not the offspring (ἐγεννημα) of the Father’ (Ser. iv. 4). He doubtless prefers to speak of the Procession in Time: ‘The Spirit who proceedeth from (παρα, Jn 15:26) the Father, and, being proper to the Son, is given by Him to the disciples and to all that believe on Him’ (Ser. i. 2).

vi. The Trinity.—Athanasius is clear and express in his teaching that the Trinity is one in nature and cannot be divided (Orat. iii. 15; Ser. i. 2), but he is less precise in his doctrine regarding the nature of the (personal) distinctions within the Godhead. He writes with severe restraint, keeping himself as far as possible to the words of the...
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Baptistical formula (Mt 28:19) and the Pauline benediction (2 Co 13:11). Indeed, ‘Person’ is not one of Athanasian theological terms; the phrase είς τούς δύο τερατομενά ἐκ τοῦ θεοτόκου (de incarn. et c. Arianos, 10), ‘one God in three Persons’ (or ‘Subsistences’), belongs to a passage of highly doubtful authenticity. In de Syn. 36 he reckons the phrase τρεῖς υπόστασεις among the un-Scriptural phrases used by his opponents. It is true, indeed, that once (Omnia trident, §6) he uses the term much as Westerns use it:

‘For the fact of those venerable living creatures (Is) offering their praises three times, saying, “Holy, Holy, Holy,” proves that the Three Subsistences (εις τρεις ιωσταις, if the text be sound) are perfect, just as in saying, “Lord,” they declare the Divine essence.

In the Expositio Fidei, however, he points out the danger which lurks in the term:

‘Neither can we imagine three substantias (Persons) separated (μετεπαρεμελημένα) from each other, as results in the case of men from their bodily nature, lest we hold a plurality of gods like the heathen’ (§2).

Accordingly Athanasius never makes τρεῖς ιωστασεις a test of orthodoxy, and in his later years he tells the Antiochenes (Antioch, 5, 6) that he received those who professed belief in τρεῖς ιωστασεις (meaning three ‘Persons’) on condition that they in their turn received those who confessed μία ιωστασα (meaning one ‘Substance’). Indeed ιωστασεις, a synonym of οὐσια in the Nicene anathematism, could never become fixed for Athanasius himself to the meaning ‘Person,’ though he might tolerate the innovation in others. Sometimes Athanasius writes simply ἄλλος ἄνθρωπος, ἄλλος θεός (cf. Orat. III, 4), and similarly, ‘The Father is Father, and the Son Son’ (Orat. I, 2).

Conclusion. — Looking at the teaching of Athanasius as a whole, we see that it was shaped with a practical aim, and that it was expressed as little as possible in set theological terms. The profound mind of Athanasius realized that Christian truths strain to the breaking point the formulae in which men strive to express them. He invented no theological terms himself, and if in his later writings (from de Decretis onward) he strammly defended the θεοσωφία of the Nicene Council, this defence was justified by an experience of many years that in his word, and even in his action, he was the ‘pillar of the church’ (ἐκτριβείας) against Arian error (de Syn. 45).

LITERATURE.—I. Arianism. —The works of Athanasius printed in Migne, PG, xxv.-xxviii., with these works are associated a number of contemporary documents of great value. To these must be added the Pastoral Letters (almost wholly lost in Greek, but edited in Latin with an introduction by W. Cureton, London, 1843). Though several doubtful or spurious works are included in Migne, yet enough remains which is certainly genuine to yield a complete account of his life and of his teaching. Athanasius’ writings (‘Panaphilicon,’ as E. Schwartz calls them) illustrate in a living way both the vicissitudes of his own life and the controversy with his contemporaries. (The later writers, Eunapius, Sozomen, and others tell us little in addition that is trustworthy, and, moreover, manifest much which is in direct opposition to Athanasius’ writings.)

Information with regard to the MSS. of the works of Athanasius is to be found in JTS, Ill. 37-41, 245-252, two articles by F. Wals, supplemented by notes by A. Robertson, and C. H. Turner; also in JTS, v. 105-114, notes by Kirsopp Lake; JTS, v. 600-603, note by C. H. Turner, calling attention to G. Bertolotto’s art in the Atti della Societa Ligure di storia patria, 1895, pp. 1-48.

Bp. Wals’s work has been used and supplemented in the valuable account of MS given by E. von der Goltz in his ed. of Athanasii de Virginitate, Leipzig, 1865 (=TV, new ser. xiv. 29).


W. EMERY BARNES.

ATHAPSCANS.—See DENES AND NAVAHOS.

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Buddhist (L. de la Vallée Poussin), p. 183.


ATHEISM AND ANTI-THEISTIC THEORIES. — Introduction. — Atheism is sometimes said to be equivalent to panpsychism, i.e. the doctrine that the universe consists of nothing but those physical and psychical existences which are perceptible by the senses or are cognizable by the imagination and finite understanding. Panpsychism, however, is a positive doctrine, while atheism, both by etymology and by usage, is essentially a negative conception, and exists only as an expression of the negative sentiments of those who deny the existence of a God. There is, therefore, the belief that all the entities in the cosmos, which are known to us through our senses, or are inferred by our imagination and reason, are dependent for their origin and for their continuance in existence upon the creative and causal action of an Infinite and Eternal Self-consciousness and Will; and in its higher stages it implies that this Self-existent Being progressively reveals His essence and His character in the ideas and ideals of His rational creatures and the world of which they are a part. In its earlier stages atheism conceives of God simply as the Cause and Ground of all finite and dependent existences; but as it develops, it realizes the idea of God as immanent and self-manifesting as well as creative and transcendent. Until it attains to this consciousness of felt personal communion with the immanent Cause and Ground of the universe, it is more appropriately described as deism.

As was said above, atheism presupposes the existence of theism. It can hardly be said to arise until the human mind has formed the conception of a Unitary Self-existing Cause on whom all things and persons depend, and to whom the sentiments of reverence and awe are directed. Anthropology shows that long before the idea of One Infinite Supreme Being is reached, uncivilized races, through the experience of gods and supposed ghosts, as well as through the intuitive judgment that in the universe there is some godhead, that the human volitions are the manifestations of wills resembling their own, come to believe in the existence of superhuman beings who act for or against human welfare, and are thus the objects of worship or of fear. But along with this conception of a variety of finite superhuman personalities there dawns on the more advanced minds of savage peoples, through the intuitive idea of infinity, the felt Divine authority of conscience, and the gradual
intellectual perception of a pervading unity behind all the changing phenomena of nature, the conception of One Supreme Spiritual Reality who is the component Cause that originates and controls all the forces of nature, and in varying degrees manifests Himself within the human soul.

It is not till this theistic idea is to some extent present that real atheistic negation becomes possible. It is not till a Greek can believe in one or all of the deities of his national pantheon, he would not necessarily be an atheist; for it often happened that this scepticism, which the vulgar called atheism, arose simply from a more or less clear apprehension of the One supreme object of worship. Max Müller well says in his Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion (p. 228):

"We must remember that to doubt or deny the existence of Indra or of Jupiter is not, Atheism, but should be distinguished by a separate name, namely, Adefism. The early Christians were called Anek, because they did not believe in the Greeks believed or as the Jews believed. Spinoza was called an atheist, because his concept of God was wider than that of Jehovah; and the Reformers were called atheists, because they would not defy the mother of Christ or worship the Saints. This is not Atheism in the true sense of the word; and if an historical study of religion had taught us that the God of those who do not believe in our God are not therefore to be called Atheists, it would have done some real good, and evidently be an auto da fé!"

Atheism, as we have seen, is not, like theism and pantheism, a positive belief the phases of which can be depicted in their relation to one unifying conception. It has no organic character. This history of little more than five centuries of the Instance in which doubt and negation in regard to some essential element in theism have arisen. And the occasion and cause of this atheistic frame of mind will generally be found in some new scientific or philosophical ideas, which have, for the time being at least, appeared to us to conflict with the current form of deistic or theistic belief.

The following lines of scientific and philosophical speculation have been especially influential in calling forth atheistic protests against theistic belief.

1. **Materialism**, or the theory that matter and physical forces constitute the ultimate reality of the universe, and that, through the aggregation of the elements of matter in various organic forms, life and the infinitely varied forms of consciousness have originated. Another line of speculation which has largely confounded with materialism and containing religious belief is the doctrine of **sensationalism**, which originated early among Greek thinkers, and which the genius of our philosopher, John Locke, presented in so plausible a form that both in this country and in France it led to much atheistic negation. Locke himself was a devout theist; for though, according to his usual theory, all our ideas are derived from sensations or from reflection on sensations, he still held that the human mind is compelled to postulate an adequate creative cause for all material and psychical existences. Had Locke, however, carried out his sensationalism to its logical results, it would have had him, as it led many sensationalists in France, to an atheistic conclusion. If all our ideas arose out of sensations, we could form no conception either of an infinitely intelligible God, or of ultimate causation, or of that absolute moral imperative which has been to Kant and to several other thinkers the main foundation of theism. A third source of atheistic doubt, and one which has been strongly operative since Evolution has been generally received as the method of Nature, is the **disturb of the argument from design**—an argument which, ever since the time of Anaxagoras, has been one of the chief supports of theism. This argument appears, however, to be recovering its former position in the scientific world. Fechner and other scientists have admitted that, when account is taken of the process of evolution as a whole, "it is necessary to remember that there is a wider Telos which is not touched by the doctrine of Evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of Evolution (Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses*, 1873, p. 305). See art. Design.

Among the intellectual causes which have led, not indeed to atheism but to extreme agnosticism, is the doctrine of **natural theology**, or the notion of the mind of God, when carried to such length as it has been by the Greek sceptic Carneades, and by recent thinkers such as Mansel and H. Spencer, precludes all insight into the essential nature and character of the ultimate cause and ground of things. This complete negation of a God has been ably criticized by Calderwood in *The Philosophy of the Infinite*, and by Martineau in several of his philosophical Essays and Reviews.

2. **Criticism of atheistic materialism.**—Of the alleged reasons for rejecting theism, materialism has been, and still is, the most influential. It is the basis of much of the earliest atheism, and also of the recent atheism which appears in the writings of H. G. Atkinson,Bradbaugh, Böehner, and Haeckel. For this reason it seems desirable, before presenting a brief sketch of the present and recent instances of atheism, to state what appear to be the most potent answers given by theists to the arguments for materialistic atheism.

Idéalists, as their name implies, make the work of materialism, for they say that imagination is that matter and force have no existence apart from the sensations and ideas in self-conscious minds. Most theistic writers, however, hold that the experience of resistance to our volitional efforts justifies the conviction that entities exerting energy exist independently of perceiving minds. But while the theist maintains that these entities depend for their origination, their continuance in existence, and their special properties on the creative activity of an Infinite and Eternal Self-consciousness and Will, the atheist maintains that matter is the ultimate and self-existent reality, that in virtue of its modes of motion and the properties which intrinsically belong to it, it can, when its elements are aggregated in certain ways, manifest life and, in the case of the highest organisms, all the forms of personal consciousness and volition.

Perhaps the most conclusive reply to the atheism which asserts that out of uncreated matter and energy all that we know of life and consciousness has been evolved, is based on the recognized principle that no effect can contain more than is contained in the ground and cause from which the effect has proceeded. The American writer Dr. M. J. Savage thus expresses himself on this point:

"If you can prove to me that 'dead' matter, the matter we find in a brick or a piece of marble, under some mysterious transformation come to have the power to live, to think, to feel, to love, to hope, to sacrifice itself for another, to aspire, to look onward towards an immortal life—if you can prove to me that matter can do that, you have simply changed your definition of matter, and made it coincide with what I call spirit. (Belief in God, Lond. 1831, p. 49.)"

Haeckel would probably reply to this by saying that in his view the elements of the ultimate and self-existent 'Substance,' out of which the universe arises, have their psychical as well as their physical side or aspect, and that it is owing to the former aspect that organic compounds of matter become capable of feeling, thinking, and acting. Do we, then, mean that the higher attributes of mind are already implicit in the ultimate eternal 'Substance,' out of which, by condensation or otherwise, that which we call matter, energy, and life proceeds? Is the perfection of all human ideals already present in some mysterious invisible primeval emanation, in 'the Infinite and Eternal Energy,' which is H. Spencer's mode of describing Haeckel's ultimate 'Substance'? If so, the self-existent 'Substance' is nothing less than the theist's Eternal
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God; and the molecular corpuscles are simply variously limited modes which the will of God imposes upon a portion of His own eternal life, or, as Lotze and Natorp would say, are differences in the constitution of individuals or attributes of His own essential being, to which He delegates some measure of individuality or selfishness. In each of them the Ground and Cause of all created things and persons is immanent and active, and through this creative principle they all bear the marks and hallmarks of life and development of the creatures whom He calls into existence. If it were true, as Tyn dall said, that 'in matter are the promise and potency of all terrestrial life,' that could be the case only in the sense that in the ground and cause of each molecule there are already involved the energy, all the intellectual, moral, and spiritual powers and ideas, which are gradually evolved in the course of the development of the cosmos. The fallacy in Haeckel's 'Weltanschauung' is that, though he gives to the separate molecular corpuscles out of which the universe proceeds a mental side, a germ of consciousness, there is nothing in his account of these elements of matter and energy which at all explains how it comes about that all these immaterial corpuscles conspire together to produce the present harmonies and alignments of things. As Haeckel himself says, there should at length become cognizant of those authoritative ideas which prompt them to subordinate their own personal aims to the general good, and which enable them in a measure both to see and to act from the point of view of the immanent soul. It is this realization of the consciousness, the creative presence of the source of ideas throughout the course of evolution that Haeckel's theory, no less than the theories of closer materialists, must be condemned as unsatisfactory. It fails to show how these ideas, if they represent the cause and ground of all things, contains within itself the power to produce the effects which we experience in ourselves, and which we discern in the cosmos.

So eminent physicists and philosophers, including Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor J. H. Poynting, and Professor James Ward, have recently assailed materialism on the ground that the mechanical and chemical movements which matter exhibits in its inorganic condition appear to be quite different from the action of matter in the case of living organisms.

'Matter,' says Sir Oliver Lodge, 'possesses energy, in the form of persistent motion, and it is propelled by force; but neither motion nor force is in the power of guidance of a will or control. Energy has no direction power; this has been elaborated by Croll and others—see, for instance, Nature, vol. xlvii, p. 434—thirteen years ago, under the heading, "Force and Determination." Inorganic matter is impelled solely by pressure from behind, if not influenced by the future, nor does it follow a preconceived course nor seek a predetermined end. . . . the essence of mind is design and purpose. There are some who deny that there is any design or purpose in the universe at all, but how can that be maintained when humanity itself possesses these attributes? It is not more reasonable to say that, just as we are the centres of the power of guidance in ourselves, so guidance and intelligent control may be an element running through the universe, and may be incorporated even in material things?'' (Lodge, Newcastle Journal.)

The celebrated astronomer Laplace maintained that a Perfect Calculator, who for a given instant should be acquainted with all the forces by which it is animate and with the several positions of the beings composing it, if, further, his intellect were vast enough to submit these data to analysis, would include in the masses of the constituents of the largest bodies in the universe and those of the lightest atom. Nothing would be uncertain for him; the future as well as the past would be present to his eyes' (see Ward, Naturalism and Agrarianism, i. 41).

Professor Poynting pertinently asks whether the 'Perfect Calculator' would find all his predictions verified as his atoms (see ATOMISM) came in contact with living matter, and were themselves concerned with life.

'Suppose the man into whose brain the atoms entered were Napoleonic friend and chief, Napoleon. If the calculator took into account every atom in Napoleon's framework he would be able to calculate all the motions of Napoleon, all his actions on the similar surmise of the actions of atoms with equal success. Could the calculator foretell the eclipse of Waterloo as surely as the astronomer foretells an eclipse of the sun? Is man, in fact, from the point of view of a calculator, any more cognitive of the works he does, or of the conduct and behaviour as it would with the same neighbours were it part of a non-living system?'' (L.C., July 1903, p. 739.)

After having elaborately that there is contrast, rather than correspondence between physical action and mental action, Professor Poynting concludes as follows, and his testimony to the real freedom of the will is strikingly interesting and important, as coming from a high authority in physics and philosophy:

'I hold that we are more certain of our power of choice and of responsibility than of any other fact, physical or psychical. . . . it appears to us equally certain that there is no correspondence yet made out between the power of choice and any physical action, and there does not seem any likelihood that a correspondence ever will be made out. . . . holding this view, I am bound to say that the Laplacian calculator can be successful when he takes man and the mind of man into his calculations.66, p. 739.)

While Sir Oliver Lodge holds that the mind or will thus controls the atomic movements of the brain, he yet maintains that this power of guiding energy of the will can only operate upon the grosser atoms, not the more subtle. "Life," he says, 'is not a form of energy, but guides energy.' On this secondary question he appears to differ from some contemporary thinkers, who agree with Sir John Herschel that in a volitional act the will does originate some force, though it may be no greater than is required to move a single material molecule through a space inconceivably minute. 'It matters not,' says Sir John, 'whether the private mode in which this is performed. It suffices to bring the organisation of dynamical power, to however small an extent, within the domain of the personal will.' (Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects, p. 469.)

The difference between Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir John Herschel is of some importance in regard to the philosophy of religion; but it does not in any way affect the forces of the argument against materialism. Both authorities agree that mind or will controls and guides the atoms of the brain, and that, therefore, will cannot possibly be a mere attribute or accompaniment of the cerebral structure.

In connexion with the criticism of materialistic atheism, reference has to be made to two lines of argument which have often been employed by theists in the past, but which are now falling; and probably useless. One of these is the appeal to the inability of present science to prove the existence of any case of abiogenesis (q.v.), as if it afforded clear evidence of special Divine creation. But it is impossible to show that a natural passage from non-living to living matter has never taken place, or that it would not take place now if the fitting conditions for it could be reproduced. The argument from our ignorance is not conclusive; and probably most thinkers would agree with Sir Oliver Lodge that, 'though we do not know whether man can arise without the action of antecedent life at present, that may be a discovery lying ready for us in the future' (art. Life, in Hibbert Journal, Oct. 1905, p. 106). But if this discovery should one day be made, it would not at all destroy the force of the argument against materialism; for if under certain circumstances the elements of inorganic matter assume an organic form, and manifest psychical properties, that change can be accounted for only by assuming the presence in nature of a cause which exists in nature itself, and which is competent to confer on them, or to manifest in connection with them, the germs of that self-conscious and self-directing principle of life which
In regard to materialism and atheism there is a great contrast between China and India. The introspective and philosophic character of the Hindus led them to dwell especially on that Absolute Spirit or Self which they felt to underlie, and to reveal itself in, all finite personalities. In comparison with this infinite and eternal Being, the visible world appears to them as an illusory appearance. Hence in Hindu speculation, materialistic atheism plays but a small and inconspicuous part. In a prospectus of philosophical systems written by Madhavacharya in the 14th cent. A.D. (recently translated into English by Cowell and Gough, and published in "The Birth of Modern Philosophy," 2nd ed., Lond. 1894), there is mentioned as one of sixteen schools, including the Buddhists and Jains, a school called the Materialists, who denied the existence of the soul and God, and rejected the whole theory of karma and transmigration.

"These were known under various designations, and in the 14th cent. a.d. their ideas were fathered on a mythical age in the Madhavacharya, named Chiravaka. In their transmutation, they rejected the entire claims of the Brahmans. Matter was the only reality, and sense-perception the only form of knowledge. The pedagogical of their treatise book was written by Maheshchandra (probably Madhavacharya) (Indian)."


Atheism among the Buddhists as well as among the Greeks and Romans will be dealt with in separate articles following, and may therefore be passed over here.

3. Modern atheism.—Soon after the rise of Christian scepticism declined, and its place was taken by that eclectic blending of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Oriental ideas which flourished in Alexandria and exercised at times considerable influence over Christian thought. The influence of the Church, and the reverence for Aristotle's writings, as well as the absence of any vigorous interest in science, explain the fact that until the close of the Middle Ages atheistic speculation was to a great extent in abeyance. It was not till the Renaissance, when new scientific discoveries were made, and fresh principles of Biblical criticism began to be applied, that atheism again raised its head; and here, as in similar cases in India and Greece, the reputed atheism was in some cases genuine, but was more frequently a name applied to the theism or pantheism which was intellectually in advance of the theological thought of the time.

(a) Atheism in England and France.—It was not till the fifteenth century that materialistic interpretations of the universe began to show themselves in modern times. F. A. Lange, in his History of Materialism (vol. i. p. 229), mentions one isolated case in the 14th century—that of Nicolaus de Autricia, who at Paris in 1348 was compelled to make recantation of several doctrines, and among others this doctrine, that in the processes of nature there is no final liberation, nor any such thing as a final separation of atoms."

"Here," says Lange, "is a formal Atheist in the very heart of the domination of the Aristotelian theory of nature. But the same bold spirit ventured also upon a general declaration that we should put Aristotle, and Aversus with his, on one side, and apply ourselves directly to things in their true nature. That Atheism and Empiricism go hand in hand together! In reality the authority of Aristotle had first to be subdued, and men could attain to direct intercourse with things themselves.'"

The speculations which followed the incoming of the Copernican conception of the universe, such as those of Bruno and Vannini, were pantheistic rather than atheistic. In 1612, Galileo, then not till the first half of the 17th. cent., that the ripe fruits of the great enunciation of thought began clearly to present themselves. On the
materialistic side these fruits appeared in the writings of Bacon, Gassendi, and Hobbes, and, on the spiritualistic side, in the works of Descartes. The materialism of the former writers cannot be called atheistic, for the atoms as they conceived them, were probably a good many professors of materialistic atheism in this early part of the 17th century.

Père Mesmerne, a contemporary and friend of Descartes, makes the startling statement that there were in his time as many as 50,000 atheists in the city of Paris alone. It seems likely, however, that the majority of these were called atheists simply because they declined to accept any longer the authority of Aristotle. Descartes himself had been accused of atheism on this ground.

About this time there was much scepticism and speculation which came very near to atheism, but escaped it by an admission that was, no doubt, in some cases insincere, but in other cases genuine enough, to the national Church. Whether the attachment of Thomas Hobbes to his Juvenile Church was sincere has been questioned. His philosophy was thoroughly materialistic. He held that even human sensation is nothing but the motion of corporeal particles; but he sheltered himself from the charge of atheism by saying that, in the notion of the universe, he confined himself exclusively to the phenomena which are knowable, and can be explained by the law of causality. Everything of which we can know nothing he regards to theologians. The way in which Hobbes has interpreted religion for State purposes appears to render the genuineness of his theology very doubtful.

'He lays down the following definition, "Fear of power invisible, is the cause of religion," or imagination from tales published, allowed, Religion; not allowed, Superstition" (Lange, op. cit., vol. i. p. 255).

While both Thomas Hobbes and the other great English thinker of the 17th cent., John Locke, were attached to Christianity, and the latter no doubt most sincerely so, their writings had little effect in preparing the way for future manifestations of positive atheism. Both the materialism which formed the basis of Hobbes' sophistry, and his selfish system of morals, were quite uncongenial to theistic belief. And Locke's doctrine of the origin of all ideas in sensation, though its atheistic tendency was, as we have seen, neutralized by his reliance on a theory of the necessity of an adequate causal ground for the universe, and by his recognition of the validity of the teleological argument, yet really undermined the rational basis of theism, and when consistently carried out, it, in conjunction with Hobbes' materialism, was largely instrumental in bringing about the positive atheism which flourished in France towards the middle of the 18th century. What kept Locke and, indeed, most thoughtful persons in England from atheism during the 17th and 18th cent., was the indestructible principle thus enunciated by Locke:

'Whateverse is first of all things must necessarily contain in it, and actually have, at least all the perfections that can ever after exist; and can never give to another any perfections that it hath not actually in itself, or at least in a higher degree; it necessarily follows that the first eternal being cannot be matter' (cf. Flint, op. cit., p. 142).

It should be added that, as Dr. Flint aptly remarks, the absence in England of much positive scepticism and professed atheism during these two centuries is partly to be accounted for by the strong tendency at that time to believe that "the greater the number in the 19th cent., to refer theological insight and philosophical knowledge to two quite distinct sources. In § 1 it has been argued that in the above principle lies the most conclusive refutation of materialism and atheism. But though Locke built his own atheism mainly on this foundation, it is a principle which finds no justification in his own exposition of the origin of knowledge. It is a purely a priori conception and belief, such as are also the conceptions of moral authority and of immortality. Accordingly, when Locke's ideas were introduced into France in the 18th cent., this doctrine of the origin of all knowledge in sensation was consistently worked out, and led several thinkers to atheism. The belief in a separate and specially inspired source of theological truth had given place to a larger measure of acceptance among French thinkers; and hence what was simply new to materialism in London became often positive atheism in Paris. The physician La Mettrie, the author of L'Homme Machine (1748), was led, through observing in his own case the influence of the movements of the blood on the power of thought, to maintain that all thinking and willing have their origin in sensation. He admits that it is probable that a Supreme Being exists, but adds that, if so, it is a theoretical truth without any use in practice.

'For our peace of mind,' he says, 'it is indifferent to know whether there is a God or not, whether He created matter, or whether He is in any way directly active in the world; but a little further, in order to agree with a friend of his whom he represents as arguing that the world would never be happy unless it was atheistic' (Lange, op. cit., p. 75).

Lagrange, who gives an excellent account of La Mettrie's writings, remarks that 'La Mettrie's friend has only forgotten that even religion itself, quite apart from scepticism, must be based on natural impulses of man, and if this impulse leads to all unhappiness, it is not easy to see how all the other impulses, since they have the same natural origin, are to lead to happiness. In his treatises on L'Épistémée and L'Art de Jouir, La Mettrie seeks to justify the pursuit of sensual enjoyment in a manner which Ueberweg justly describes as 'still more artificially exaggerated than frivolous.'

About twenty years after the publication of La Mettrie's L'Homme Machine, appeared the work which is regarded as the chef-d'œuvre of French materialism. Its title is Système de la nature ou des lois du monde physique et du monde moral (1770). On its title-page it professes to be written by a M. de Mirabeau, who was a deceased secretary of the French Academy, but the real author was known to be Baron d'Holbach. Holbach's system, says Ueberweg, 'combines all three elements of the empirical doctrine, which (if I am not mistaken, have been collected, brought together, viz. materialism (La Mettrie's), sensationalism (Condillac's), and determinism (which Diderot had at length admitted).' In this elaborate treatise the atheism is most pronounced, so that when a translation of it was published in London by the secularists in 1859, it bore on its cover the title The Atheist's Text-Book. It directly attacks the existence of God, and traces the origin of religion to fear and ignorance. Holbach substitutes for God matter and motion. The work is highly rhetorical, and in parts quite eloquent. Its ethics resembles that of Epicurus. Like Epicurus, Holbach points to the pleasure and happiness which friendship and sympathy can impart, and reaches a code of morals which superciliously seems somewhat exalted. In his concluding chapter he says:

'He just, because equity is the support of human society. Be good, because goodness connects all hearts in admirable bonds! Be kind, because kindliness nourishes generosity! ... Forgive injuries, because revenge perpetuates hatred! Do good to him that injures you, in order to show them the moral order in which we are made a friend of him who was once thine enemy. Be temperate in thine enmoy, and chaste in thy pleasures, because voluptuousness beggareth weakness, intemperance engenders disease' (p. 513).

It is characteristic of this ethical theory, as of all sensational ethics, that the intrinsic grandeur
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and worth of all these virtues are undermined and destroyed by the egotistic motives to which they are referred.

Several of the French writers of this epoch show anti-theistic leanings, even when they repudiate atheism, such as Diderot, in his later life, Helvetius, Lalande, Marchal, etc. (see Flint's *Anti-theist, pp. 469-474*). The great astronomer Laplace is sometimes classed among atheists by some writers. Voltaire, reminded by Napoleon that in his treatise on *Mécanique Céleste* he had said nothing about God, he replied, 'Sire, I had no need of that hypothesis.' But it is quite possible that in this reply he meant simply that he could account for the celestial movement by the force of the universe and in the movement he may not have implied that these second causes do not demand for their existence a self-existent 'Cause of causes' (see § 1, above; and cf. Fiske, *Through Nature to God*, p. 141). It is related of David Hume that, with the aid of eighteen at the house of Baron d'Holbach, he expressed a doubt as to whether it was possible to find any person who would avow himself dogmatically an atheist. On which his host replied, 'My dear sir, you are at this moment still showing the age of seventeen such a new world.'

The greatest French writer, however, of this time, Voltaire, felt no respect for these sceptical or atheistic reasonings. That powerful and original thinker (like Locke in the previous century) saw that only by a spiritual First Cause could living and self-conscious beings be produced; and in the universe he saw such clear evidence of beneficent purpose that more than once in his writings he dwells eloquently on that old argument from design to which from the time of Anaxagoras and Socrates thinkers have constantly appealed, and which, as we shall afterwards see, the facts of evolution have by no means invalidated.

The materialistic atheism which flourished in France before and during the Revolution gradually decayed, owing partly to Kantian and Hegelien influence, and partly to that spiritual philosophy which was developed in France itself by Maine de Biran and Victor Cousin.

(b) German anti-theistic theories.—About a century after the advent of materialism and atheism in France there came into the German language as a result of the extreme idealistic thinking, but to a still greater extent as a reaction against it, a succession of anti-theistic writers of whom the latest, Professor Ernst Haeckel, is still exercising great influence, both in the Continent and in Britain. The first of these in date, Ludwig Feuerbach, began his intellectual career as an idealist. Along with the still more celebrated writer David Strauss, he came forth from the extreme left wing of the Hegelian school. Both of these thinkers found the supreme object of interest not in the Hegelian Absolute Spirit, but in human nature; and hence Feuerbach was a humanist like Auguste Comte rather than a materialist.

'In his view,' says R. H. Hutton, 'God is but the magnified image of man reflected back upon space by the mirror of human self-consciousness. As pilgrims to the Brook'n often observe, during an autumn sunrise, shadows of their figures enormously dilated confronting them from a great distance, bowing as they bow, kneeling as they kneel, mocking them in all their gestures, and finally disappearing as the sun rises higher in the sky, so the German Atheist maintains that in the early dawn of human intelligence, the human soul (as he understands it) was at first the god of himself, which has been childishly worshipped as an independent being and named God, but which must vanish soon ('The Atheistic Explanation of Religion,' in Essays Theological and Literary, vol. 1, p. 25. This article is an admirable exposition and criticism of Feuerbach's position.)

The traces of this novel idea appear in Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* (Das Wesen des Christenthums, 1841), by Miss Marian Evans (George Elliot) in 1854, which was reviewed in the before-mentioned article by R. H. Hutton, attracted much attention in this country. The feature in his thought which has led to his being classed among materialists is his doctrine that the soul is the sensation of the body.

'The body,' he says, 'is part of my being; say, the body is this totality, is my Ego.' Consistently with this view, he euphemistically rejected all belief in personal immortality.

Far more decisively materialistic than Feuerbach was Carl Vogt, who in his *Physiological Letters* (1845-1847) developed the ideas of the French author Cabanis (1798), and argued that 'thought stands from the same source as hunger, as the bile to the liver, or the urine to the kidneys.' In 1852 appeared Jacob Moleschott's famous work, *The Circulation of Life (Der Kreislauf des Lebens),* which maintains that all vital phenomena can be explained as a perpetual circulation of matter from the inorganic to the organic world, and then back again from the organic to the inorganic. This doctrine has recently been acutely criticized by Sir Oliver Lodge, who contends that the phenomena of organization and life demand their own satisfactory explanation, in the assumption that a higher principle, life, guides and controls the elements of matter and energy (see his article on 'Mind and Matter' in *HJ*, Jan. 1900). 'Without philosophus,' says Moleschott, 'there is no thought'; and he concludes that thought is a movement of the substance of the brain.

The book which in this materialistic and atheistic movement of the 19th century, had much the same position and influence as Holbach's *System of Nature* had in the century preceding, was Professor Ludwig Büchner's *Force and Matter* (Kraft und Stoff, 1855). Büchner was the first of those German materialists who afterwards came under the influence of Darwin's books on *The Origin of Species* (1859). He professed that he found in Darwinism the chief support of materialism, and in the later editions of his book he declared that the doctrine of Natural Selection had wholly destroyed the force of the teleological argument. His general inference is that—

'not God, but evolution of matter, is the cause of the order of the world; that life is a combination of matter which in favourable circumstances is spontaneously generated; that there is no vital principle, but non-vital forces, and consequently no immortality; that matter and movement proceed from life to consciousness; that there is no God, no final cause, no immortality, no birth or death of the soul' (Case, *Metaphysics*, in *E lite*, vol. xxx. p. 647).

Sometimes Büchner speaks of mind as an effect of matter, and sometimes as a movement of matter, and he uses these expressions indifferently. He does not regard the human mind as psychical activity as 'nothing but a radiation through the cells of the grey substance of the brain of a motion set up by external stimuli.' Büchner argues that his 'philosophic system, since it puts at its head not matter as such, but the unity and indivisibility of force and matter, cannot be described as materialism' (Last Words on Materialism, p. 273). But, as Professor Case points out, if a philosophy makes force an attribute of matter, as Büchner's does, it will recognize nothing but matter possessing forces, and therefore be not a materialism and monism, i.e. materialistic monism.

The most recent anti-theistic work of importance in Germany is Professor Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe* (Die Welträthsel), of which there is an English translation, 'The Riddle of the Universe,' by Mrs. M. Cox (1896). The peculiar feature of Haeckel's theory is that, like the ancient Hylozoists, he represents the original substance as having a psychical as well as a physical side. Because of this he contends that his philosophy can be termed *materialistic monism.* He also holds that his doctrine mind is always spoken of as an attribute of body, and cannot be conceived to exist dissociated from matter, it would appear that his system, like
Bishop's, is fitly described as materialistic monism. Haeckel derives everything from an eternal primitive substance, which by condensation passes first into imponderable ether, and then by further condensation into the elements of ponderable matter. This eternal substance is God. His system bears somewhat the same relation to that of Comte as, so far as his monads possess the germs of perception and appetite. The souls of animals and men have no origin separate from that of their bodies. Sensation is the property of all matter. In plants and the lowest animals he considers sensation and will to be present, but only in a rudimentary and unconscious form. As to the point in evolution at which consciousness first clearly presents itself, he is not explicit.

'However certain,' he says, 'we are of the fact of this natural evolution of consciousness, we are, unfortunately, not yet in a position to enter more deeply into the question' (Haeckel, *Inside of the Universe*, p. 191).

On this Case makes the weighty remark: 'Thus in presence of the problem which is the crux of materialism, the origin of consciousness, he first propounds a gratuitous hypothesis that everything has mind, and then gives up the origin of conscious mind after all. He is certain, however, that the law of substance some proves that conscious soul is a mere function of brain, that soul is a function of all substances, and that God is the force or energy, or soul or spirit. (See Professor Comte's article on Metaphysics in 'Enc.' for a fuller account and criticism of the systems of Bichler and Haeckel.)

As was before marked, Haeckel's philosophy affords no explanation of how it comes about that the corpuscles from the primitive substance conquire not only to form organisms, but to produce an orderly and teleologically arranged cosmos. Which is now nothing but the psychical character which he assigns to each corpuscle, but an intelligence and will dominating the whole and co-ordinating all its separate parts. He calls his philosophy the monistic or mechanical philosophy, as contrasted with the teleological.

'There is everywhere, he says, a necessary causal connection of phenomena, and therefore the whole knowable universe is a harmonic whole.' (See *Monist*, vol. II, p. 356). But Haeckel's 'Law of Substance' gives no explanation of the cause of this 'harmonious unity,' nor does it at all account for the origin of the ideas which he makes the very bases of religion— the ideas, namely, of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The materialist, however, is inseparable, and therefore spirit can neither create nor control matter. This circumstance alone shows that there is an impassable gulf between his world-view and any world-view that can be rightly termed religious.

Along with German anti-theistic theories must be classed a doctrine which, so far from being materialistic, is intensely idealistic, namely, the doctrine of 'ethical idealism,' which is propounded by F. A. Lange in the third volume of his very able *History of Materialism*. Lange, under the influence of the agnostic side of the Kantian philosophy, came to the conclusion that there exist in the universe no reality or realities corresponding to our ideal conceptions. But these ideal conceptions, he says, have a calculable value to the soul, and it is in this sphere of the poetic imagination alone that we must look for the satisfaction of our religious sentiments and aspirations. The intelligible world is, in his view, a world of poetry: The greatest poems, he argues, have immortal worth, though the characters in them may have had no historical existence. To this illustration pastor Heinrich Lang of Zürich very pertinently replied:

'Poems hold their color when they aesthetically satisfy religious decay so soon as it is seen that the objects of faith are imaginary and not real.' An admirable criticism of the school of German materialism which Lange here exposes will be found in Martineau's Address on 'Ideal Substitutes for God' in his *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses* (vol. iv. p. 204 f.).

4. Positivism.—Positivism, both as a philosophy and as a religion, appears to have about as much influence in England as it has in the land of its birth. In Mr. Frederic Harrison's Dr. J. D. Bridges it has had remarkably able exponents and advocates in this country; and its monthly organ, *The Positivist Review*, often reaches a high level of philosophical and sociological thought. As a philosophy of the physical, it is exclusively non-metaphysical system. It teaches that the phenomenal world is the only knowable world, and it deprecates as wholly without value or interest all speculations concerning the nature of the ground or causes behind the world and the phenomena of the sensible universe. While Herbert Spencer holds that our very conception of the relative character of all our scientific knowledge compels us to believe in the existence of an Absolute Reality behind the world of phenomena, and that it is this Unknowable Reality which forms the object of religion, the Positivists, on the other hand, maintain that what is wholly unknowable is wholly without interest to mankind, and therefore can never excite or satisfy religious ideas or emotions. According to Comte's celebrated classification of the three stages of religious insight, mankind begins by assigning the causation of cosmical phenomena to the supernatural volition of personal deities, and finally to one Supreme Deity, when the stage of monotheism is reached. Reason, Comte held, gradually overthrows this, the stage of theistic, in place of a personal cause sets up metaphysical abstractions such as centrifugal force, elective affinity, or reality as the causal principles behind phenomena. Science, however, at length concludes that these abstractions rest upon no real experience; and the third and final stage is that of Positivism. The Positive stage of conviction, towards which all culture is approaching, means, he says, the recognition of the truth that all ontological causes (whether metaphysical or theological) are wholly beyond the scope of man's intellectual insight. It has been shown by many critics of Positivism that these three ways of considering the universe are not necessarily successive, but constantly occur together in the history of philosophical and religious thought.

There is one true and valuable basis for Comte's philosophy which raises it far above the level of the 18th century materialism of La Mettrie, d'Holbach, etc. They carried up the materialistic and mechanical principles, by which they explained the inorganic world, into the human and the spiritual, and made consciousness, and thus arrived at the description of man as a machine (L'Homme Machine). This, said Comte, is materialism, and against it he strongly protested. He would never allow that the mechanical theory was rationally applicable beyond the limits of the physical world, and held it to be self-condemned so soon as it was pushed into the provinces of biology and human character (Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, i. 503).

Comte's religious conception appears to be atheistic, and yet the laws of evolution and nature and humanity are the products of a self-existent and self-conscious Eternal Cause. In the place of God, in the theistic sense, he substitutes the *Grand Étre—Humanity*—as the supreme object in the universe. Some critics hold that the real object of the Positivist's adoration is the ideal of human perfection, which he practically hypostatizes and adores. Positivists, however, will not admit this, for this would be, in their view, equivalent to the worship of an abstraction. In the *International Journal of Ethics* for July 1900 (p. 42), Dr. G. O. Ur. of the founder of the 'ethical culture' societies in England, says:

'So far as I am aware, the Positivists have never declared that Humanity is God. But they have maintained that all the homage
and obduracy which has been rendered to God should now be transferred to Man. They have worshiped Humanity, they have prayed to it, they have found consolation and strength in communion with it. Surely, then, it has become their God.

In the next number of the *Positivist Review*, however, Frederic Harrison solemnly disavowed this statement, and denies that Positivists have prayed to and worshipped Humanitv.

The non-metaphysical character of the Positivists' religion provokes a comparison of it with Buddhism. There is, however, vital difference between the two. The religious sentiments of Positivists do not centre in a glorified personal being; nor has Positivism as a religion anything corresponding to the doctrines of karma and transmigration, which bring Buddhism into some affinity with theistic religion. Cf., further, *Atheism*.

5. Anti-theistic theories in England in the nineteenth century.—It was not till the middle of the 19th cent. that anti-theistic writings had much influence in England. The Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man (3 vols., 1831)—a posthumous work by Mr. Thomas Carlyle, the author of a brilliantly written novel, *Anastasia, or Memoirs of a Modern Greek*—is a confused medley of materialistic speculations respecting the origin of the inorganic and organic worlds from molecules, which are resting quietly by way of natural evolvetion from the substance of God, the invincible primary cause. On its appearance Thomas Carlyle characterized the book as 'a monstrous Anomaly, where all sciences are heaped and huddled together' (Miscellaneous Essays, iv. 31). Some of the illustrative passages are quoted from it in Flint's *Anti-theistic Theories* (pp. 476, 478).

A much more lucid materialistic treatise, and also more decidedly atheistic, appeared in 1851, in the form of *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*, from the pen of Mr. H. G. Atkinson and Miss Harriet Martineau. In this book Atkinson says:—

'1 am far from being an Atheist, as resting on second causes. As well might we, resting on the earth, deny that there is any depth beneath; or, living in time, deny eternity. I do not say, therefore, that there is no God; but that it is extravagant and irreverent to imagine that cause a Person: the fundamental cause is wholly beyond our conception' (p. 240).

As these writers, however, always speak of matter as if it were eternal, declare that 'the mind of man is a part of material development,' and assert that 'philosophy finds no God in nature, nor sees the want of any,' it is impossible to deny that their book is fundamentally atheistic. Like most atheistic treatises, it denies the freedom of the will and the existence of God, and is no more a sin in a crooked disposition than in a crooked stick in the water, or in a bump-back or a squint. At the time of its appearance the work was severely criticized by James Martineau in the *Prospective Review*, and there is another acute criticism of it in Professor J. S. Blackie's *Natural History of Atheism* (1877).

6. Secularism.—English Secularism appears to be almost entirely an indigenous growth. During the early portion of the 19th cent. there appeared several writings which, though by no means atheistic, yet prepared the way for the incoming of a non-religious and also of an anti-religious drift of thought. The phronological writings of George Combe, though they were in his own case associated with the idea of a world's atonement, and the individualistic view of mind, Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile were themselves Deists, but many of the admirers of their rationalism did not admit the validity of their deistic views. The philosophy of the philanthropic socialist, Robert Owen, exercised a strong influence on Mr. G. F. Haeckel's, a doctrine somewhat resembling Haeckel's, in which God is conceived as permeating all the particles of the universe. At this time there was also an important circle of thinkers, of which Jeremy Bentham was the centre, and which was strongly anti-theistic and positively religious. Professor Bain in his *Life of James Mill* says:

'That Mill's acquaintance with Bentham hastened his course towards infidelity it is impossible to doubt. Bentham never in so many words publicly avowed himself an atheist, nor did he so in substance.' His destructive criticisms of religious doctrine and practice in *The Church of England* and *Ethical Religion*—his anonymous book on Natural Religion, left no residue that could be of any value. As a legislator he had to allow a place for Religion; but hurling some of its most subversive assumptions to make use of the Pope, for sanctioning whatever he himself chose, in the name of Utility, to prescribe. John Austin followed on the same lines, and his contemporary, Thomas Carlyle, is neither suit either of the Mills. It is quite certain, moreover, that the whole tone of conversation in Bentham's more select circle was atheistic' (cf. Mill's *Autobiography*, iii. p. 527).

All these circumstances had probably some influence in bringing about that secularist movement in which George Jacob Holyoake and Charles Bradlaugh were the leading spirits. Bradlaugh in the *National Reformer*, and Holyoake in the *Reformer*, appealed to a large number of readers, especially of the artisan class. The work thus begun has been continued down to the present time by a succession of lecturers and writers; but it has now to a large extent lost its positively atheistic character, and is now, and has been in recent years, more that of agnosticism, which the numerous cheap publications of the *Rationalist Press Association* are doing much to advance. The name 'Secularist,' as distinguished from 'Atheist,' was originated by Holyoake in 1851. The late years past, in which Bradlaugh had no dislike, was objected to by Holyoake on the ground that it was often understood to mean 'one who is not only without God but also without moralitv.' The two leaders were of very dissimilar types of mind. Holyoake, like Robert Owen, of whom he had been a disciple, was a creature of a constructive disposition; he would have liked to give to the word 'secularist' a meaning which would not have excluded theists. Bradlaugh, on the contrary, was naturally aggressive. He identified all theological ideas with superstition, and the work of undermining them he evidently found very congenial.

The chief logical ground on which they both rejected theism differed somewhat from that which was taken by earlier atheists of that century. The chief reason is, These, as we have seen, regarded the First Cause, though they regarded its character as wholly unknowable. Holyoake and Bradlaugh, on the other hand, started with matter, maintaining that it needed no cause, being itself self-existent and eternal. This was an extension of a view entertained by one of matter by a self-existent Spirit is inconceivable. To this the theist replies that, though we have no experience of it, such creation would violate no necessary law of thought; and he further contends that the atheist's assertion that out of lifeless matter organization and life spontaneously arose is not only inconceivable, but actually violates the law of thought which compels us to believe that no cause for an effect can be admitted unless there is some element in it which can be conceived as capable of giving rise to the effect.

Another very prominent feature in both Bradlaugh's and Holyoake's attack on theism was their attempt to invalidate that argument from design in which so many thinkers, including Locke and Gibbon, have entertained it. The atheistic belief. Holyoake in his chief works, *Paley Rejected* and *The Trial of Theism*, dwells at great length on this question. Finding it impossible to explain the order and systematic organization of the cosmos on the materialistic hypothesis, he tries to overthrow this belief by showing that, if it were a real explanation, it would involve other necessary assumptions which experience shows to have no existence in fact. Admit,
he says, that there was a designer, then that designer must have been a person; and if a person, he could not have designed the universe unless he had a mind. For we know, possessing, namely, a cerebral organization, a brain; and, he concludes, there is no evidence of the existence of such a brain. This argument has also been employed by Professors W. K. Clifford and Du Bois-Reymond. Sir Oliver Lodge has been invited by eminent thinkers, both scientific and philosophical. On the relations between mind and matter Sir Oliver Lodge says:

1. Fundamentally they amount to this: that a complex piece of matter may be called a mind or a brain, suppose if mind and consciousness; that if it be stimulated mental activity results; that if it be injured or destroyed no material residue of mental activity remains. Suppose we grant all this, what then? We have granted that brain is the means whereby mind is made manifest on this material plane, it is the instrument through which alone we know it, but we have not granted that mind is limited to its material manifestation; nor can we maintain that without matter the things we call mind, intelligence, consciousness, have no sort of existence. Mind may be incorporated or incarnate in matter, but it may also transcend it. Brain is truly the organ and mind, consciousness, but not one to assert on the strength of that fact that the realities underlying our use of those terms have no existence apart from the organ.

In § 2 reasons have been given for concluding that organization can be explained only by assuming that a higher principle guides the arrangement of the material particles. If this is the case, life is the principle of organization of brain matter, and life proceeds from the brain to the body, and is the organic whole, and the universe integrates. Dr. James Martineau, in his article on 'Modern Materialism: its Attitude towards Theology,' very carefully discussed this question. He ascribes to mind that, through a finite and extended mind needs a cerebral organ for its communication with the physical world, it is highly probable that a self-existent and eternal Mind is not thus conditioned. 'Further,' he says, 'it appears in dealing with the concept of the Universal Mind this demand for organic centralization is strangely inappropriate. It is when mental power has to be localized, bared, let out to individual natures and assigned to a scene of definite relations, that a focus must be found for it and a molecular structure with determinate periphery be built for its lodgment. And were Du Bois-Reymond himself ever to alight on the portentous cerebrum which he imagines, I greatly doubt whether he would fulfill his promise and turn there at the sight; that he had found the Cause of cause would be the last inference it would occur to him to draw; rather it would be, the consciousness, the mind, the cosmic meagerism, born to float and pasture on the fields of space.' (Elaysa, Recreations, and Addresses, vol. iv. p. 254). If the objection still insists that the Eternal Mind must have a body, then declare it Sir Oliver Lodge and Dr. Martineau point out that.

1. 'It has been surmised that just as the corpuscles and atoms of matter, in their intricate movements and relations, combine to form human beings, so from the luminous bodies, the planets and suns and other groupings of the other, may perhaps combine to form something corresponding as it were to the brain cell of some transcendent mind. The thing is a mere guess, it is not an impossibility, and it cannot be excluded from a philosophical system by any negative statement based on scientific fact.' (Sir Oliver Lodge, loc. cit., p. 255; cf. Martineau, op. cit., p. 255).

In addition to these two arguments for atheism, Bradlaugh adds one to some metaphysical obstacles which, in his opinion, bar the way to a theistic conclusion. The chief of these is that we are necessitated by the laws of thought to conceive of Substance as that which does not require the conception of any other substance, or anything else antecedent to it'; there therefore Substance cannot have been created or originated. To this Dr. Flint well replies: 'If he [Mr. Bradlaugh] can conceive substance per se, and not material substance only, then physical, mental, etc., effects, which are nothing but the effects of his own faculties, he is logically bound to abandon sensationalism and all its consequences, and betake himself to absolute idealism or nothingness. (Agnosticism, p. 517).

In a similar strain Bradlaugh contends that, if God were infinite, it would be impossible to conceive of any addition to Him, and that, therefore, an infinite God and a created universe are incompatible ideas. Such arguments as these, even if they were valid (which all theists would deny), would have little or no weight with secularists in general; for it is by no means certain that we know the nature of an a priori source of knowledge, and this very few atheists would grant.

Besides Holyoke and Bradlaugh, there have been other secularist lecturers and writers, such as G. J. Romanes, W. K. Clifford, John Tyndall, T. H. Huxley, and the philosopher, H. Spencer. In 1878 there was published anonymously a decidedly atheistic work called A Candidate for the Gods, by Physics. Many years later, Romanes acknowledged the authorship, and stated at the same time that he had then come to see that his most important objections to theism were invalid. Indeed, the above arguments the says writes, 'have time been convinced by Laden Powell's work on The Order of Nature, that this order necessitates the hypothesis of an eternal creative intelligence and will, but that, on the appearance of Spencer's First Principles and Charles Darwin's work on Natural Selection, his views had undergone a total change, and that at the time of writing the Candid Examination he felt assured that the appearance of design in the universe could be explained without the assumption of a creating mind. About the year 1899, however, he wrote three articles on the Influence of Science upon Religion, and these, together with some other notes on atheism from his pen, were published, after his death, under the title Thoughts on Religion, by Dr. Charles Gore, now the Bishop of Birmingham. In these articles Romanes declares that he recovered faith in the validity of the teleological argument.

'I think it is perfectly clear,' he concludes, 'that if the argument from theology is to be saved at all, it can only be so by eliding from its basis of special adaptation, to the universe the broad area of Nature as a whole. And here I confess that to my mind the argument does acquire a weight which, if long and attentive, may be deemed as deserving of consideration. For although this and that particular adjustment in Nature may be seen to be proximately due to physical causes...the more ultimate question arises, How is it that all physical causes conspire, by their united action, to the production of a general order of Nature? It is against all analogy to suppose that such an end as this can be accomplished by each means as those, in the way of mere chance or "the fortuitous concourse of atoms." We are led by the most fundamental dictates of our reason to conclude that there must be some cause for this cooperation of causes.' (Thoughts on Religion, p. 67.)

He then goes on to show that 'inadequate cause can be nothing short of a Divine Mind, though that Infinite Mind may be, and indeed must be, beyond the comprehension of man's finite intelligence. For the views of Dr. Romanes on the character of God, and on Christianity, the Thoughts on Religion must be consulted. But Dr. Gore mentions that his friend, shortly before his death, expressed his belief that it is by "intuition" we become acquainted with God, and added that he was in cordial agreement on this subject with Knight's a priori. (Agnosticism, p. 517.)

Professors W. K. Clifford held a world-theory somewhat similar to that of Haeckel. Everything, both physical and psychological, was, he maintained, composed of elements of "mind-stuff," and
when these elements are compounded in a nervous system, they manifest the phenomena of consciousness. As to the cause which so arranges these elements as to form out of them the actual orderly universe of matter and mind, his writings furnish no explanation. With Holyoake and Hu Bø Alien, he regards the existence of a self-existent personal cause as highly improbable, owing to the want of evidence for the existence of a corresponding brain. What has been previously said in reply to Holyoake's secularist atheism applies equally to Clifford's reasons for denying the existence of God. Clifford's view of religion was akin to Positivism.

"In such a moment of utter sincerity," he says, "when a man has bared his own soul before the insatiabilities and the storms, a presence in which his own poor personality is蔑reduced into nothingness arises within him, and says, as plainly as words can say, 'I am with thee, and I am greater than thou.'" Many names of Gods, of many shapes, have given to this presence, seeking by names and pictures to know more clearly the guide and the helper of men.

These words appear to point to a theistic conclusion, but Clifford dispenses this expectation; for his final judgment is that, after all, such a helper of men, outside of humanity, the truth will not be known. (Lectures and Essays, p. 255.)

Professor John Tyndall's Address before the British Association at Belfast in 1874 excited much attention, and called forth many criticisms from the theistic side. Among these perhaps the most important was a paper in the Contemporary Review on 'Metaphysics and Modern Materialism' by Dr. James Martineau, between whom and Professor Tyndall there had often been mental encounters at the meetings of the Metaphysical Society. (This paper, together with another on 'Religion as affected by Modern Materialism,' is reprinted in vol. iv. of Martineau's Essays, Reviews, and Addresses.)

Though in the Address Tyndall says, 'I discern in matter the promise and potency of all terrestrial life,' he declined to be called a materialist. His view somewhat resembled Haeckel's, in that he maintained that sensation could not arise unless the elements of matter had a psychical as well as a physical side. He did not, however, regard sensation as a property of matter, but rather as a peculiar relation of the sensations from the physics of the brain to the facts of consciousness he admitted to be altogether inconceivable by the human mind. As to the cause of the atoms and of the processes of evolution, his position was not atheistic but agnostic. In an Address at Birmingham, a few months later than the one at Belfast, he says, in reply to the question whether there are in nature manifestations of knowledge and skill higher than man's: "My friends, the profession of that atheism with which I sometimes so lightly charged would, in any case, be an impossible answer to this question."

Like Lange, he confines religion to the sphere of idea and creation. In reference to Tyndall, he stated that "he must radically exclude our notions of 'Matter' if we are to understand how it carries with it the promise and potency of all terrestrial life," Martineau remarks (op. cit. iv. 175) that what Tyndall says simply amounts to this: "I believe (in matter) with your quota, and I will promise to exempt them explicitly." It is easy travelling through the stages of such an hypothesis; you deposit at your bank a radish, and drawing on it at any pause, complete your grand tour without a debt. Words, however, are likely to bear such richness of premissage, will be found to stand the strain of speculation, but the grand theory has to be tried in the beechnuts of the beech-woods of Bohemia—terms that bear God in them, and thus dissolve the meaning of the words so precisely represent. Such a phrase as 'material Matter—matter that is up to everything, even to writing Hamlet, and finding out its own evolution, and substituting a molecular physiology for a wilderness of theism' is regarded as a little too modest in its disclaimer of the attributes of Mind.

The views of Professor T. H. Huxley differ in one important respect from those of his great friend, Professor Tyndall. The former, through his study of Hume, was inclined to accept the principles of sensational idealism, whereas the latter sided with the agnostic realism of Herbert Spencer. Huxley, accordingly, seeks to replace the doctrine of 'human automatism,' i.e. that while states of consciousness depend upon the molecular movements of the cerebral substance, 'there is no proof that any state of consciousness is the cause of change in the motion of the matter of the organism.' (ib. p. 214.)

At a meeting of the Metaphysical Society, when Huxley had read a paper on the subject, 'Has the Frog a Soul?' one of the members present said: 'I was walking down Oxford Street this morning, intending to go straight to the Marble Arch; but, happening to glance at my books, I saw that I needed a new pair, and accordingly walked into Regent Street, which has made me eat a horse!' Then, addressing Huxley, he asked, 'Am I to understand that the frog in the same position as my horse, would not have eaten a horse?'

'That is most certainly you are,' replied the professor.

It is clear, then, that though Huxley in words rejects materialism and assents to the position that there are only a group of mental symbols, he is virtually a decided materialist, for he represents mind as dependent for its existence on this group of mental symbols, and possessed of no power to act in any manner the reality for which these symbols stand.

As Huxley points out, if it is held that the atheism not knowable, i.e. states of consciousness, he held that we can neither affirm nor deny the existence of God or of any metaphysical realities behind phenomena. To describe his attitude towards these metaphysical questions he coined the convenient word 'Agnostic.' The charge of atheism he emphatically repels, saying:

'The problem of the ultimate cause of existence . . . seems to me . . . hopelessly out of reach of my poor powers. Of all the senseless babble I have ever had occasion to read, the demonstrations of these philosophers who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God would be the worst, if they were not so unsurpassed matter lives.' Then, addressing Huxley, he asked, 'Am I to understand that this frog which I passed in the street, without its books had no causal connexion with the change in the direction of my walk?'

'That is most certainly you are,' replied the professor.

With reference to this, Huxley has expressed himself as follows:

'No doubt, it is quite true that the doctrine of Evolution is the most formulated idea of all the other hypotheses of forms of Teleology . . . The teleological and the mechanical views of nature are not, however, of necessity mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the more purely a mechanism the speculator is, the more firmly does he assume a primordial molecular arrangement, of which all the phenomena of the universe are the consequences, and the more completely he is thereby at the mercy of the teleologist, who can always defy him to disprove that this primordial molecular arrangement was not intended to evolve the phenomena of the universe' (Critiques and Addresses, pp. 356-357).

It would seem that Huxley should here have asked himself whether this or primordial arrangement, from which a universe abounding in marks of adaptation has proceeded, does not by a necessity of human thought demand an adequate cause. Romances, as we have seen, did put this question to Hume, and the author of the fin de siécle, with whom he finally found satisfaction was that it is only on the hypothesis of the creative action of an Eternal Mind that the facts of physical and mental evolution are at all satisfactorily accounted for. Huxley, however, never fairly faces the question of ultimate cause. For the weighty arguments for the correctness of the teleological argument with the words:

'Why trouble oneself about matters which are out of reach, when the working of which mechanism is of such practical importance, affords scope for our energies?' (G. F. 307.)

He forgot that the human mind has other aspirations and faculties besides those which lead
to scientific discovery; that it cannot content itself with the ascertainment of the order of phenomenal succession, but must perceive, for the satisfaction of its rational, its ethical, and its religious nature, ever seek after insight into the reality and the exact nature of the things which are the objects of our consciousness.

Herbert Spencer's attitude towards theism was by no means so negative or neutral as was that of Tyndall and Huxley; and with good right he maintained that his philosophical system might be pantheistic, but could not justly be termed atheistic. His conception of the real character of the universe rested upon an assumed a priori principle.

In opposition to the doctrine of Mansel and Sir W. Hamilton, he maintains, "impossible though it is to give to this consciousness of the absolute and the quantitative expression whatever, it is not the less certain that it remains with us as a positive and indiscernible element of thought" (First Principles, p. 77; cf. Nineteenth Century, July 1884, pp. 5-7). In his view it is the same ultimate reality which in the inorganic world manifests itself in the form of matter and motion, and in living beings in minerals of consciousness. His philosophy, however, furnishes no explanation of how, from the modes of matter and motion which physical science discerns, organic structures can spontaneously arise. He states that the volumes in which he would have contained his explanations (The Life and Labor of the Individual) on this organic had for want of time not been written. What these volumes would have contained we can only conjecture from other passages in Mr. Spencer's writings, where he maintains that, in his doctrine of an infinite and eternal energy out of which all phenomena, both psychical and physical, arise, he has reached a reality which satisfies the demands alike of science and of religion. In 1884, he declares that "the attributes of personality, as we know it, cannot be conceived by us as attributes of the Unknown Cause of things, yet duty requires us neither to affirm nor to deny personality, because it is not in our power to establish limits of our intelligence, in the conviction that the choice is not between personality and something lower than personality, but between personality and something higher; and that the Ultimate Power is no more presentable in terms of human consciousness than human consciousness is representative in terms of a plant's functions" (Nineteenth Century, July 1884, p. 7).

Were it not for the last clause in this quotation, one might suppose that Spencer held a view akin to the theistic doctrine of Lotze, i.e. that personality under human limitations must needs be imperfect, and that it only in God that perfect personality is possible. Lotze's doctrine is atheistic, because it implies that, in conceiving of God after the fashion of the highest form of human personality, we have a real and positive, though imperfect, insight into the nature of God. The last clause of Mr. Spencer's statement, however, denies the possibility of any such insight, and thus entirely separates Spencer's doctrine from true theism.

Further, Spencer's attempt to derive all moral ideals and all consciousness of moral authority from the experiences of pleasure and pain, makes it impossible for him to recognize in our ideals any insight into the character of God; and hence his Ultimate Reality cannot be regarded as an adequate object of religious faith and worship.

This article may conclude with the obvious remark, that at the present time atheism in the definite form which it has often assumed in the past has almost entirely disappeared, and an agnostic form of rationalism has taken its place. Benn's treatise on The History of English Rationalism, the 19th Century, and Robertson's Short History of Freethought, tolerably clear idea of the forms of negation with which the defenders of atheism will probably have to deal during the present century.

Literature.—James Buchanan, Faith in God and Modern Atheism, 2 vols., Edin. 1855; Robert Flint, Autotheistic Theories, Edin. 1879; art. "Greek Philosophy" and "Oriental Philosophy and Religion," in DB, 3 vols., New York and Lond. 1890-91; T. M. L. Noble, Metaphysics of A. Lange, History of Materialism, 3 vols., Lond. 1877-81; J. Martineau, Essays, Reviews, and Addresses, iv. (Essays on Materialism), in reply to E. C., Lond. 1890; History of Materialism, Lond. 1895; J. S. Blackie, Natural History of Atheism, Lond. 1877; J. Iverach, In God Knowable! (Lond. 1874) and the same author, In God Unknown! (Lond. 1887). The whole of the same author's work is contained in his The Philosophy of Religion, Lond. 1900; R. M. Wenley, Contemporary Theology and Theology in India, 1897; Charles B. Upton, The Bases of Religious Belief (Wellesley Lecture), Lond. 1893, in France's Revue des Sciences Philosophiques, Paris, 1875; G. Hobart d'Alviella, The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in America, Englands, and India, Lond. 1895; Alfred Caldwell, The Philosophy of Religion in England and America, Lond. 1899; C. P. Crowther, The System of the Universe (tr. by John Harrison), 3 vols. Lond. 1845; Rudolf Otto, Naturalism and Religion, Lond. 1907. Contemp. Revs., B. C. Upton, A. J. Janet, and H. L. A. Hazard. ATHEISM (Buddhist).—1. Buddhism, in so far as it is a philosophic system, is radically averse to the idea of a Supreme Being—of a God, in the Western sense of the word. It must be remembered that this atheism is not a characteristic peculiar to Buddhism alone. The "Lord" (Jiva) of the nominally theistic schools (avisarikas), when He is not conceived of as an Oriental despot, arbitrarily imputing sin or virtue and assigning hell or heaven to His creatures, is practically only an Organizer of the world, keeping account of the deeds of the initiated and assigning to their due recompense, and, after each period of chaos, re-constructing the universe in order to set each creature in the place which befits it. All the Hindus believe, as a matter of fact, in endless transmigration.

Another point worthy of remark is that, although the Buddhists maintain the uselessness of this 'Lord,' a mere delegate of the karma of creatures, they nevertheless personify the karma, or Law. 'Even if I hid my sin from every one, I should not hide it from the Law!' (cf. SBE xxxix, 265). But, as a general rule, retribution for deeds is believed to operate automatically by reason of an energy called the 'indestructible' (the 'invisible' of the Brahmanical treatises), and the system is therefore atheistic because it does away with the thought of a personal Being, who would synchronize the 'book of debts' of which their treaties sometimes speak. It must be acknowledged, however, that to believe in infallible and immutable justice is to recognize at least one of the thoughts which constitute the idea of God. This, however, is, as a general rule, retribution, and by doing so raise themselves above the purely mechanical idea of karma (q.v.), which they view as an intelligent force.

It may be further remarked, that the contemplation of the Buddha plays in early Buddhism a rôle analogous to that which the Sâkhya-Yoga assigns to the contemplation of the 'Lord' (Bhava). 2. It will be profitable to read the 2nd chapter of the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad (Hiyds Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Lond. 1899, p. 30), where the Buddha explains how the god Brahma, being born at the commencement of the world-age in the midst of the heaven prepared for him by his karma, unconscious of his former existences, and witnessing the birth of the other gods whom he wished to have as companions, imagines that he is in truth 'the Supreme One, the Lord of all, the Creator, the Ancient of Days, the Father of all that are and are to be.' 'These other beings are of my creation,' why should that so long ago I should have thought, 'Would it be that their wheel may come in!' And on my mental aspiration beheld the beings came.' The Kowdahallasutta (ib. p. 289) is also very instructive. It shows the reverence of the gods for the great Brahmma, and how Brahmma is inferior to the Buddha. A certain monk, in order to solve
a problem of cosmology, traverses the celestial regions, consulting the divinities. They refer him to Brahma. ‘He is more potent and more glorious than we. He will know it.’ ‘Where, then, is that great Brahma now?’ ‘We know not where Brahma has taken flight. But when the signs of his coming appear, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth, then will He be manifest.’ Soon after, Brahma became manifest, and that monk drew near to him and asked, ‘Where do the other great elements cease? Is that great Brahma then? ’ The monk by the arm and led him aside and said, ‘These gods, my retinue, hold me to be such that there is nothing I cannot see, I have not realized. Therefore I gave no answer in their presence. But I do not know where the four elements cease. Thereupon return to the Buddha, and accept the answer according as he shall make reply.’

3. In the later literature of Buddhism there are found formal proofs of the non-existence of a God who creates and organizes the world, for example in the Bodhicaryavatara, ch. ix, ver. 119 f.

‘Thists say that God is too great for us to be able to comprehend him; but then it follows that His qualities also surpass our power to comprehend them; so that we can attribute to HIM the quality of a Creator. Thists further maintain that the whole creation is comprehensible in itself. But (1) God has created neither souls nor elements which are eternal; He does not bring about the birth of all things (compare Malalas) and the knowledge of things is produced by its own work comprehensible. And (2) God himself does not act to cause things to be; nor acts He to cause the fall of things; nor does He act to destroy; therefore He is not independent; and (3) If He were independent, why does He not accomplish at the same time the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe? And the other qualities cause ought to produce its effects at the same time. Thus everything is momentary.’


**LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.**

**ATHEISM (Egyptian).—No trace has yet been found of any demonstrative atheistic teaching in Egypt.** The contradictory, wholly incompatible, but inevitable claims current in Egypt regarding the future life must have caused every thinking man to wonder and doubt, and when such a man appeared to accept them all and act upon them, if his motive was not sufficiently clear, he was regarded as an incipient superstitition of his own folk: it must have been the hope that one of the alternatives might possibly be correct enough to help towards bliss. The Song of the Harper, engraved in banquetting scenes in the tombs of kings and priests, urges the present enjoyment because death comes to all, and no one has ever returned to tell what has become of the dead; the most learned scribes and philosophers pass away and become as though they had never been, and they must be careful heart greatly; but give bread to him that hath no field,—so shalt thou have a good name among all posterity. Such is the teaching of the Song. This text dates from the Middle Kingdom, but was in vogue also later. Another, of late Ptolemaic age, when the Egyptian religion was indeed on the decline, is put into the mouth of a deceased lady. Inscribed upon her tombstone, it is addressed to her husband, the high priest of Ptah at Memphis, who was almost, if not quite, at the head of the Egyptian hierarchy. She counselled him to enjoy the eating and drinking and enjoyment in the year of life upon earth: the ‘wetern’ land of the dead is a land of wakless sleep, of heavy darkness, of forgetfulness; and apparently implies that nothing could relieve the misery if the dead could feel it. It seems that these views belonged in some degree to the varied face of orthodox, which preceded the Psychosthna and often abundant food and happiness; or, again, the attainment by the dead of all Divine powers; or, again, the sad doctrine of a gloomy existence in the dark world under, relieved only by one hour of illumination each night while the sun passed between the two of the clanging gates.

**LITERATURE.—There is no literature on the subject. For translations of the Songs, see W. Max Müller, *Die Liebesgesichte der alten Ägypter,* Leipzig, 1890, p. 29 ff.**

F. L. GRiffitti.

**ATHEISM (Greek and Roman).—As a dogmatic creed, consisting in the denial of every kind of supernatural power, atheism has not often been seriously maintained at any period of civilized thought, and Plato goes so far as to assert that, while other erroneous views about the gods might be permanent, no one, after embracing in his youth the doctrine of atheism, had ever continued in it up to old age (Legg. 10, 888 C). Thus, in dealing with the statements of Greek and Latin texts, it is necessary to distinguish those thinkers, such as Xenophanes (fr. 15, Diels, ed. of the popular religion, from those who repudiated the idea of God in its entirety. There are further difficulties arising from the fragmentary and often untranslated character of our authorities. A charge of atheism was a favourite controversial weapon, and how careful we should be in accepting isolated statements which impute it may be learnt from a consideration of the cases of Socrates (Plat. *Apol.* 26 C) and of the early Christians (Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, ii. 220). Moreover, the sceptic is always liable to be confounded with the atheist. Thus the attitude of Protagoras towards the problem of theology is sufficiently indicated by the sentence preserved by Diogenes Laertius (ix. 51), in which he declares himself unable to affirm of the gods either that they are or that they are not. Nevertheless, other authorities (Epiphanius, *mct. Heres.* iii. 2. 9; Diels, *Doxogr.* p. 591, 1) testify to his absolute denial of the existence of God. These considerations will show the difficulty of appraising the statements which impute atheism to the physicalist Hippo, the atomist Democritus, the *Naturphilosophen* (Plut. *Amot.* 31, p. 1075 A, etc.), or to the more notorious Diagoras of Melos. The latter, familiar to us from the allusions of Aristophanes (Nub. 530; *Av. 1672*), is said to have turned to atheism because the gods failed to visit with punishment a flagrant wrong which had been committed against him (Sext. *Math.* ii. 53). We have more definite information about Theodorus of Cyrene, a follower of Aristippus, who lived in the latter years of the 4th cent. B.C. His atheism was absolutely uncompromising (Diog. Laert. i. 97; Epiph. *I.C.;* Diels, *Doxogr.* p. 501, 25), and formed a reasoned element in a philosophical system which was subservive of the foundations of customary morality.

Again, atheism is the logical result of the rationalizing system of Euhemerus; but the charge is made against him (*Plut. *Jt.* xxii. 6. 3, p. 360 A) on precisely the same grounds as against the Stoics (*Plut. Amot.* 13, p. 757 C), and cannot of itself be held to imply more than his opposition to received religion. The same is true of the earlier attempt of Proclus, who held that Divine honours were in the first place bestowed upon such natural objects as the sun and moon and the fruits of the earth, and next in order upon the civilizing benefactors of the human race (Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1901, i. 430) that period belongs to the Thirty Tyrants, who is ranked with the atheists by Sextus
(Math. ix. 54) on the strength of some remarkable verses, referred by other authorities, erroneously, as it would seem (Dhela, Dōsoyau, p. 59, 1), to the Sūryasūtras of Eupírides. These lines are conceived in the spirit of a Gallicae or a Thracian maenads, as we meet them in the Georgics and the Republic. The argument is founded on the Sophistic distinction between nature and convention; and the belief in God, which is made subsequent to the rule of some immaterial deity, is attributed to the policy of a cunning legislator, who sought to check secret immorality by the fiction of an eternal, all-seeing, and all-wise power, and to procure obedience to its decrees by investing it with awe-inspiring attributes.

Dr. Legg, indeed, ascribes, in a fiction in the age of the Sophists, the universality of religious belief among the nations of the world was always one of the strongest weapons possessed by the advocates of theism (Plat. Legg. 10. 886 A; Sext. Math. ix. 60).

The only exception which ancient tradition, as preserved by Theophrastus in his treatise on Piety (Bernays, Theophr. Lib. Frömlichkeit, p. 56), records was furnished by a dogfist story concerning the Thoës or Acrothoëtis. They are said to have been a tribe living on the borders of Thrace, who, like Heriod's Silver Race (Qp. 1331), neglected entirely to sacrifice to the gods, and were swallowed up by an earthquake as a punishment for their atheism (Porphy. de Abst. ii. 7, 8; Simplic. ad Epit. Exechir. 31, p. 95, 34, Dibn). Thus, whether viewed in connexion with popular opinion or with scientific thought, atheism appears to have been regarded by the ancients as a mark of corruption, depravity, or eccentricity.

LITERATURE.—See the commentators on Parmenides and Heraclitus, and L. Campbell, Religion in Greek Literature, London, 1898, p. 205. For the charges against astronomers, Plato, Legg. 12, 905 A. See also Jowett, The Dialogues of Plato, Oxford, 1892. Index; Zeller, Rostes, etc., Eng. tr. new ed. 1895, p. 465; G. Boeisler, La Religion romaine, Paris, 1882; and other ref. throughout the article. A. C. PEARSON.

ATHEISM (Indian, ancient).—The beginnings of Indian atheism can be traced back into the Vedic period. In the Rigveda the national god Indra is derided in several passages (iv. 24. 10, x. 119); and we read (ii. 12. 3, vii. 100. 3) of people who absolutely deny his existence even in those early days. We have here the first traces of that naive atheism which is so far from indulging in any philosophical rellexion that it simply refuses to believe what it cannot visualize, and which, in a later period, was known as the disbelief of the Lokayata system; that is to say, of crass materialists, or materialism (Lokaya).

It is different with the atheism which had grown into a conviction as the result of serious philosophical speculation; this, in distinction from the other naive form, we may describe briefly as philos-ophical atheism.

When the old Vedic religion developed into pantheism, the figures of the old gods faded and became transient creatures. But, as such, they still lived in the philosophic systems of India, even in the atheistic Sānkhya system (see SĀNKHYA), and in the religions of Buddhism and Mahāyāna, which found support in this system, and, like it, recognizes no real God.

Here these shadow-like gods afford an illustration of a fact which can be noted throughout the history of religion—that religious ideas belonging to earlier periods project themselves into a later and differently-conceived view of the world—one with which in essence they have ceased to have anything to do, but to which, nevertheless, they adapt themselves. In the Sānkhya system, in Buddhism, and in the religion of the Jains, we find these forgotten gods of early days, the deities, gods and demons, as well as in heavens and hells. But the gods are only more highly organized and happier than men; like the latter, they are within the saṁśajnana, 'circle of life,' and, unless they gain the saving knowledge which enables them to withdraw from worldly existence, they are obliged to change their bodies again. Nor have they escaped the power of death; consequently they are lower than the man who has reached the highest goal. In India, recognition of these facts has been thoroughly accepted, and people has been fully reconciled with the atheistic Sānkhya.

In the Sānkhya system, belief in gods who have risen to evanescent godhead (jāmjeśvērā, kāśyēśvērā) has nothing whatever to do with the question of God Eternal (nāmārthvēr), as regards whom the following rules (Bṛnd. 92, 93, 94, etc.) will apply. The use of a special term (līkṣa, 'the powerful') in Indian philosophy obviously arose out of the endeavour to distinguish this God even verbally from the shadow-like gods of the people (deev).

The positive way in which the existence of God is denied is one of the characteristic features of the Sānkhya philosophy, which on that account is also continually denoted as nāmārthvēr ('godless'). Again and again in the Sānkhya-sūtras it is stated that the existence of God cannot be proved (i. 92-94, v. 2-12, 46, 126, 127, vi. 64, 65, with the respective commentaries).

Having regard to the aporrhistic conciseness of this work, it is clear from this frequent repetition what importance was attached by the adherents of the Sānkhya system to this point—the actual absence of any strict proof of the existence of God. The denial of God in the Sānkhya philosophy is in essence the result of the following ideas: (1) the doctrine that there is inherent in unconscious matter the force which operates as a law of nature; (2) the idea of God for the purely receptive souls; and (2) the general Indian conception of the after-effects of the actions of living beings, which instigate that natural force and guide its activity into definite channels. Other reasons seem to have contributed, especially the realization that the problem of misfortune cannot be solved by any of the speculations of theism. This idea is made use of by Vāchśapatimāra (12th cent. A.D.) in the Sānkhya-tattva-kāmāntu, 57, 57, as one of the main supports of the atheistic explanation of the world. It will be useful here, we think, to give a translation of this passage, which is so important and so characteristic of Indian thought. It runs thus:

'Every conscious action is, without exception, determined either by an egoistic purpose or by kindness. Since these two natures are excluded, in the case of the creation of the world, it becomes impossible to assume that the creation of the world was due to conscious action. For a God whose wishes are all fulfilled can have had no personal interest whatever in the creation of the world, and the possibility of such action consequently disappears. But neither can God have undertaken the creation from kindness; since before the act of creation souls suffered no pain—senses, bodies, and objects not having come into existence yet—from what could the kindness of God wish to have souls released? If, on the other hand, we suppose that the kindness of God itself was shown here in the act of creation, He saw his creatures full of pain, we can hardly escape the argument in a circle: creation was the result of kindness, kindness the result of creation. But the result of the act of kindness who is actuated by kindness would create only joyful creatures, but the act of creating kindlessness. If we develop one objects that the difference results from the difference in that work for which individuals receive a reward from God, we exactly that the direction of the act is clear. The object of that consciousness, highest Being is entirely superfluous, for the effectiveness of the work performed by individuals (that is to say, the consequence of merit and goodness) is already without any supreme direction on the part of that God... .

On the contrary, the creation of creatures without the assumption of some purpose or of greater or lesser goodness, we have assumed has no egocentric purpose behind it, nor is kindness its motive; consequently it cannot be substantiated as against our theory that our animated beings are consequently subjected to the rule of a godless.}

This argument of Vāchśapatimāra was repeated almost entirely by Madhavāchārya (14th cent.)
ATHEISM (Indian, Modern)—ATHEISM (Jain)

A.D.) in the Sāṅkhya chapter of his Sarvakārikā- 
śāngraha (p. 228 of tr. by E. B. Cowell and A. E. 
Gough). These and similar reflexions had cer-
tained that Patanjāli, the founder of the Yoga sys-
tem (see art. YOGA), introduced the idea of 
a personal god in the hope that he would thus 
make the Sāṅkhya philosophy acceptable to his 
countrymen. The strict adherents of the Sāṅkhya 
dogma, on the other hand, tried to defend 
their own system new arguments by which to 
ward off the attacks made upon the denial of God. 
They placed first and foremost the sophistical 
alternative: Is God to be thought of as a free or as 
a fettered soul? Regarded as a free soul, that is to 
say, one not connected with a body or with any 
physical organ, God would be devoid of all quali-
ties, and particularly of desire and will—the 
prerequisite of all creative activity; He would also 
be without any motive for directing the world. 
Regarded as a fettered soul, God would belong 
to the class of all other beings and would be 
deluded, and be hampered by human infirmities; 
in which case again He could not be creator and 
controller of the world, but only a nominal 
(pārthābhṛtya) god who came into existence at the 
beginning of this world-period, and passes away 
with the end of it. If a theist raises against this 
argument the obvious objection that in that case 
God would belong neither to the free nor to the 
fettered souls, but must be assigned an exceptional 
place, he receives the answer, When a thing is 
defined by being the subject of a character, every basis 
upon which to argue is removed. 

This atheism of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, some-
what softened by the recognition of the gods of the 
people, was taken over, as we have already noted, 
into Buddhism and the religion of the Jains. But 
in all probability it also had an influence upon two 
schools of Brāhmaṇ philosophy—the Vaishēśika 
and the Nyāya see the two articles). These two 
schools were originally atheistic, and did not 
goit over to theism until after their amalgamation. 

ATHEISM (Jain).—Jainism is atheistical, by 
atheism we understand the belief that there is no 
eternal Supreme God, Creator and Lord of all 
things; for the Jains flatly deny such a Supreme 
God. Nor need it surprise us that atheism should 
be essential to a religious system; for even the 
most orthodox Brāhmaṇical theologians, the 
Mahābhāratikas of Kumārīdabhāṭa’s school, deny the 
existence of a Supreme God, though, of course, 
on other grounds than those of the Jains see Śākāvār-
tīka, sec. 16, Calcutta, 1907.
The Jains admit the existence of innumerable 
gods of many kinds and various degrees of perfe-
tion. But none of these gods is eternal; however 
long their life, it must come to an end when the 
merit of the god in question is exhausted. The 
longest life of a celestial being is that in the highest 
heaven Sarvārthasiddhi, which lasts between 32 
and 33 sīkṣāpargas (‘epochs of years’). Gods 
are embodied souls, just like men or animals, 
different from them in degree, not in kind; for 
their greater power and perfection appertain to 
their divine body and organisation, which is the 
reward for their good deeds in a former life, and the 
exhaustion of their merit, to be born again in some other state of life. But those 
souls who are not born again, or, in other words, 
are liberated, go up to the top of the universe 
and remain there for ever in the state of absolute 
perfection; they have no longer any connexion 
with the world, and cannot, therefore, have any 
influence upon it. Accordingly the functions of a 
Supreme God, as Lord and Ruler of the world, 
cannot be attributed to liberated souls; and as the 
not yet liberated souls, i.e., the souls in the state 
of bondage, are subject to re-birth, none of them 
can be regarded as an eternal God. Therefore 
the Jains cannot acknowledge a Supreme God in 
our sense of the word.

Following up their theoretical views on this 
point, the Jains have strenuously combated, and 
denounced the fallacies of, the arguments by which 
the Nyāya and Vaishēśika philosophers tried to 
prove the existence of an eternal and omnipresent 
God as Creator and Ruler of all things, viz., the 
famous argument that all things, being products 
of a maker who has an indestructible knowledge 
of their material cause. The refutation of 
this argument will be found in the Śāyādva-dāna- 
ījāri, in the Commentary on the Saddharma-puṇa-
chaya, and many similar works. The Jains also 
contend that the followers of the Yoga philosophy, 
the followers of the Yoga philosophy regarding 

whatever you see elsewhere is but yourself, and 
father and mother are non-entities. You are the 
infant and the old man, you are the wise man 
and the fool, the man is the stream and the 
stream is drowned in the stream, and it is you who 
pass over safely. You are the killer and the slain, 
the slayer and the enter, the king and the subject. 
You seize yourself and let go, you sleep and you 
wake; you dance for yourself and you sing for 
yourself. You are the sensualist and the ascetic, 
the sick man and the strong. In short, whatever 
you see, that is you, as bubbles, surf, and billows 
are all but water (Wilson, Rel. Sects, 361).

It was not to be expected that such a dreary 
creed would receive many adherents; it is 
doubtful if the few who were first attracted by 
it have left any representatives at the present day. 

The atheism of the Sāṅkhya school is still pro-
fessed by those learned men who follow 
that system of philosophy, and these and the Jains 
are the only real atheists of modern India. 

LITERATURE.—Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, Lond. 
1892, 350 ff. 

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

R. GADE.
of the world. But the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas seem to have been their most formidable opponents in this controversy as a highest deity (paramādevatā) as the object of veneration, viz. the Jina, i.e. the teacher of the sacred Law, who, being absolutely free from all passions and delusion, and being possessed of omniscience, has reached absolute perfection. He has vanquished and subjugated (jina) all his sages (nāgīkā) and has become (dhi.ṣṭadyikd) as the bestower of various gifts, and has adopted the name of Jinas. It must be remarked, however, that there are innumerable Jinas who, having proclaimed the sacred Law, have reached perfection, and have passed out of this world of change and woe. Prayers are addressed to them by the faithful, just as if they did or would bestow happiness and bliss on the devout adorer; but, of course, a Jina cannot show favour to anybody, as he is utterly indifferent to all that belongs to the world, and is entirely free from all emotions. He therefore does not accept the worship of his adorers and satisfy their wishes, but in his stead the gods who watch and control true Discipline (dātmā-dhi.ṣṭāyīyākā devatās) hear their prayers; for the practice of discipline taught by the Jinas is the best mode of worshipping them. In the case of spiritual matters, the adorer, the worshipper, the explanation given comes to this: the adoration of the Jina purifies and sanctifies the soul of the worshipper through his meditating on the perfections of the Jinas. In this sense the Jinas are regarded as the highest deity (paramādevatā); temples are erected for their worship, and a kind of divine service is instituted in them on the model of that practised in Hindu temples.

LITERATURE.—There is no literature beyond the texts quoted in the article.

H. JACOB.

ATHEISM (Jewish).—Atheism as a system of thought has no place in Judaism, and there is no equivalent for the term in the Hebrew language or literature. The deliberate denial of the existence of a Being who is responsible for the activity of nature, and for the occurrence of various phenomena, presupposes a systematic analysis and explanation of natural and historical phenomena as the necessary effects of existing uncreated causes. The ancient Hebrew had no disposition to analyze the natural phenomena of his life, nor did he trace them back to physical laws and principles—the indispensable basis of all conscious atheistic doctrines. He was more disposed to err on the side of polytheism than on that of atheism.

1. Atheism in ancient Israel.—Nevertheless there are passages to be found in the OT from which we can conclude that disbelief in the existence of God (or gods) was extant among the people in pre-exilic times, and that this disbelief was regarded by the prophets and psalmists as the source of the wickedness of the masses. It is also likely that the polytheism and idolatry against which the prophets contended were not the result of genuine superstition, but of real indifference towards all the gods served, whose worship was merely a pre-text for indulgence in all kinds of licenice and crime; and which indulgence was promoted mostly by political and social considerations. But the reason for this unbelief was always supposed to be thoughtlessness, indifference, ignorance, sensuality. There was no system of thought leading to the denial of God which could have played such an important part by political and social considerations. But the reason for this unbelief was always supposed to be thoughtlessness, indifference, ignorance, sensuality. There was no system of thought leading to the denial of God which could have played such an important part.

They merely wished to awake the people and to induce them to shake off their indifference. Jeremiah very often speaks in this tenor. The most outspoken passage is Jer 52:7 'They have denied the Lord, and said, He is not.' Here the prophet has in view the most intelligent members of his people, like the 'great men' who ought to 'know the way of the Lord' (5:7). While pleading absolute ignorance and folly for the degraded masses with whom it would be useless to argue (5:4), he addresses himself to the leaders who are avowed atheists. The fact that they are the most devoted of his people does not contradict the assumption that the prophet accuses the people of practical atheism. As their oaths are false, the perjurers only misstate the name of Jahweh without believing in His existence.

There exists a great difference between the existence of God (52:6-7), in order to convince the people of their folly. But the confident use of the proof makes it quite clear that he merely intends to dispel the thoughtlessness of the people, and not to refute any antagonistic theories concerning the natural phenomena he refers to (cf. also Is 36:14; Pr 30:4, Ps 12. 33, 58:14). Psalms 10 and 14 (53) contain passionate outbursts against the nābhāl ('impious,' 'fool') who denies the existence of God, and thus degenerates into a dangerous criminal. The implication of 14, (Ps 14) 'The wicked in the haughtiness of his countenance saith, He will not require. All his thoughts are: There is no God!' (Ps 10). The nābhāl, however, typifies the whole people. 'There is none that doeth good, no, not one.' It is not unlikely that this nābhāl is the enemy of Israel (see Baethgen, Psalmen, p. 36, Delitzsch, and others; the reading of 'Gelal' by Cheyne seems quite unfounded). Here it is the reckless ignoring or denial of the omniscience of God or His very existence that is dwelt upon by the psalmist as the immediate cause of the moral decay of the Jewish people (which in the end must lead also to political ruin). Atheism and immorality are regarded as being inseparably connected with each other.

2. Post-exilic times.—In late post-exilic times we lose sight of any atheistic tendencies that may have existed among the Jews, for there were no more prophets to chronicle the sins of the people. Moreover, the contact with Babylonian culture had given rise to the mythical beliefs which from the days of their captivity and exile were incorporated into the Bible and which have found definite recognition in the Talmudic and Rabbinic literature. Again, the revival of the religions and national spirit under Ezra was destined to dispel that ignorance and thoughtlessness which the prophets complained, and the second Temple could not very well accommodate arrogant and defiant unbelievers. The influence of Hellenism was no doubt responsible for the slackening of religious fervour and the loss of national self-consciousness during the period immediately preceding the time of the Maccabees, but that influence never went so far as to cause the Jews to adopt the Greek Pantheon or to deny the existence of an invisible God. It was their unflinching faith in their only (invisible) God that later on prevented his race, in Alexandria and elsewhere from joining their fellow-citizens in the worship of the local deities, and created the feelings of hatred which resulted in the curious charge of 'atheism' being made against the Jews—a charge which Josephus refuted with great vigour (Jos. Ant. IV. vi. 6).

3. Philo against Atheism.—Jewish thinkers, however, have never ignored atheism. Philo devotes two chapters in his de Somnibus (§§ 43, 44) to a refutation of all atheistic doctrines from a Jewish standpoint. Philo holds that the rational spirit is the only thing which is perceptible to the outward senses, and visible, having never been created, and being destined never to be destroyed, but being
ATHEISM (Muhammadan)

ATHEISM (Muhammadan).—The Muslim world has at no time been a favourable soil for the growth of atheism or communism. Among the Arabic literature unorthodox tenets of all sorts are apt to be described by the word "rendahah," which, though of uncertain origin (being derived from some by the Syriac), is probably the correct term for such systems as deny the existence of a personal God and the moral government of the world. Another name for the holders of such opinions is derived from the word "dakir," 'time,' and signifies 'believers in the eternity of the world,' i.e., in its having no beginning. The earliest system of these doctrines are certain of Muhammad's Meccan opponents, including the leader of the long-continued opposition against him, Abù Suyfàn b. Umayyah, who are all supposed to have learned their 'atheism' from the Christians of the Harrâj [Hira] (Tha'alibi, Lotto, al-Walîd. p. 64). The charge against Abû Suyfàn is not borne out by history, and of the others we know too little to estimate its probability; but the supposition that such opinions would originate from Christians, and especially monks, seems improbable due to the cultivation by Oriental Christians of certain forms of Greek philosophy; whence, in the legend that tells us how the Khalîf Ma'mûn (ob. A.D. 833) acquired his library of Greek books, the Greek king is advised to send his library to the Muslim ruler on the ground that 'these sciences' have never been engraven on a religious system without ruining it.

In early Arabic writers the system of the Zindûgûs seems to be inextricably confused with that of Manichæans, whose followers were fiercely persecuted by the early Abbasids. The locus classicus on the subject for the early Abbasid period is in the Zoûlogî (iv. 141-144) of Jalâ'î (ob. A.D. 899), where, however, a Zindûgû is confuted by the Khalîf Ma'mûn by means of a puzzle which could only trouble one who believed in dualism. The verses which the author cites show, nevertheless, that the

uncrated and imperishable, not requiring any superintendence or care, or regulation, or management. This view must lead to universal disorder and anarchy, that means to the ruin of man. All that uphold this view adhere to meet with severe but well-deserved punishment, as all wicked people always do (§ 45). The world cannot exist without a ruler, as a house cannot exist without a master, or a country without a leader (66).

4. Atheism in Talmudic and Rabbinic literature.

The final ruin of the Jewish nation and its great humiliation by the Romans in the 1st cent. after Christ made reckless ignoring or denying of the existence of God impossible. The deepening of the religious sense and the attachment to the great literary products of the past caused by the downfall led to the development of the Talmudic and Rabbinic literature, which henceforth dominated Judaism and put an end to atheistic beliefs and practices. There is no reference in the Talmud to atheism. But Rashi has kept up of God's name to prove the existence of God. The Min or the Apikoros (Epicurean) is not necessarily an atheist, but one who denies one of the principles of the Jewish faith. Immortality, Resurrection, Divine origin of the Law, and several other tenets are of equal importance. The most important is the application of the above designations. The term that approaches most closely the meaning of the word 'atheist' is kiref be'ilgor (i.e. 'one who denies the first principle'), which occurs for the first time in Rab. Shabbath, 116, and is frequently used in modern Rabbinic literature. Among the Jewish thinkers and religious philosophers of the Middle Ages, there was none who denied the existence of God or could in any way be described as an atheist (although pantheistic ideas are frequently to be found in their works). The problem of reconciling Aristotle with the Bible necessitated the discussion of the question of creation, of the attributes of God, and of the eternity of matter (maintained by the Muhammadan atheists and adopted by Crescas), but the existence of a free, personal God had never been questioned by any Jewish philosopher down to Spinoza.

5. Spinoza.—Spinoza himself can scarcely be described as an atheist. To an atheist nature is possible, but he has no part in God himself—not to mind—for its existence and development. Mind is altogether denied, for the assumption of mind is incompatible with the materialistic conception of the Universe which leads to atheism. Spinoza denies the existence of anything beyond God. Mind and matter are attributes of the same substance, of deus (sive natura). Certainly there is no free, personal God in existence according to Spinoza, and in a religious sense this amounts to atheism. But with these doctrines are certain of Muhammad's Meccan opponents, including the leader of the long-continued opposition against him, Abû Suyfân b. Umayyah, who are all supposed to have learned their 'atheism' from the Christians of the Harrâj [Hira] (Tha'alibi, Lotto, al-Walîd. p. 64). The charge against Abû Suyfân is not borne out by history, and of the others we know too little to estimate its probability; but the supposition that such opinions would originate from Christians, and especially monks, seems improbable due to the cultivation by Oriental Christians of certain forms of Greek philosophy; whence, in the legend that tells us how the Khalîf Ma'mûn (ob. A.D. 833) acquired his library of Greek books, the Greek king is advised to send his library to the Muslim ruler on the ground that 'these sciences' have never been engraved on a religious system without ruining it.

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persons with whom he is dealing held the leading tenets of the atheists: "You have given presents," says Hammād 'Ajrād in a lampoon on 'Umārah b. Ḥarībīyah, "to one who asserts that the heavens made them thus by their own hands and not laid them out by its Creator." On this the author makes the curious remark that no one asserts that the universe with its organization came of itself, and that Hammād's inscription of this doctrine to the persons whom he lampoons might count as a proof that he held them innocent; and that, in fact, the satirist was himself a colleague of the objects of his lampoon. Jābiz then proceeds to enumerate the persons who constituted this society of sceptics, and his list contains some names that are familiar from the Kitāb al-Aghfānī, where others are more obscure: Hammād 'Ajrād, Jābiz, 'Alī b. al-Zairīqān, Yūnus b. Ḥarīm, 'Alī b. al-Khalīl, Yazīd b. al-Fā'īd, 'Ubūdah, Jamīl b. Māhīzīn, Qāsim, Mu'tī, Wāfīsh b. al-Jabbaḥ, Abīn b. Abīl Anā'ī, 'Umārah b. Ḥarībīyah. "All these were in constant communication, and might be considered one person." Of these, Yūnis addressed a pamphlet to the Byzantine emperors, showing up the vices of the Arabs and the defects of Islam. Abīn figures in a satire by the well-known poet Abū Nuways (ob. A.D. 810), partly as a colleague in this satirical club, and partly as a poet.

"I sat one day with Abīn (plague on him), while the time for the first prayer came, and the call was duly uttered by a correct and clear-voiced voice.

"We all repeated the call to prayer to the end. Then said Abīn: "How could you testify to this [i.e. the Muslim formula of testimonies] if you have no belief in God? I live and I never atest anything but what I see with my eyes." Then I said: "Glory to God!" he said: "Glory to Manes." I said: "Jesus was an Apostate!" he said: "Of Satan, I continue! And Moses, was the interlocutor of the Gracious and Faithful One." he said: "Then your God must have a tongue and an eye, and did He create all those who create Him!" So I held my tongue before this obstinate blasphemer.

"The poet then gives a list of sceptics, containing several of the names that have already been mentioned. In the tales told about them in the Kitāb al-Aghfānī they are not distinguished from dualists, and "their book," which was said to be in the hands of the daughter of Mu'ta'b b. Ḥiyās when arrested for zindiqah, was probably the work ascribed to Manes. In Tabari, iii. 588 (A.D. 758), an account is given of their system which is clearly more positive than negative, enjoining washings, to which Jābiz (loc. cit.) adds respect for animal life and vagrancy.

"Vagrancy means with them that they may not abide two nights consecutively in the same place; the vagrants travel in pairs, and adopt four rules—saintliness, purity, veracity, and poverty.

"Many of them tell a story about two of these Zindiqs, who suffered themselves to be beaten almost to death on suspicion of stealing jewels which they had seen an ostrich swallow, rather than let any harm happen to the ostrich. From these 'adlicks' par excellence other free-thinkers were careful to distinguish themselves: e.g. the poet Bassālīr b. Burd (ob. A.D. 783), who himself had a reputation for unorthodoxy, and in one of his verses prayed to the Prophet Muhammad to join with him in an attack upon the Deity. Abū Nuways himself was severely punished for being a "dualist," because he ridiculed the angels (Tabari, iii. 964).

Although this sect was persecuted almost to extermination in the 2nd cent. of Islam, this fact did not prevent the rise of other systems branded by the materialists.

The most famous founder of a system of the sort in the latter part of this and the first half of the 3rd Islamic cent. was Abūl-Husayn Abūn b. Yahyā al-Rawandi, reckoned by later historians as one of the "terrorists of Islam." A sect bearing the name Rawandi is mentioned by Tabari shortly after the accession of Mūsār (A.H. 140 [A.D. 757–8]). 'They came from Rawandi in the country between Qisān and Isfahān, and held the strange opinion that Mūsār was himself the Deity. Mūsār liked the heresy and was not luke-warm about it, imitating the organization and style of his predecessors. This sect seems to have made its appearance in the time of Yazīd in the 3rd cent., and was suppressed in the 5th cent., and the only work we have of it is the commentary of Mūsār on the Qurān by Abūn, which is in the format of a Muhaddithi book. It contains a number of interesting reflections, such as: 'It is the most fortunate of men to have a mouth with which to taste the garment of hunger' (Qur. xvi. 113) which was really an Arabic phrase.

*One of his criticisms on the Qurān is quoted in the Letters of Hananidi, letter 236 f. (A.D. 900) by Bāyān. He asked the grammarian Ibn 'Arabī whether 'to make one taste the garment of hunger' (Qur. xvi. 113) was really an Arabic phrase. 
epigrams composed by or attributed to this author is to be found in Yaqūb’s Dictionary of Learned Men (i. 80–90, ii. 95–107, and, indeed, there is no direction to agnosticism as far as it is possible to go. All known religions are branded as error. Mankind consists of two classes—the wise who have no religion, and the fools who are religious. The real meaning of the assertion that there is a Creator and an existence since and time is that he who asserts it has no intellect.

* Do not suppose the statements of the Prophets to be true; they are all fabrications. Men lived comfortably till they came and ruined life. The sacred books are oracles; idle tales as any age could have and indeed did actually produce. What inconsistency that God should forbid the taking of life, and Himself send two men to take each other's place for the promise of a second life—the soul could well have dispossessed itself with both existences.

It is remarkable that the author should also have preached vegetarianism in an extreme form, as apparently was done by the earlier Zindiqs; still more, that he should have devoted much of his time to the composition of sermons and other works of an edifying character.

The orthodox circle of philosophical books long continued to be an indication of heretical tendencies, and the burning of such books by authority was not uncommon. The employment of Avicenna and similar students of Greek systems in government offices was unpopular; and is condemned in a treatise under the title of At-Tawāfi. In the Fatimid Shiism, which produced a series of works which, under pretense of orthodoxy and devoutness, in reality substituted for the personal God and the future life of Islam notions that were irreconcilable with either and were supported by an interpretation of the Qur’ān so far-fetched as to be ludicrous and irreverent. The most famous of these are the poem of Ibn al-Farid (595–623 a.H. [A.D. 1161–1233]), called from its rhyme Tā’īyāh, and the treatise of Ibn ‘Arabī (590–628 a.H. [A.D. 1155–1240]) called Fugās al-Hikān, ‘Gems of Maximus.’ Both these works at different times brought their owners into danger, and were the cause of riots (see Ibn Iyās, History of Egypt, ii. 119 [875 A.H.] and 219 [888 A.H.], where the latter book is described as the work of a worse unclevenor than Jew, Christian, or Idolater). Of the comments on the Qur’ān which this work contains it is sufficient to cite that on the story of the Golden Calf; according to Ibn ‘Arabī (or the Prophet, who records it from his teacher who disowned his brother for not approving of the worship of the Calf, since Aaron should have known that nothing but God could ever be worshipped, and therefore the Calf was (like everything else) God)

Refutation of the opinions of the ‘atheists’ was one of the purposes of the science called kāthān, or metaphysical theology. They are divided by the theologian Ghazālī (ob. 505 A.H. [A.D. 1111]), in his treatise entitled At-Tawāfi nūn al-dālūl, into three classes: the dukhān, ‘the person who disowns the Creator, maintained the eternity of the world, and the eternity of generation, —these are the Zindiqs’; the ‘Naturalists,’ who allow the existence of a Creator, but suppose the life and soul to be the result of the mixture of elements and humours in the body, and to cease at death; and the ‘Deists,’ viz. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and their followers.

A somewhat different division is given in the treatise on Sūrah by Ibn Hazm (ob. 455 a.H. [A.D. 1064]), where, after refutation of the Sophists, who make knowledge either non-existent or relative, the author deals with those who (1) say the world is eternal, without Creator or Governor; (2) say that the world is eternal, with a Creator and Governor; (3) say that, besides God, Time, Space, and the Soul are eternal. In addition to the other names that have been mentioned, that a little gives the believers in these positions the name wāhīlik, ‘heretic,’ and gives the name of one of the upholders of the first as ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abdallah b. Shu‘a‘īf. It could not be expected that many names of the supporters of such unpopular opinions would be recorded.

LITERATURE.—There is no treatise, so far as we are aware, in any European language bearing on the subject. The original sources are given in the course of the article. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ATHLETICS, ATHLETICISM.—Athleticism, notwithstanding the great and elaborate developments which have taken place in the last hundred years, is to be understood only as an expression of a very primitive instinct—the instinct to play. All the evolution of twentieth century sports and games—the elaboration of rules, the development of muscle and nerve—is a provision for the impulse, the same in lambkins and in babies, in savages and in civilized men and women, to stretch their limbs, to overcome elemental forces, to contend against self-imposed difficulties and against each other.

It is interesting, in an attempt to analyze athleticism or to review athletics, to note the various forms of amusement which have sprung from that instinct to play. All sports are based on the laws of nature in modern sports which make them appeal to various people. It is impossible to treat the subject exhaustively; one could scarcely enumerate all the different kinds of sport, much less discuss them. There are, however, some points worthy of consideration as supporting the different kinds of development in physique and in character, acquired by different forms of exercise. Walking, running, leaping, dancing, hill-climbing, and swimming are our simplest sports. In these a man pits himself against natural difficulties, for the most part fighting against the force of gravity, and develops muscle and nerve in comparatively gross combinations of movements. In other words, there is achieved by these primitive exercises the kind of development of muscle and nerve which all young animals achieve when they learn to disport them- selves in air, on land, or in water. That is the elementary stage of athletics, very like what the savage attains to when he executes a war-dance. It represents the demand of the body to be allowed to grow in its full stature and freedom. The surplus we call play. In these days the same kind of simple development is achieved by such exercises as are now in England associated with the name of Sandow. If one has not opportunity to climb hills or battle with waves, one may 'bring up' the muscles by daily contest with improvised forces of an elastic nature, when the strain and the stress are finely adjusted and each day's ambition is to increase both. At this level of athleticism there seem to be only two kinds of gain—the opportunity to get rid of surplus energy and the function of the muscle substance and the skin in disposing of elements in the blood which clog the vital mechanism.

Another kind of effect is experienced when implements are introduced for outdoor sport. About the simplest of exercises at this level are still-walking and pole-vaulting, and here we begin to realize a development which can never be achieved by primitive exercises. The feeling one has in pole-vaulting, when, by his own effort, he raises himself on a pole to a height different from the effect in simple high leaping. So also is the effect of high still-walking. In both of these there is demanded also a skill in movement which, added to the pleasant sensation,
Athletics, athleticism.

The most important injury is perhaps that which is suffered by the arm, the shock when engaged in sport, and that means that he has neglected his exercises and allowed his blood-vessels to become hard, then has subjected them to an unvoiced stress. It is doubtful if bones become brittle from want of exercise, though some authorities have maintained to the contrary. There is certain that, without exercise, muscles become flabby and cannot meet unvoiced demands of a severe kind. In wrestling, for example, which has become very popular of late (and deservedly so, for it calls into play more functions than any other game not implemented by tools), one is apt to ask the bones and muscles to do too much, and strain and laceration of muscle are very likely to follow. The lesson to be gathered is that one should keep oneself as fit as possible, take as much moderate exercise as may be, but never attempt anything severe without due preparation.

1. The hygienic effect of athleticism is its first justification. The contribution to the health of the community derived from sports is incalculable. It consists chiefly in the development of the chest from full breathing of fresh air; in the increase in the circulation from the acceleration of the heart's action; in the quickening of appetite and the promotion of digestion; in the elimination of waste products achieved by muscular exercise, rapid breathing, and perspiration; and, perhaps most important of all, in the tone of the heart afforded to a tired and dull brain. When we hear any one ask what form of exercise would be best for him, our answer, especially in the case of adults, should almost invariably be—that which he will enjoy. Hence exercise, however, whether walking, or croquet, promotes nearly all the good results just enumerated if entered into with zest and keenly pursued. On the other hand, caution should be exercised lest excess of effort lead to injury. The most important ill effect, and one not sufficiently considered and often entirely overlooked, is a dilatation or strain of the heart. This sometimes occurs in young people who are pressed to do too much. Boys at school may suffer irreparable injury from being made to play a strenuous game of football, or take a long cross-country run, when they are not toned up to the effort. More frequently heart-strain occurs in adults who are of a sporting nature—men who, perhaps on the occasion of their school sports, come ill-conditioned from the desk and try a quarter-mile race; or who attempt for eight hours on the 'Twelfth' without preparation; or who are carried away in the Christmas vacation, after weeks of muscular idleness, and ride to the finish on their first day with hounds. The next most important injury is perhaps applied with individuality. It is not infrequent that some one having suffered a paralytic stroke when engaged in sport, and that means that he has neglected his exercises and allowed his blood-vessels to become hard, then has subjected them to an unvoiced stress. It is doubtful if bones become brittle from want of exercise, though some authorities have maintained to the contrary. There is certain that, without exercise, muscles become flabby and cannot meet unvoiced demands of a severe kind. In wrestling, for example, which has become very popular of late (and deservedly so, for it calls into play more functions than any other game not implemented by tools), one is apt to ask the bones and muscles to do too much, and strain and laceration of muscle are very likely to follow. The lesson to be gathered is that one should keep oneself as fit as possible, take as much moderate exercise as may be, but never attempt anything severe without due preparation.

2. The good and the ill effects of athletics in moulding character are not to be so plainly set forth. It is certain, however, that sports have been and are of enormous importance in their effect upon a nation's mind and morals; and probably nowhere so much as on British soil. The kind of trite saying which echoes 'the Duke's' remark about our battles being won on the playgrounds of our schools, describes only a fraction of the influence exerted by athletics on the British boy. He will be apt to be healthy and cheerful, to be a good student, and an unconditional advocate of sport; but it is useful to try to see the effects of it are.

It may be well to dispose first of the evil effects often attributed to athletics. And, at the outset, let us observe that athletics never do in fact or boy, woman or girl, what they did not have at least potentially before. Athletics are a form of education, and can only elicit and develop the qualities, physical and mental, good or ill, already gifted by nature. Thus, for example, we are told that athletics tend to make men brutal, but that is true only of those who are already cruel. In any case, well-conducted sport, as, for example, modern football with its penalties for rough play, tempts all the other way. In the present writer's opinion, the charge is most fairly laid at the door of those who conduct big 'shoots' in which there is wanton destruction of birds which may almost be described as domesticated fowl; and there are other so-called sports sometimes conducted so as to transgress the law of sport that every creature should be treated to the best of the trainer's exceptions. A good Master of Hounds is as humane as he is expert, as just as he is ingenious, in the pursuit of stag, fox, or otter. To a big-game hunter the temptation to kill for killing's sake, when, as it is, a mere licence, is, as he can see his hand to see, may be considerable. But even then self-restraint and humanity are part of the etiquette of the sport. Sometimes it is alleged of single-handed games, like golf, that they are selfish; that, when a man is playing for his own hand, he is doing something not so good as when he is playing for his side, as in cricket. The argument is superficial, as both results and theory show. It is safe to assert that the average cricketer plays as selflessly as the average golfer. In both cases the play itself makes wholly for self-forgetfulness. The man who, at the moment of the stroke, thinks what is going to happen to him because of it will thereby spoil his game. Both games, and all games, need out those whose attention is not wholly upon the thing to be done at the moment. It will be noted that 'selfishness' in games crops up in the talk of the pavilion or clubhouse, when the salutary stimulus of the game is withdrawn. Other evils spoken of, and especially gambling, are quite accidental, and are no more part of athletics than they are of geography.
ATIMIA

The distinction of three degrees of 'atimia,' made by Meter in his treatise de Nonis Dramatorum (Berl. 1819), which he entitles infamia maxima, media, and minima, upon the analogy of Roman law, though it is true, that in the passage of Andocides, does not seem to be substantiated by the evidence. For the passage of Andocides is clearly of the nature of a popular classification, and cannot be adapted as it stands, to the traditional categories of offences, and is in general devoid of any logical principle of division. It would seem safer to adhere to the view enunciated by Calilhoun, according to which 'atimia' per se was limited to the civic status of the subject; but we must also recognize that in practical effect it was a necessary concomitant of a sentence of exile (ἀποσύνεξη), and that, on the other hand, confiscation might in certain cases be conjured with a sentence of atimia.

From this point of view 'atimia' must be distinguished simply as (1) total, and (2) partial.

1. Total 'atimia' meant the entire loss of civic personality (Lat. capsul), so far as its active functions were concerned. The citizen who was pronounced totally άτιμος was incapable of holding any civil or public office within the Athenian empire, or of acting as herald or ambassador; he might not appear in the Agora or attend meetings of the Senate or Assembly, or appear in any public sanctuary or public ceremonial; nor could he appear either as plaintiff or defendant in any suit, or give evidence. For the enumeration of disabilities in Exkines, i. 21; Demos, Meid. 87: ati aλαχονδραδύθερα. Under the conditions of Athenian life the prohibition against taking part in the business of the public Assembly (negoiv καὶ γράφον) naturally covered most of the privileges into which citizenship entitles, and consequently this right is frequently spoken of as that which par excellence was forfeited by the άτιμος (Demos, Steph. i. 79: τίνα τήν πόλεσ χαίρετο, καὶ τήν εν αύτϊ παρομείας ἀπòστερον). In general, the condition of the ατιμος was inferior to that of the alien (Demos, Theor. 88: μηδί οὐκ εἰσήκουσα εἷλα μετασχεν τήν καὶ τάς ιερας δοκομενας παρομειας), and is spoken of by Isocrates as worse than exile (Isocr. xvi. 47: τίς ατιμος, ἢ ἐγὼ δραγηθή θείοι και τινάι μοίσυ πολλά γάρ ἀδικήτων παρά τοις αυτοίς πολλών ζημιωμένοι οίκιον ἢ παρά ιερας μετασεις).

The άτιμος, in fact, was in the State, but not of it. Precisely how far his disabilities extended is not known; our authorities do not furnish an answer to all questions which suggest themselves. It has been pointed out, for example, that ADOPTION (Greek), that άτιμος on either side would be a practical bar to adoption; but whether in law it was so is uncertain, and the suggestion might be hazardous that, in order to prevent the extinction of a family, testamentary adoption, probably the only, or the only legal, means of avoiding the penalty, might not have been denied. Again, the case of one holding an hereditary priesthood presents a difficulty. And we may ask what legal protection was given to the life and property and personal dignity of one who was άτιμος, and under what forms. The consequences of άτιμος in detail are not treated by modern writers, who content themselves with the above-given generalizations as to its significance; but even these cannot be taken quite aix poide la lettre. It may be conjectured that, at least, redress of personal wrongs in the case of an άτιμος was secured, if at all, by means of a public prosecution (γράφο) undertaken by a friend of the aggrieved (see Demos, Meid. 47). The free use of depositions, which obtained in Attic legal procedure, would obviate the difficulty in regard to evidence (cf. Demos, Meid. 95). If so, we must say that in point of law a sentence involving total

6 Dig. iv. 5. 11: 1 Captulis deminulatione tis sunt genera, maxima, media, minima; tis enim sunt quae habemus, liberatim, civitatis, familiae, habentur. (c.g. by death or slaver), maximum esse captiis deminuionem, cum vero amittimus civitatis, liberatiam retinamus, mediocris esse, etc.

7 Cf. Demos, Meid. 87: άτιμων οπεράτορα των της πόλεως καί κοινωνίας άτιμων γενών, etc.

8 Cf. Atit. Alc. i vili. 5: άτιμος είναι καί της πόλεως μη καταχθεί.
The crimes for which total disfranchisement was the penalty were the following: 

1. Treason, Cospansion (κοσπανσία).—The penalty was death, confiscation of property, and a declaration of anāmia, which became the unapportioned status of a man who had been disfranchised, and which also applied to any who subsequently adopted them. To the same penalties those who conspired to subvert the democracy (δημοκρατία) were sentenced.

2. Theft (κλοπή) in its more serious forms; cf. Andoc. I.c.: ἀλλώποι κλέων... διότι ταύτην εἶναι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπιγράφων (Deb. Med. 115).

3. Corruption (κοµποσία) or barochois of the recipient; δοκιμασία of the public debtors (Deb. Med. 115). For some forms at least of this offense the penalty was hereditary anāmia and confiscation of goods.

In respect of violation of oaths by sea or land—refusal to serve, desertion, cowardice in the field, etc. (Andoc. I.c.: ἄλλως χένθος τῶν ταύτων ἡ στρατεύματος ἡ διάλεκται ἢ ἀποτίμησις τῆς διάλεκτος καταπολέμου). For all such offenses disfranchisement was the penalty, and in some cases confiscation seems to have been conjoined.

The following classes of offenses (with the particular variety φιλοκεραία, false assertion of service of war). According to Andoc. I.c., disfranchisement was handed only after a third conviction had been obtained (see Wyse on Incens, v. 17 and Art. Proclus, v. 82).

4. Unofficial conduct (κοινοισία νομίσματος).—The law seems to have specified four varieties of the offense—actual ill-treatment, withholding food, evidence, or expulsion from the house, and refusal of funeral ceremonial.

5. If a man gave in marriage an Athenian citizen a foreigner (cf. some text referring to a hireling and a woman citizen of Athens, he incurred loss of civic rights and confiscation (κατάληψις). The penalty for any proposal to modify the old (Oraokranion) law relating to houses.

6. Combination of a wife's adultery, if she were caught in the act of conjunction.

7. A law attributed to Solon visited with less of civil rights the man who in time of patriotism (ουρανό) did not take a side (Holteob. 30; other authorities seem to prove that a single conviction was sufficient (see Wyse on Incens, v. 17 and Art. Proclus, v. 82).

8. An unauthorized proclamation by the herald in the theatre.

9. Any one who published or released at the bounds of the public arbitrators (κατάληψις) may appeal to the whole Board of Arbitrators; and if they found the magistrate guilty, the law enacts that he should lose his civic rights (Arist. Ath. Pol. 25: 2; see the context).


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3. Conditional atimia. —To these two degrees of disfranchisement, a third variety, which may be styled 'conditional atimia,' must be added. This form was adopted in the earlier stages of the process, whereby citizen offenders were deprived of the right of sitting in the Senate or the Assembly. Andoc. mentions other cases of deprivation of specific rights, but we know not on what grounds it was inflicted.

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found a verdict of guilty, sentence of disf
franchisement was for 10 years imposed. Whether from the moment of the challenge the right to ascend the Bema, etc., remained in abeyance until the issue of the trial was uncertain.

It is to be observed that a sentence of 'atimia,' once pronounced, was perpetual, and, moreover, was in certain cases an inheritance. No more avoidable
by a man’s heirs than was his other estate (see art. 
INHERITANCE). Rehabilitation, at any rate, was so hedged round with conditions as to make it hopeless in the vast majority of cases. No citizen could propose a restoration of civic status to one dis
franchised, without the protection of a preliminary Bill of Indemnity (δίδακα), for the validity of which at least 6000 votes were requisite (Demos. Týmapor. 46: ἔλος αὐτὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰς τεῖς τῶν ἄτιμων οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπελογίων λέγει οὐδή χρησιμότης τείς ἀνθρώπων οὐκέτας, ἐν μὲ τῆς ἄτιμας διατάξει, καὶ ταύτη μὴ ἔλαστον ἢ ἑγκυκλιόν ψυχαντος,—by which we should probably understand 6000 votes in all, not 6000 affirmative votes. If the Bill of Indemnity were passed, the main proposal would be this: that the claimant and the procedure of his lawful right should be a
omnibus habere, de omnibus rebus solet excitae exitiales habere, ut damnati in integrum restituantur, vindici solvuntur, exules reducantur, res indicate restituantur). Examples from Athenian history are the decrees passed just before the battle of Salamis, and during the siege of Athens, and after the defeat at Chæroneia; see art. AMNESTY.

In the above account no notice has been taken of a species of ἀτιμία which, although natural consequence of certain acts, was yet not part of their legal penalty. 'Atimia,' in this non-legal sense of the verb of popular opinion, is alluded to by Demos. Meid. 72 (of the insult of a blow received in public), and by Aristotle (of the dish
honour attaching to the suicide). Similarly, and equally naturally, the ascetic, the ἀγαθονομικόν, the son of a man who had been executed, were all under this species of 'atimia' (cf. Demos. Arist. i. 30).

'Atimia' in this non-legal sense in Athens is akin to 'atimia' as it presents itself at Sparta, where the same development of legal ideas and procedure; but all the more strong there was the force of public opinion, which per
haps to a greater degree than elsewhere in Greece was identical with law. At Sparta such 'atimia' fell upon all departures from the customs of the community (Xen. Besp. Lec. x. 7, iii. 3). An ex
ample is the case of Aristodemus who survived the battle of Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 231: άνωνυμον
στήνει ἢ ἀκολούθωσας εἴσε ἑσοθε τό καὶ ἄτιμως; cf. Xen. or. ed. i. 4; Plat. Aesp. 89). The law who survived the custom, however, was treated more leniently (Thuc. i. 34: ἄνα καὶ ἄργυς τῶν ἄτιμων τόπων, ἄτιμως ἐς ἐναπό ὅτε μέτρον ἄρχων μήτε γραμμαντών τῆς πλειονότερος κινούμενον, a penalty corresponding to 'partial atimia' at Athens). The number of those defeated at Lencstra made it impossible to carry out the law even to this extent. Spartans who remained unmarred were also subjected to a certain 'atimia,' being deprived of all claim of respect from their juniors, and excluded from all the choicer privileges. The inability to provide the fixed contribution to the

common bases excluded a Spartan from sado fluid from the class of Pears (ψατών), which probably implied the loss of political rights, as distinguished from the civil rights, of citizenship (Arist. Polit. ii. 9; Xen. Hell. iii. iii. 5). Apparently full rights were at once recoverable by conformity to the required conditions; even Aristodemus had been restored to the former caste, though not, indeed, entirely (Herod. vii. 231 and ix. 71). It would hence appear that 'atimia' at Sparta was in general analogous to what we have called 'con
ditional atimia' at Athens.

The existence of 'atimia,' as a penal measure is proved for other States of Greece (e.g. Chalcos and Eretria in Euboa, Chios, Lokris, Ephesos, etc.) by inscriptions ranging in date from the 5th to the 1st cent. B.C. In certain cases Athenian influence may have operated, as in Euboa (see Hicks, Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions, No. 40: ὅπως δὲ Χαλκίων τοιούτου ἄτιμα. δὲ δὴ μὴ ἤδη ἄτιμως ἄτιμον εἰς καὶ τά ἰχθύσματα ἄτιμον δημόσια); and perhaps also at Delphi, where, in the 2nd cent. B.C., at any rate, State-debtors were ἄτιμον (Ditten
berger, Sylloge 29). It is probable that the penalty of ' atimia ' was prac
tically a universal method among the Greek States, and followed immediately from the Greek conception of the relationship between the State and the individual (on this subject see Newman's Politics of Aristotle, p. 241). LITERATURE.—Besides the works above specified, see also P. van Lelofy, De infamia sine Attico, Anstat. 1858; H. M. E. Meier, 'Historische Tatsachen zur Onomastik der antiken Attiker,' Erg. 1819; Thomson, Le Droit pénal de la république athéni
eenne, Brussels, 1875; Paul Usteri, Ächtung und Verbanbnung im griechischen Recht (Berlin, 1890), gives the most exhaustive treatment of the subject; following out the ideas of H. Swob
boda (in Arch.-Kynigl. Mitt., u HRESULT. Ger. xvi. [1896] p. 491.), it draws a sharp distinction between the legal and 'outlawed' and ἄτιμως 'disfranchised,' but without apparently attaining any very significant conclusion.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

ATISA (or Dipánkara).—A learned Indian Buddhist friar, who effected the most profound re
formation of Lámaism. Entering Tibet in a.D. 1608, and finding the prevalent Buddhism in the hands of an immoral priesthood and extremely debased by demonology, he founded a new Order, on a purer Buddhist model, which he called ' Bound by the Orders ' (Kah-abom). This afterwards be
came the 'Yellow-cap' sect or the 'Virtue Prot
ectors' (Gel-lung pa-lugs). In his reform Atisa restored celibacy and purified the ritual of much of its grosser devil-worship. He wrote a great many doctrinal works, and trans
lated into the Tibetan scriptures a large number of Indian Buddhist commentaries. The beneficial effects of his teaching also initiated other semi
reformed sects, the Sakraya and Kargyn, which arose somewhat later. He died in A.D. 1652 at Ne-Tang, near Lhasa, where a large funeral mound, or stupa, was erected over his grave and still exists.


ATITS or, incorrectly, Athits; AVADHÚTS, sometimes Abdhús, Ādhibs, Ādhvths (Sr. atita, 'passed away from worldly care'); avadhítas (‘shaken off’); avadhítas (‘shaken off’); avadhítas (‘shaken off’); avadhítas (‘shaken off’), has been t
taken together. They are generally applied in India to any religious mendicants, as indicating that they have ' passed away ' from or become liber
ated from worldly cares, or have 'shaken off' all caste and personal distinctions. They are applied to both Vaishnavas and Saivas (qq.v.); but, so far as the present writer is aware, Atit is applied only to the latter. Mr. Risley,* however, states that Vaishnava Atits exist in Bihar. In this technical

* Fries and Castes of Bengal, e. c. ' Atit.'
ense, māndūka often occurs in Sanskrit literature, but the technical use of atīta seems to be more modern, and to be confined to the vernaculars. Atīt is often confounded with the word atīth (Skr. atīthi), 'a guest,' which has more than once given rise to fanciful explanations. In addition to this customary general sense, both words are sometimes used to indicate special classes of religious mendicants.

In this narrower sense Atīt is applied to six and a half of the Dāsāntis, or ten sections of Saiva mendicants, who claim spiritual descent from the great reformer Saṅkarāchārya (q.v.). Three and a half of the Dāsāntis are Dāpals from the habits of carrying a dāpdla, or staff, are considered to have retained Saṅkarāchārya's doctrine in all its purity. The rest, viz. the Vannas, Arap-yanas, Paris, Giris, Parvatas, Sāgaras, and half the Bhirats, are reputed to have fallen to some extent from orthodoxy, but are still looked upon as religious characters. These are the Atītas. Unlike the Dāpals, they carry no staff. They differ from the latter also in their use of clothing, money, and ornaments, their methods of preparing food, and pointing to mannerisms drawn from any order of Hindús. Some of them lead an ascetic life, while others mix freely in the world, carry on trade, and acquire property. Most of them are celibate, but some of them marry, and are known as bhūjagī ('married') or gharbāv ( 'householder'). Atītas are often called monasteries, and some officiate as temple-priests. They wear ochre-(śārā-)coloured garments, and carry a rosary of the rudrakṣa seeds sacred to Siva. They do not eat flesh or drink spirits. They worship Siva, usually under the name of Mahādeva or Bhairon, and also pay devotions to the monkey-god Hammān or Mahāvīra. Their religious theories (when they have any) are based on the adeiita Vedānta (q.v.) of their founder Saṅkarāchārya.

The Saiva Advaitācārya (when the word is employed in the narrower sense) are ascetics of a stern mould. They wear as few clothes as possible, making up the deficiency with mud, and let their hair grow long and matted (technically called jūlī). They practise silence, and live on alms. In the cold weather they may be seen cowing over a small fire. Their life is in every way an extremely hard one. Goraṅhānī (q.v.), the founder of the sect of Kāmāmat Yogis, is often referred to as a typical Advaitācārya of this class.

2. Philosophical meaning.—It is evident from this that the idea of atman, 'self,' is relative, and the meaning of atman came very early to signify 'the self in contrast, with that which is not self,' and this meaning developed in four directions: (1) the own person, the own body, opposed to the outside world; (2) the trunk of the body as opposed to the limbs; (3) the self as opposed to the body; (4) the essence as opposed to what is not essence. Examples of these various meanings are frequent in the Vedic texts.

3. Brahman and Atman.—There are two words, brahman and atman, which are often used in the Upanisads to signify the inner essence of the individual as well as of the whole of the phenomena. But these latter cannot be considered separate from each other. Brahma means originally, and wherever it occurs in the Rigveda, 'prayer'; and it is very strange (and recalls the similar case of the Biblical nēgō)
how this word came to mean the essential principle of the world. In prayer the devotee felt himself elevated above his own individuality, above the phenomenal world, in union with the gods; in prayer he felt swaying within himself a world, a self, that was above all beings, above all worlds, and even above the gods. So it came about that to the question already raised in Rigveda, s. 8. 4, 'What was the wood, what was the tree, of which they have carved heaven and earth?' the following answer is given by the word *brahman* from the original meaning 'prayer' came to signify the 'principle of the world.' It might be supposed that a similar development could be traced for the word *atman*. And, indeed, there are some who believe that, side by side with the theological significance attached to the word *brahman*, there was a more philosophical tendency which circled round the word *atman*, and that both views expanded more and more until they coalesced in the identification of *brahman* and *atman* as it is found in the Upanisads. (Chhand.) Atman may be defined by the facts. It is useless to attempt to gain in the hymns and Brāhmanas the necessary materials for a history of the word *atman*, as we can for the word *brahman*. On the contrary, we see the word *atman* emerging here and there, and quickly disappearing again, until the Indian thinkers, becoming aware of the advantage of this term, began to use it more and more frequently to express what they felt without being able to clothe it in words. In fact the word *brahman*, 'prayer,' originally expressed by *atman* was made by them into an intensifying this subjective, and at the same time metaphysical, character that they came to take hold of the word *atman* as the most striking and happy expression for the inner essence of the individual, and for the inner essence of the whole world. These few examples may serve to illustrate this process.

4. Examples from hymns and Brāhmanas.— Even as early as the Rigveda, in the profound and difficult hymn of Dirghatamas (i. 164. 4), the poet and seer tells us: *"Atman emerging here and there, and quickly disappearing again, until the Indian thinkers, becoming aware of the advantage of the term, began to use it more and more frequently to express what they felt without being able to clothe it in words. In fact the word 'brahman,' 'prayer,' originally expressed by 'atman' was made by them into an intensifying this subjective, and at the same time metaphysical, character that they came to take hold of the word 'atman' as the most striking and happy expression for the inner essence of the individual, and for the inner essence of the whole world. These few examples may serve to illustrate this process."

Many other quotations of similar import will be found in the present writer's Geschichte der Philosophie, i. 1, especially p. 533 f. It is said, for example, of Prajāpati (a mythical personification of the creative power) in the Taittirya Arāpyaga, i. 25: 'In building the worlds and the beings he entered with his own Self (*atman*) into his own Self (*atman*)'; in Atharvav. x. 8. 44: 'He who knows him does no longer fear death, he knows the wise, unencumbering, ever-young *atman*'; in Taitt. Br. ii. 12. 9: 'Whoever has knowledge of the hidden things, exalted by glowing fire—only the knowers of the Veda who are true.' And this life understands him, the great omniscient *atman*. He, living in the Veda, is himself the source of the arts.* Others, however, were more evangelical, as an exclamation between himself and the priests one—he is the intellectual Self (manasātman *atman*) in man.

These passages already approach the standpoint of the Upanisads, which is fully reached in the so-called 'Vedas of Saippūla' (Sātap. Br. x. 6. 3) and Chand. Up. iii. 14: 'Verily this world is Brahman. Let a man meditate upon it in silence as Tātmaka (origin, annihilation, and breath of the world). Mind him, think of his Self, lift his heart to his Self the infinite. All-working is he, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting, all-embracing, silent, unconscious; He is my soul (*atman*) in the inner heart, and more vast, larger than the mustard seed, or a millet-corn, or a rice-corn's kernel; He is my soul (*atman*) in the inner heart, greater than the earth, greater than the atmosphere, greater than the heaven and all the worlds. The all-working, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-tasting, all-embracing, silent, unconscious, He is my *atman* in the inner heart. He is the Self in all. He shall enter. Whoever obtains this, verily he does not doubt!' Thus spoke Saippūla, Son of Saippūla.

5. The Atman in the Upanisads.— The words just quoted, 'He is my *atman* in the inner heart, He is the *brahman*, contain the two words about which circle nearly all the thoughts of the Upanisads. They are seen to be used without any distinction; but whereas in the quotation just given, a difference is observable, *brahman* means the eternal principle as realized in the whole world, and *atman* the same principle as realized in ourselves. Assuming this, the fundamental thought of all the Upanisads can be expressed by the simple equation:

*brahman = atman*,

meaning the identity of *brahman* and *atman*, or, as we should say, of God and the soul. It is thus expressed in the so-called 'great words': *tat tvam asi*, 'that is thou'; and *tadv brahman asmi*, 'I am *brahman*'; (Bhīṣ. Up. i. 4. 10). That means: *brahman*, the power which creates all the worlds, supports them, and destroys them. This all-mighty, all-pervading, eternal power is identical with the soul, with that which, rightly understanding, we have to consider as our soul, as our own unchanging, imperishable Self. The grandeur of this thought is manifest. We do not know what ways are reserved for philosophy in future ages, we do not know what specific form in future ages it will take, but we know in certain, if a solution of the riddle which this phenomenal world presents to us is possible in any way to mankind, the key to that riddle can be found only where Nature manifests herself not merely from the outside, but where she exceptionally reveals her secret to us, and allows an insight, however limited, into her abysmal depths, i.e. into our own inner Self, into our *atman*. This way was trodden by the Indian philosophers in the Upanisads, and also by future thinkers. But what have we to consider as our *atman*? It was not without serious researches that the Indians came to a satisfactory answer to this question. *Atman*, the Self, might be simply the body, it might be the vital principle, the individual soul (jīva) in us, it might be something higher than all this. It is wonderful to follow the Indian thinkers in their researches after the real essence of the *atman*, as they lie open before us in the various Upanisads; here, however, we must limit ourselves to a few examples.

In the second *sūtra* of the Taitt. Up. the philosopher takes man as he appears as a bodily existence. In so far he consists of food, he is a composite, *consisting of the essence of food*; but this body is only the shroud which envelops something else, the *prājñāvāya *atman*, 'the Self consisting of vital breath.' This again, holds another being, the *bhrātāvāya *atman*, 'the Self consisting of will.' This, again, contains the *vijñānāvāya *atman*, 'the Self consisting of consciousness'; and only by reducing everything as an extreme to *atman*, (the inner Self, the *sāddvāntāvāya *atman*, 'the Self consisting of bliss'). Having come to this, the text says: 'Verily this is the essence; for whatever is it consists of the Self—of *atman*.' For who could breathe, who could live, were not this bliss in the other of his *atman*. In this case it is he who creates bliss. For whoever in that Invisible, Inconceivable, Unsearchable, Unfathomable finds peace, finds rest, he really has come to peace. But whoever assumes this bliss as a function in the individual soul and this *atman*, there is fear for him; it is the fear of the man who thinks himself wise' (Taitt. Up. ii. 7).
text speaks of three ātmanas—the corporeal, the individual, and the highest ātman. In Chândogya, Upan. viii. 7, Prajâpati said: 'The Self (ātman) which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, whose wishes are true, whose counsels are true, that is to be investigated, that is to be understood; he belongs to all worlds and all wishes, wherever have been found that Self.' These words of Prajâpati were heard by the gods and by the demons; and in order to learn the true Self the gods sent Indra, the demons Virochana, to Prajâpati. He consented to teach them, and began his instruction with the words: Look here in a vessel filled with water, and tell me what of your Self you do not see there.' They answered: 'We see, O venerable master, this our entire Self even to the hairs, even to the nails.' And he said: 'Well, that is the Self, that is the Immortal, the Fearless, that is the Brahman.' They went away with satisfied heart, but Prajâpati said: 'There they go away, without having perceived, without having found the Self.' Virochana, the messenger of the demons, remained content with the answer; but Indra, without returning to the gods, came back and said: 'O venerable master, just as this Self is well adorned when the body is well adorned, well dressed when the body is well dressed, well cleaned when the body is well cleaned, even so that Self will be blind when the body is blind, lame when the body is lame, crippled and, in fact, will perish as soon as the body perishes; therefore, I see no consolation in this doctrine.' Prajâpati then led him to a higher conception of the Self, saying: 'He who moves about happily in dreams, he is the Self; this is the Immortal, the Fearless, this is Brahman.' Indra departed, but, before reaching the gods, came back and said: 'Venerable master, it is true that the Self is not blind when the body is blind, not lame when it is lame, it is true that it is not affected by the infirmities of the body; it is killed when the body is murdered, is not lamed when it is lamed, but it is as if it were killed, as if it were vexed, as if it suffered pain, as if it wept,—in this I see no consolation.' Prajâpati gave a new instruction: 'When a man, being asleep, reposing, and at perfect rest, sees no dreams, this is the Self, this is the Immortal, the Fearless, this is Brahman.' Indra departed, and returned again: 'Venerable master, in that way he does not know himself, does not know 'I am this,' nor does he know anything. Anything that is gone to annihilation, I see no consolation in this.' And now Prajâpati, after having led his pupil from the bodily Self to the conscious individual Self in dreams, and from this to the unconscious individual Self in deep sleep, revealed the full truth about the Self: 'O mighty Indra,' he said, 'this body indeed is possessed by death. It is the abode of that immortal, incorporeal Self. Possessed is the incorporeal Self by pleasure and pain; for, because it is incorporeal, there is no escape from pleasure and pain. But the incorporeal Self is touched neither by pleasure nor by pain. Bodiless are winds, clouds, lightning, and thunder; and as these, being hidden in the heavenly ether, rise from it, and, approaching the highest light, appear in their own form, thus does that serene being, arising from this body, approaching the highest light (the knowledge of Self), appear in its own form. He then is the highest spirit. He obtains all worlds and all wishes that who knows and understands this Self.'

6. Conclusion.—Even in the oldest texts of the Upaniṣads there is found a bold ideâלism which maintains the sole reality of the ātman, and denies an existence beyond the ātman. This standpoint, however, could not be maintained for any length of time, for the reality of the phenomenal world imposed itself upon the mind; and, therefore, the desire to satisfy both convictions, that of the sole existence of the ātman and that of the reality of phenomena, led to a kind of panteïsm (represented chiefly by the Chândogya Upaniṣad), whose thesis was the identity of the universe and the ātman. This identity, however often proclaimed, was and remained unintelligible. Substituting for it the more comprehensive concept of causality, the thinkers of the Upaniṣads came to what we would call cosmicism, asserting within the cause, and the world its effect. The ātman creates this world, and, having created it, He incorporates Himself in it as individual soul.

Taitt. Up. ii. 6: 'He desired: 'I will be manifold, I will propagate myself.' He performed austerities. Having performed austerities, he created this whole world, whatever exists. Having created it, he entered into it.'

Even thus the ātman remained what it was before, the Self in us. This Self creates the world, and enters into it as the individual soul. As early as the Kathâka Upaniṣad this theory developed into a kind of theism, distinguishing between the highest ātman who creates the world, and the individual ātman who lives in it. It is very remarkable that this theism then passed into the atheism proclaimed in the Śâkalya system. The highest ātman, being distinguished from the individual ātman, in which it had its real certification, was no longer sufficiently certified, and was rejected by the latter, being regarded as a kind of Stoic philosophy. There remained only material nature called purâyati, and a multitude of individual ātmanas called purâya. The last step in this process of degeneration was the apophysis of the Buddhists and the Chârvâkas, who left nothing certain, in part denied, in part doubted, the ātman altogether.

Thus the lofty idealism of the Upaniṣads was altered, and at last destroyed, by the realistic tendencies of a later age.


P. DEUSSEN.

ATOMIC THEORY.

Greek (W. KROLL), p. 197.

Indian (H. JACOB), p. 199.

ATOMIC THEORY (Greek).—The originator of what is called the atomic theory was Leucippus, of whom even the ancients knew so little that Epicurus could entirely deny his existence—a conjecture which was revised in modern times, but may perhaps be put on more solid foundation. Leucippus' native country was Ionia (Miletus?), and he lived between the times of Parmenides and Democritus. We are acquainted with his teaching only in the form which it took in the mind of his disciple, Democritus. The latter was born at Abdera; but the ancient writers knew nothing about the period in which he lived except what he himself had stated in a written work. He was a young man, evidently, when Anaxagoras had attained a rank in admiration among the Greeks and Ionians, and we may probably imagine that he was in his prime in the years B.C. 450-429. The logical consistency of his thought, the wide range of his knowledge of natural science, and the excellence of his composition, made the success of


his numerous writings very considerable. His views were thoroughly discussed and opposed by Aristotle and Theophrastus. 

Lucretius was led to his theory by the reaction against the Eleatic School, whose views had been placed on a scientific basis by Parmenides. It had denied all motion and change, and declared them to be an illusion of the senses; the truth being, they maintained, that reason leads us to perceive that what exists is unchangeable. This assumption so entirely contradicts all experience that a name plausible explanation which was accepted in nature had to be found; account had to be taken of Heraclitus' correct observation that a continual change is taking place in the world. But it was no longer permissible to explain—as was formerly done—this change as due to transformations of a primordial substance, for neither could the conversion of fire into water and earth, and vice versa, as Heraclitus claimed, be grounded on experience, nor could the Eleatic principle be ignored that anything that is permanent must be present in the change. While the Pythagoreans explained the number element in number, and therefore entirely abandoned the explanation of materialism, Lucretius and Democritus recognized it in atoms—those particles of matter so minute that they cannot be further divided, and are not perceptible to the senses, and which are all consisting of the same substance, or matter, which cannot be more narrowly defined. Particular things come into existence when these atoms combine, and disappear when they separate; but the atoms themselves are eternal and inutterstrucible. The combination and separation of the atoms are not possible unless there be motion, nor this again, as the Eleatic School had already asserted, unless there be empty space; but whereas the Eleatics had denied motion and empty space, the atomists held both to be real, indeed to be the only reality (Democ. Fragm. 125, Diels: ῥωμ. χρῶν, χρῶν γλώσα, χρῶν πειρὼν, ἐπειδ′ ἀτομὰ καὶ κενὸν). For these principles Democritus also found support in special observations; e.g., a body can grow only by the nutrient penetrating the open pores, form, composition, and condition; with the form is connected the size, and on this depends the weight. But these characteristics of bodies are primary, all other sense-qualities being secondary; e.g., warmth was supposed to be a quality brought to the atoms and the given size of atomic form. Democritus, in his idea of gravity or the necessity of falling; and this makes the dispute very difficult to decide. In this motion the particles impinge upon one another, seemingly in consequence of their unequal weight, receive blows, break off other particles, and so produce the whirlings, motions in circular dance in which several atoms combine, provided that their form renders them capable of adhering to one another (the modern theory has actually been led to make similar assumptions). Every such whirl may develop into a world; and this led the atomists to a kind of pantheon in which Plato objected (Tim. 55 C)—that there were innumerable worlds, several of which had passed out of existence again through colliding with greater ones. The space between these worlds Epierinus called ἀνερραθοῦς (in Cicero, interludum). Round the whirling mass of atoms a crust was formed out of hook-shaped particles. This crust, in the course of a long process of rotation, became thinner and thinner (the θεωρία πνευμάτων of Leucipus, i. 73). The heavier atoms gathered in the middle and formed the innermost part of this crust at the circumference. The crust holds fast those bodies which, coming from without, conglomerate at the edge of the world, and are all awame with the velocity of their motion: these are the stars. Worlds may perish by becoming too old, but also by colliding with other worlds. In psychology also Democritus carried his views to their logical consequences. The human soul consists, in like manner, of atoms, and of the most mobile of these—that is to say, of fire-atoms, which are so distributed throughout all bodies that between every two body-atoms there is one soul-atom, and which produce both motion and thought. The preference here given to fire is again due to the influence of Heraclitus. Even the sensations are explained atomically: for instance, sight is supposed to be excited by fine particles, which retain the form of bodies (ἔναθα, δείνα), detaching themselves from the surface of bodies and pressing upon the eye. Similarly sound is a material thing. But perception gives only a dull cognition; thought alone makes the soul (γνώμη) whole, and consists of atoms only of matter, μὴ γιγαντία, ὡς ἐκ σκότους καὶ σώκος μὲν τὰς σύμπαστα, ὅμοιον, ὅμοιον, ὅμοιον, ἅπαντα ὑπὸ γνώμης ἀπόκρημον δὲ τοῖς. Fragm. 11 Diels).

To the school of Democritus belonged Nausiphanes of Thebes, Fragm. 52, Diels, i. 482; who became the teacher of Epierinus (c. 325 B.C.) and introduced him to the atomic theory. But while it had been the aim of Democritus to explain the world-phenomena in a uniform way, Epiericus merely wished to give his own views on human happiness a satisfactory basis in natural science (Sent. Sent. xii. οὐκ ἔνων φυσιολογία ἀκριβῶς τὰς ἀναλογίας ἀποδιδόμενας; he regarded the whole of natural science as superfluous except in so far as it served this purpose, and declined to recognize even the final causes (ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἔσχος ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναγκαῖος, ὡς τῆς βίους ὀργῆς τε καὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως). Consequently he accepted Democritus' theories without introducing much change into them (Cic. de Fis. i. 21: 'Quae sequitor, sunt tota Democriti. Atomi, immo, imaginies, que ẹlva nominantes'). A number of the changes which he did make have been abortive and, when carried to their logical conclusions, are such as to shake the foundation of the system. For instance, even the ancient writers had noticed that Democritus did not avail himself of chance as in his explanations (Francisci Simplicii, in Phys. 330, 14). Epiericus, on the other hand, made frequent use of this expedient. Again, the only existing things, according to him, are atoms and empty space, and he finds the former characterized by hardiness (ἀστρεβλότης), and the latter by pliability (ὕπασμα). The atoms, on
The atomic theory makes an integral part of the Vaiśeṣika, and it is acknowledged by the Nyāya. The Prabhavaṇī philosophical schools which have originated with, or at least been favoured by, secular scholars (paṇḍits), rather than by divines or religious men. Among the heterodox it has been adopted by the Jains, and, as is stated in the Abhidharmaṇaṇa-vyakhyā, also by the Ajīvikas. It seems to have formed an integral part of the Pali scholasticism; for the well-known Pali scholar, Professor Franke, states that no mention is made of it in the Pali canonical books. It is different, however, with the Northern Buddhists; for the Vaiśeṣikas and the Nyāya philosophers, and in the atomic theory, while the Mādhyamikas and Yogāchāras opposed it, as they declared the external world not to be real. The speculations of the sects and philosophical schools just mentioned may be arranged in three groups. The first is represented by the Jains; the second by the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya Sātur and the Bāhūga on the latter by Vatsyāyana, and, on the other hand, by the Northern Buddhists; while the last phase of the theory is that which appears first in the Prabhavaṇī, the oldest system to have undergone an exposition of the Vaiśeṣika system, and has since been generally adopted by the combined Vaiśeṣikas and Nyāyāvikas.

I. We place the Jains first, because they seem to have worked out their system from the most primitive notions about matter. These may be taken to be the following. Matter is an eternal substance, undetermined with regard to quantity and quality, i.e. it may increase or diminish in volume without addition or loss of particles, and it may assume any forms and develop any kind of qualities. Material substances are divisible into many of substance, and one substance may divide into many.

Now, the Jains maintain that everything in this world, except souls and mere space, is produced from matter (paṇḍala), and that all matter consists of atoms (pradeṇa). Each atom occupies one point (pradeṇa) of space. Matter, however, may be either in the gross state (sthāte, bādava), or in the subtle (shāleśu). When it is in the subtle state, immaterial atoms of it occupy the space of a single particle. The Jains do not assume that there is any other substance besides matter in the universe, and all the qualities are to be considered as modifications of matter. The Jains, therefore, hold to the teaching of its founder with greater tenacity than any other, and consequently in ancient times atomism subsequently underwent no development. Thus Lucretius, although he is hardly indebted directly to Epicurus, but to later Epicureans, faithfully reproduces the views of the master. A little before him lived the physician Asclepiades of Bithynia, who grounded his theory of medicine on the basic ideas of the Epicurean doctrine of atoms (M. Wellmann, in Pauli-Wissowa, ii. 1632).


ATOMIC THEORY (Indian).—In the oldest philosophical speculations of the Brahmans as preserved in the Upaniṣads, we find no trace of an atomic theory; and it is therefore controverted in the Vedānta Sūtra, which claims systematically to interpret the teachings of the Upaniṣads. Nor is it acknowledged in the Sākhyas and Yoga philosophies, which have the next claim to be considered orthodox, i.e. to be in keeping with the Vedas; for even the Vedānta Sūtra allows them the title of Śruti. But the atomic theory makes an integral part of the Vaiśeṣika, and it is acknowledged by the Nyāya. The Prabhavaṇī philosophical schools which have originated with, or at least been favoured by, secular scholars (paṇḍits), rather than by divines or religious men. Among the heterodox it has been adopted by the Jains, and, as is stated in the Abhidharmaṇaṇa-vyakhyā, also by the Ajīvikas. It seems to have formed an integral part of the Pali scholasticism; for the well-known Pali scholar, Professor Franke, states that no mention is made of it in the Pali canonical books. It is different, however, with the Northern Buddhists; for the Vaiśeṣikas and the Nyāya philosophers, and in the atomic theory, while the Mādhyamikas and Yogāchāras opposed it, as they declared the external world not to be real. The speculations of the sects and philosophical schools just mentioned may be arranged in three groups. The first is represented by the Jains; the second by the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya Sātur and the Bāhūga on the latter by Vatsyāyana, and, on the other hand, by the Northern Buddhists; while the last phase of the theory is that which appears first in the Prabhavaṇī, the oldest system to have undergone an exposition of the Vaiśeṣika system, and has since been generally adopted by the combined Vaiśeṣikas and Nyāyāvikas.

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earth-souls, water-souls, fire-souls, and wind-souls, i.e. souls in various phases of development, which are embodied in particles of earth, etc. The elements must accordingly be regarded as the bodies of these particles of matter, i.e. as the coming together between them at any rate they are not without beginning or end.

We must mention the opinion of the Jains concerning karma, i.e. merit and demerit, in its bearing on the atomic theory. Karma, according to them, is of material nature (pranastha). The soul by its commerce with the outer world becomes literally permeated with material particles of a very subtle kind. These become karma and build up a special body, the kiṣṇa-rūp, which never leaves the soul till its final emancipation. Thus the atom is really regarded as a part of the outer world, because jointly, was current in India probably long before the philosophical systems of which we are speaking came into existence. We first meet it in the Chhandogya Upanishad (vi. 2 ff.). There it is said that fire, water, and earth were created fire, fire created water, and water created earth (śvayam), and that these three elements combining produce all existing things. In other places, wind (vāyu) is regarded as an element, and at last space (ākāśa) was reckoned as the fifth element; for it seemed proper that there should be five elements corresponding to the five organs of sense.† This theory of the five elements has been adopted in the Śākyan philosophy, and there it has been further developed by distinguishing two sets of elements, subtle (tanmātra) and gross (anubhūta). The elements in Śākyan are, however, not atomic or eternal, but are developed from primeval matter (prakṛti) by a process which need not be detailed here. Of these traditional five elements, the fifth, ākāśa, has a peculiar character of its own, as it is not considered to enter into combination with the other elements, but to be a simple, i.e. an infinite and continuous, substance; nor did the Buddhists even reckon it among their elements (anubhūta). And the Vaiśeṣikas also, who distinguished space (śūν) from ākāśa, held the ākāśa to be the common count, the latter among the simple and infinite substances (abhāva), together with time, space, and the souls. Accordingly, both Brāhmanical and Buddhist atomists admitted only four atomic substances, viz. earth, water, fire, and wind. But in other details their opinions vary.

As we have as yet but defective and second-hand information about the atomic theories of the Buddhists, we shall first describe that of their opponents, the Vaiśeṣikas and Naiyāyikas.

By Brāhmanical atomism we mean the union of physics, and Naiyāyik metaphysics and dialectics, the physical side of the atomic theory was more the province of the former, and the metaphysical of the latter system. Hence it may be supposed that the atomic theory is more intimately connected with the Vaiśeṣik school, and the authors of the Brāhmanical element, regards it as their cardinal tenet.‡

The opinions of the Vaiśeṣikas on atoms and their qualities, as well as on the forms and combinations of these, are contained in two popular treatises, the Mahabhidāryan and the Naiyāyika, and the metaphysical side of the atomic theory, the Bhaṭṭa, who held a very similar opinion, regards it as their cardinal tenet.

Sūtras by Kaṇḍā. They reasoned in the following way: Things that exist and are not produced from a cause are eternal; they may be inferred from the proof that all other kinds of products. Besides, as we call everything we perceive non-eternal, this idea of non-eternity presupposes eternity (ib. i. 1–4). And finally the fact that when the cause of their existence is destroyed, causes of things, constitutes our ignorance, and thus we are forced to assume that these ultimate causes are eternal.

But there is another method of reasoning based on the sūtra (v. 1. 9), which consists only of one word, ignorance; i.e., as we can imagine no other cause of existence we may assume the existence of the same causes, or that the disjunction or destruction of its causes, it follows that the last causes must be eternal.

For the interpretation of the sūtras here given we prefer the more recent and the more conservative commentators (for there is no old one in existence), as on their refutation by Sankara, which shows us what was the meaning attributed to them more than a thousand years ago. It is to be understood that these eternal causes, the causes of non-eternal ones, are the atoms; but they are not visible. For the sūtra goes on to declare that a great thing may be visible, if it has many constituent parts and possesses colour (iv. i. 6). The next sūtra (not in our text, but as quoted in the Nyāya Vārtika, v. 238) states that the states of four elements are defective, because it is not composed of material parts. Now, a thing is great if it is composed of many constituent parts, or if the parts themselves are great, or if they are arranged in a peculiar way (vii. i. 9, not as in our text, but as quoted by Sankara on Vaiśeṣika Samhita, vii. i. 11). This holds good with the small elements (i.e. atom); that is to say, the atom is not composed of parts.

The discussion, carried on in the next sūtras (10–29), comes to this. The expressions 'great', small, long, short, as used in common parlance, are relative terms, the terms 'great' and 'small' with reference to one thing and small with reference to another. These expressions refer to great (or long) things only, since only such are visible, and therefore they are used in a secondary meaning. In their primary sense 'great' and 'small' are not relative terms, but denote distinct kinds or genera of dimension (just as red and blue are different kinds of colour). For otherwise we should speak of great or small greatness, i.e. we should attribute qualities (great or small) to a quality (greatness or smallness) which is an exclusive principle that qualities have no qualities. Greatness and smallness are non-eternal in non-eternal things; in eternal things they are eternal, i.e. absolute or infinite. The absolutely small is called globular (paripūrṇa).

About the other properties of the atoms we have the following statement. The qualities of earth and other things—colour, taste, smell, and touch—vanish on the destruction of the thing itself; accordingly they must be eternal in eternal things, i.e. in atoms. And so they are in the atoms of water, fire, and wind. In earth, however, as well as in atoms of earth, (some) qualities are pāñcakā, i.e. changeable by heat (v. 1. 6). Different atoms may come into conjunction (v. 2. 4). In the beginning of the creation the atoms are set in motion by adṛśa, i.e. mark or demerit of creatures in the past period (v. 2. 13). The internal organ also is an atom (v. 2. 29).

This is all the information about atoms we can gather from the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras. But, short though it be, it is enough to show us the actual state of the atomic theory at the time of Kaṇḍā, and the arguments used by him in establishing that theory. Two things deserve to be noticed. First, the word for 'atom' used in our text, and, it may be added, in the Nyāya Sūtras too, is anu; only in the sūtra quoted in the Nyāya Vārtika do we meet with parānā, the usual form with all later authors; but it may be a mistake of the Vārtakāra, who quoted from memory. The second argument for the existence of atoms, which is based on the impossibility of unlimited division of a thing, was not yet made use of by the author of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras.
Vatsyayana, who wrote in the 5th cent. A.D. or earlier, one aspect of the atomic theory is discussed, and objections raised to it by opponents are refuted. Ganaurus shared the opinions of the Vaisëikas on the physical properties of the atoms discussed, and, since it is relevantly remarks (v. i. 67) that the black colour (of earthen atoms) is not eternal (though existing from eternity), it follows that he considered the properties of water, fire, and wind to be eternal. The metaphysical questions, however, relating to atoms and derived from Vaisëikas, are not fully discussed by Ganaurus. They are further explained by Vatsyayana.

In the two places (ii. i. 56 and iv. ii. 14Ec) where they occur, they are brought in at the end of the discussion of the 'whole and its parts.' The Naiyayikas maintain that the whole is something more than its parts; it is a different thing (atithdhati), not separated from its parts, but rather something in addition to them. We perceive the whole thing as such, e.g., a tree, though we see only the front parts, and not the middle and back ones; and thus we see a thing that does not exist in the parts, which is all.

The question of atoms is then discussed in this way. A consisting parts of is called a whole, but each part must again be considered as a whole, and so the parts of a part, and so on ad infinitum. If we never could come to last parts, we would be able to form the ideal of a whole, thus the whole would be dissolved into nothing. But the division reaches its limit in the atom, which cannot be divided any further, as we assume it to be absolutely small.

Another proof is the following. If the division into parts has no limit, the note (tattv) would not differ in size from the highest mountain, because both would have the same number of parts (n. f.), and each new division of the objections raised against the notion of atoms as indivisible smallest things would be meaningless. For the Naiyayikas assert, is a simple, all-pervading, and infinite substance. The question put whether it penetrates the atoms or not. For it, the atom must have parts; otherwise, it could not be all-pervading. The reply is that the atom has no exterior or inferior, nor is it hidden inside, but it is a simple not a compound thing. It is further objected that, since the atom has a form, being global, and since the form of a thing consists in the disposition of its parts, the atom must have parts. And again, when three atoms are in juxtaposition, that the middle touches the one to the left with its right side, and that on the right with its left side; and when the atom is surrounded on six sides, we distinguish six sides of the atom which must be considered its parts. And if the six sides were reduced to one (i.e. if the atom were a mere point), the objections are removed. This, however, is not possible, for if the atom were not to take up more space than one atom, and consequently a jar could be reduced to the size of an atom, and hence become invisible. These objections are then met with the declaration that the division of the atom into parts is not real, but a mode of expression only.

The following are some opinions on atoms, which appear in Abhidharmakosa (6th cent. A.D.), but the authors of which are not ascertained. Some thought that the note which is seen in a ray of the sun entering a window is an atom. Others believed that atoms do not occur singly (asaishata), but always in aggregates (p. 234). Some, apparently Buddhists, maintained that the atoms were not eternal, because they possess motion. The Naiyayikas agree with the Vaisëikas that the atoms are set into motion by adhyeta, i.e., merit and demerit, and expressly state that God (Isvara) does not set the motion of the atoms.

3. The chief opponents of the Naiyayikas, who held different views on atoms, were Buddhists of the Vaibhasika and Sauffrntika schools, as was said at the beginning. The Vaibhasikas maintained that external things can be directly perceived, the Sauffrntikas that they can only be inferred. Saikara, who comprises both under the name of Sarvasvastidhati, describes their opinions on atoms in his commentary on Vad. Sut. ii. ii. 18 thvs:

"The Buddhists acknowledge the four elements, earth, water, air, and wind, and all their properties and products, including the organs of sense; the four elements are atomic; the earth atoms have the quality of harshness, the water-atoms that of viscidity, the fire-atoms that of heat, and the wind-atoms that of motion; in combination these atoms form earthly things,' etc.

More details we learn from the work of the Tibetan byon yon bskd po, of which Wassilieff has given an abstract, 9 from the Abhidharmakosa vyakhyay, a work of the idealistic school Yoga-

The Vaibhasikas admitted that an atom had six sides, but they maintained that they made but one, or, what comes to the same, that the space is infinite, and therefore not being bounded or limited, has been disputed by the Naiyayikas in an old verse quoted in the Nyayag Vartika (p. 521). They further asserted that atoms were amenable to sense-knowledge, though they were not visible at all, just as a dim-sighted man sees a mass of hair, though he cannot see a single hair. This view, too, was disputed by the Naiyayikas, who maintained that the atom is transcendental (adindriya), not perceptible to sense (adindriyaka).

The Sauffrntikas seem to have regarded the aggregates of atoms as compound (napa). Their opinion seems to have been that the (globular) atoms did not touch one another completely, but that there was an interval between them; but some held different views. All agreed that the atom is indivisible, though some are admitted that it might be divided as having parts, viz., eight sides. Both the Vaibhasikas and the Sauffrntikas declare that atoms are not hollow, and cannot penetrate one another.

Most points in the Buddhistical opinions which we have here indicated appear in the Nyayag Sutra, Bhâgaga, and Vartika; all the speculations on atoms we have dealt with in this our second group (the Vaisëikas perhaps excepted) must, therefore, be regarded as having been current in the same period, i.e., in the beginning of our era down to the 6th cent. and later.

III. The latest improvement of the atomic theory consists in the assumption of deyyikas, etc. It was first taught by Bhaisajyaguru (p. 28), and is plainly referred to by Ulyotakara; it was received as a tenet in all later works of what may be called the modern schools (the Vaibhasika, Sautrantika, and one called Paramasritya, a title accorded only to the highest authority. From that time deyyikas are quite familiar in Sanskrit writers. It is assumed that two atoms (paramasr) form one binary (dayakas), and that three or more (deyyikas) form one trinity, which is 'great' and perceptible by the eye. From trinity are produced all things. Modern writers further assume chartrikas, formed of four trinity, etc. The reasoning that led to this highly artificial theory is the following: The rule that the quality of the product is derived from the corresponding quality of the cause does not apply to deyyikas and tryarrkases. For in that case the 'small' deyyikas would produce a 'small' tryarrka, not a 'great' one as required. And if the smallness of the deyyikas were produced from the like quality of the paramasr, it would be of a higher degree, just as two great things produce one greater

2 Cf. Hironaka, op. cit., p. 325. Prof. Wassilieff has given an abstract of these Buddhistical works on deyyikas (see his Nyayag Vartika, p. 119).
3 Sutraka, p. 192.
4 Sutraka, p. 192.
5 Athalye's note to Sutka, p. 192.

* Prof. Wassilieff, in his Nyayag Vartika, p. 461 f.
thing; but the pararnaya is that which is nothing new imagined. Therefore it is not the dimension of the cause, viz. of the parts, which produces the peculiar dimension of the deyugyuk and tryagvyuk, but another quality: namely, that number of the infinitesimal great ones, e.g. space and non-eternal, so both kinds must be found in 'small' things. Eternal small things are, of course, the atoms. Non-eternal ones must therefore consist of atoms; they are the deygvyuk.* Now number is produced by the 'notion which refers to many unities' (apekshatattvadhi), and such a notion presupposes an intellect to form it; in our case it must be the intellect of one who perceives all the atoms and deygvyukas, and who therefore must be omniscient—that is, God. Without him in whom the notion of duality in deygvyukas exists, there would be not be any deygvyuk or any tryagvyuk, and consequently there would not be anything whatever. This strange idea, found in nuce already in Prakrtastapida, was brought forward by Udayana (12th cent.) and adopted by his successors.

Having passed in review all forms of the atomic theory which are known to us at present, we must now inquire into the origin of that theory. Two points appear to be of chief importance for our inquiry: firstly, that the name of the atomic theory, 'small', or pararnaya, 'absolutely small'; and secondly, that 'small' was generally considered to differ not in degree but in kind, from 'great.' In accordance with this notion which is shared by all, even by the opponents of the atomic theory, the small, or, as we had better call it, the infinitesimal, had to be assumed as existing, and needed no further proof. The idea of the infinitesimal in this sense seems to have already been current in the time of the Upanishads, where we frequently meet with the statement that Brahman is smaller than the atom.** The Sautrantikas have divided the infinitesimal into four classes according to the four elements, while the atomists have divided it into five classes according to the five skandhas. The Buddhist explanation of the atomic theory as a prop for their fundamential dogma, but advocated it because it belonged to the stock of physical and metaphysical ideas which passed current during the early centuries of the Christian era in Northern India.


H. JACOBI

ATOMIC THEORY (Muhammadan).—The genesis of atomic theories among Muslim thinkers is shrouded in obscurity. It is probable that such theories found their way into Islam through the medium of the chief ancient Physiologists, and still more so through the Platonist commentators dealing therewith. As far back, at all events, as we can follow the growth of atomicism in this field, we find it imbued with the conceptions of Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic thought, and we can trace the presence of such atomic doctrine as early as the 9th century. Al-Nazzām († A.D. 845) is mentioned as having been an opponent thereof, and al-Kindī († A.D. c. 870) wrote a treatise against its adherents.

The first recognizable form of the doctrine is that which it assumed in the hands of Al Abū Hāshim of Bagrān († c. 933 A.D.). His theory, which is practically

* Nyaya Vārttikā, p. 251 t., and Yeś Sūtra, l. 40.
† Com. on Bodhi/kārāpāntikā, i. 127.
‡ Die atomistische Grundlage der Vielgelehrtheit, Rostock, 1900.
that of the Basrensian Mu'tazilites of the 10th cent.,
is found in the Kitâb 'I-nawâyi'll of Abû Rashîd Shâ'd b. Muhammad b. Shâ'd al-Nâsîbârî,
whose works date from 986 and 1068.
We give here a concise summary of his views.
The atom (al-jât' al-adâdî l yatâyjzâ), or, as it is
called commonly, the substance (al-jâhur),
possesses in itself (jâhur farâh), as the attribute
involved in its very essence, the capacity of filling
space (bahrâyjz). Besides existence and spatiality, each
has like a capacity to change its state or
condition, by means of which others are prevented
from usurping its position. Finally, the sub-
stances have the property of assuming accidents,
in virtue of which they are qualitatively
determined.

These substances move in empty spaces, and
interact by pressure and impact. The proof of
this is sought not merely on deductive lines, but
by way of simple experiments. According to the
other form of atomism, as set forth by Democritus,
Nothing is no less a fact than the atom, and
by ‘nothing’ in this case was meant simply empty space. As a result of the
inflation of later theories, however, this idea is
wholly discarded in Islam, and the states of being
and not-being are distinguished as existing in the
substance itself; or, in other words, even the non-
existent, as something known, i.e. distinguished
from something else, is possessed of substantiality.

The essence of the atom, or substance, is in-
dependent of its existence—a statement which
probably means that even existence might form the
content or object of the Divine thought or that
human knowledge. The substances are not created
by God: He simply brings them into existence, or
lets them come forth. When they have attained
the status of actual being, they have certain neces-
sary modes of existence (âkûlîa), such as motion
and rest, union and separation. Other accidents
again are contingent, i.e. each several substance
may assume an indefinite number and variety of
accidents, so long as these are not mutually
exclusive.

The substances and the bodies they go to con-
stitute are endowed with duration in time. Their
annihilation—the cessation of their existence—is
possible, but only in their totality, i.e. only if the
whole world were to pass away at once.

In order to explain the differences of view, was the theory of the Basrensian thinkers.
From these the scholars of Baghdad differed in
many ways. The teaching of the latter school is
known to us mostly in the form subsequently
given to it—first of all, probably, by Abû Bakr
al-Baqillânî († 1019)—in the Ash'arite or orthodox
Kâtîm. A most comprehensive account of this
discipline is given by Maimonides (1135–1294), and
it is largely upon his description that the following
outline is based.

The entire world, of which God is the absolutely
free Creator, consists of indivisible substances or
atoms, and their accidents. These substances,
taken separately, are mere points; they have no
magnitude or extension, and are thus imperceptible
to sense. They have their âkûlîa, or natural posi-
tion, which is the same in all substances; but, in
contrast to medieval atomism, it does not involve
quantity or spatial magnitude. Only by aggregation
do the inimissible substances become spatially extended bodies occupying the
tri-dimensional mahânâ. By union or separation
of substances—which can carry all other accidents
are produced or dissolved. What is true of space
holds good also of time. The latter is generated
by the combination of points of time or moments
(ukâtîl). Motion also, like space and time, is
discontinuous.

Every individual substance possesses at all times
a large number of accidents. Some thinkers even
hold that it possesses all possible positive accidents
or their opposites. Negative states, or privations,
in fact, are just as truly accidents as positive
states; they are, however, not separable from
knowledge, etc. Life, feeling, thought—in a
word, the soul—are quite consistently classed
amongst the accidents. Some writers regard the
soul as belonging to all the atoms of the body,
while others are of opinion that it is composed of
finer atoms, or substances not separable from the
mind apart from only one particular atom in the body.

No accident can subsist for more than an instant,
and as the substance is inseparably united with its
accidents, the measure of its persistence likewise
shrinks a moment of time. Now, since the entire
aggregate of spatial points which constitutes the
world can maintain itself only for a moment,
it must follow that the world is created anew
by God every instant. There is no such thing as
causal connexion or natural law, nothing save
the arbitrary fiat of God as to what happens to whom
being and not-being are alike. God creates
as many worlds one after another as He chooses,
and when He ceases to create any more, what He
then really creates is Nothing.

Here, then, lies the religious purpose of this
atomistic doctrine achieved. The theory is meant
to be, not an explanation, but a subversion,
of nature. All natural causes whatever are sacrificed
to the arbitrary fiat of Allah. Anything is possi-
ble; whatever is capable of being figured in
thought or imagination may come to pass. Of
everything that happens the opposite might quite
as well happen, if Allah but willed it so.

This atomistic teaching seems almost an antici-
pation of Occasionalism, especially as applied, not
to the course of nature merely, but also to human
action. The classical illustration is that of a man
engaged in writing. It was maintained that Allah
creates within him, and, indeed, creates anew
every instant, first the will, and then the capacity,
to write; next, the movement of the hand, and,
finally, the motion of the pen, concurrent there-
with, etc. Every factor in the transaction is
independent of every other, all the several stages
of the process emanating from God alone. It
is only in appearance that we have a coherent action;
only in appearance is there a self-consistent and
harmonious order in the working world. That
the world and human life appear to be pervad-

ed by a causal nexus is due simply to the fact
that meanwhile, and as a rule, Allah does not
choose to interrupt the continuity of events by a
miracle. It is possible, however, that He might so
intervene at any moment.

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T. J. DE BOER.

ATOMIC THEORY (Medieval and Modern).—

I. HISTORY.—If we seek for an explanation of the
phenomena of expansion, contraction, solution,
and precipitation, we are inevitably led to adopt
the hypothesis of a pre-existing structure in the
formed of particles with interspaces. If matter is
a continuum, these phenomena are ultimate facts,
not to be likened to, and not to be explained by, any other facts. We may conceive the possibility of expansion and contraction of a continuum, but we cannot explain it. If, however, we assume that matter consists of discrete particles, a crowd of particles is like a crowd of people. If we widen out, contraction is a drawing in, of the crowd. Solution is the thorough mixture of two crowds, precipitation is the expulsion or segregation of certain members of the crowd. Other pheno-

omena can be explained in an easy explanation. Thus, evaporation is the dispersing away of certain members of the crowd from its boundary. It is no necessary part of the hypothesis that the space between the particles is a vacuum. We know that there is air between the members of a crowd of people. So there may be some kind of material between the particles of matter, displaced when other particles squeeze their way in.

When we trace the history of the speculations about the constitution of matter from medieval times, we find that the atomic doc-

trine of Greek philosophers—the doctrine that minute particles are indivisible—has fallen into disfavor (see ATOMIC THEORY [Greek]). The medieval philosophers no doubt thought of matter as composed of minute parts, and they followed Democritus in regarding the parts as of four kinds, four elements—fire, air, earth, and water. Ordinary bodies were ‘mixed bodies,’ mixtures of these four, in different proportions in different bodies. But the elements were not always elements in the modern sense. It was sometimes thought that they could be transformed one into another. Roger Bacon, for instance, in the 13th century, held that the four elements were made of 'fable' (Spa), that each could be converted into the nature of another, and everything into anything (a possible condition). He speaks of 'this kind of invisible, and man and man is possible wheat (de Arte Chymiae).

Four of these elements were still dominant when modern science began; and long thereafter they hindered progress, not disappearing indeed till the 15th century. At the beginning of the modern period, matter was regarded as consisting of these four par-

ticles, but the particles were not atomic. Thus Francis Bacon in the Novum Organum (1620) in several passages mentions the 'atomi' of Luccippus and Democritus only to discard them, and in one passage even says: "Nor by this are we brought to the (Epicurean) Atom, which presupposes a vacuum, and matter immutant (both of which are false), but to true Paricles, as they are found to be' (Voc. Orig. bk. ii. § 8, Kitchin's Ed.).

Bacon made an important contribution to the theory of matter by his clear statement of the doctrine that heat is a mode of motion of the particles.

'Heat is motion, not expansion uniformly in the whole, but

expansive through the lesser particles of the body; and at the

same time struggled, repelled, and reflected; so that it obtains an alternative motion, ever hurrying, aspiring, or being irritated by repulsion; whence the fury of fire and heat has

It is the motion, expansive, re-

strained, and struggling through the lesser parts of a body' (bk. iv.).

These passages clearly imply a crowd of separate particles knocking each other further apart when heated, that is, when thrown into mutual motion. Between the particles Bacon appears to have supposed that there was an intangible, weightless, continuous material which he called 'ether.

He speaks of the action and motion of spirit enclosed in tangible bodies. For everything tangible that we know contains an invisible and powerful triple source (of effects) and wondrous process of spirit in a tangible body. For spirit in a tangible thing, (1) if emitted, contracts and draws up bodies: (2) if retained, softens and melts them; (3) if neither entirely emitted nor entirely retained, models them, gives them lines, assimilates, carries them out, organizes them,' etc. 'Spirit has no weight' (op. cit. bk. ii. § 40).

It may be worthy of note that Bacon held that the totality of matter is constant.

The first attempt to state a detailed theory of the constitution of matter was made by Descartes in his Principia Philosophiae (1644). He held that whenever we can clearly perceive that true, clear perception being of that which is present and manifest to the mind giving attention to it (pt. i. xxx., xlv.), applying this doctrine to the parts of matter, he is led to the rejection of indivisible atoms. For however small we suppose the parts, we are always able in thought to divide any one of them into two or more smaller parts, and may accordingly admit their divisibility. Again, he holds that a vacuum or space in which there is absolutely no body is repugnant to reason. Extension in space is extension in substance. All space, then, is filled with matter. Sensible bodies are composed of insensible particles (pt. iv. ed.). These insensible particles are made of three elementary forms (pt. iii. lli.), though constituted out of the same kind of material. The first element consists of very minute bits, of irregular shape and capable of very rapid motion; chips off the particles forming the second element, and entirely filling the spaces between them. The particles of the second form have become spheres by attrition. They are very minute, and beyond the range of vision. The third form is larger and slower in motion. The sun and stars are composed of the first element, the sky of the second, and the earth of the third.

The second and third elements appear to have vortices of the first element round them, and these vortices account for the forces which the particles exert upon each other. They are like the vortices which Descartes supposed to exist round the sun and planets to account for the great orbital motion.

This theory of the three elemental forms of matter, fanciful in its beginning, becomes more fanciful as he builds it up. It does not appear to have served, except in the mind of Descartes, to co-ordinate facts or to stimulate investigation. But it is important historically, as the first suggestion that it might be possible to consider in detail the ultimate structure of matter and to explain phenomena by this structure. It is important, too, in that it is purely mechanical, that all phenomena are explained by the motion and the sensation of the ultimate particles. Descartes insisted that the sensations are excited by the motion of matter only.

Our mind is of such a nature that the motions of body alone are sufficient to excite it in all sorts of thoughts, without being necessary that these should in any way resemble the motions which give rise to them, and especially that these motions can excite in it those confused thoughts called sensations' (pt. iv. excvii, Veitch's tr.). We perceive nothing outside ourselves 'except light, colours, sounds, tastes, sounds, and the tactile qualities; and these we have recently shown to be nothing more, at least, so far as they are known to us, than certain dispositions of the objects, consisting in magnitude, figure, and motion' (pt. iv. excvii).

That is, there is not a separate light principle or substance, smell, sound principle. These are in our minds. All the different sense are excited by the size, shape, and motion of the small particles of which matter consists.

Like Bacon, Descartes held that heat is a mode of motion of the particles (pt. iv. xxix.).

The most influential writer on the structure of matter in the generation succeeding that of Descartes is Robert Boyle, who in the Sceptical Chymist (1661), Origin of Forms and Qualities (1666), and other works, laid the foundation of modern chemical theory. He was partly an atomist.

'Ve may consider,' he says, 'that there are in the world great store of Particles of matter, each of which is too small to be, whilst single, sensible; and, being entire, or undivided, must needs both have its determinate shape, and be very Solid. Insomuch that though it be mentally, and by Divine omn-
Sulphurous, there all the in supposition of the corpuscles of the former Minima Naturalia, and while the hypothesis was advanced, and their Anomalies, the 3rd series of Prima Naturalia that composed it, or perhaps into other little fragments, yet, for the reasons freshly intimated, they very rarely can be actually dissolved, but remain entire in a great variety of sensible bodies, and under various forms or disguises, or qualities and quantities.

Yet in the prescriptive address to the reader in the same work, he says that he forbore to use arguments that are grounded on or suppose indivisible corpuscles called atoms. Though not a Cartesian he followed Descartes, as indeed all the world has followed, in ascribing all alterations of natural bodies to the 'Catholic and fertile Principle Motion, Bulk, Shape, and Texture of the minute parts of Matter' (Forms and Qualities, last page). He, too, regarded heat as a vehement agitation of the parts of a subtle matter. But it is for his clear idea of the nature of chemical combination that we are chiefly indebted to Boyle. In the Sceptics he dislikes disarrayments of corpuscles, he dislikes the earth, and water, and says that these three are to be regarded as made up of mixed bodies rather than mixed bodies as made up of them; and by mixed bodies he means ordinary bodies which had been regarded as mixtures of air, earth, and water, and the common hypothesis of small bodies. He dwells on the idea that an enormous number of compounds may be made by various arrangements of corpuscles, and that they differ from each other in nothing but the various textures resulting from the mixture, shape, motion, and arrangement of the small parts.

One and the same parcel of universal matter may by various alterations and contextsures be brought to deserve the same, sometimes of a sulphurous, and sometimes of a terrestrial or aqueous body (Shaw's ed. iii. 252).

Boyle agreed, then, with Descartes in thinking of matter as one in kind, to different corpuscles being due mainly to shape, size, and motion of the parts.

Newton does not appear to have concerned himself very much with speculations about the ultimate structure of matter. He was, above all, an experimental philosopher, determining laws by experiment and observation. He deduced their consequences, and comparing these consequences with further experiment and observation, thereby verifying or correcting the laws. The framing of atomic hypotheses did not come into this programme. In the Principia, he hardly uses the hypothetical structure of matter at all. There is a suggestion of it in the determination of the velocity of sound, but a mere suggestion. In the series of queries at the end of the Optics (2nd and 3rd editions) he gave himself free play, and among a number of speculations he declared himself an atomist. 'It seems probable to me that God in the beginning formed matter in solid, masy, hard, impenetrable, movable Particles' (3rd ed. p. 375). In the history of the subject Newton is mentioned only as in all probability deferring attention from it. His immediate successors were occupied so much in following out his methods that theories of matter of apparently little studied or considered by leaders in physical thought.

But the atomic doctrine was probably making way. Newton's contribution to the particle theory was made by D. Bernoulli in his Hydrodynamics (1738), § x. He suggested that a gas consists of very minute corpuscles moving with very great velocities in all directions, and that the pressure of a gas against the walls of a containing vessel is due to the bombardment by these corpuscles. He showed that with this constitution the pressure would be inversely as the square of the distance of the corpuscles, which is Boyle's Law; and that if the temperature were raised by increase in the velocity of the corpuscles, the pressure would be proportional to the square of the velocity. His reasoning is somewhat obscure and unconvincing, and, perhaps, on that account, his theory remained almost unnoticed for more than a century, when it was re-discovered and was developed on better lines.

In 1758, Boscovich published his Theorin Philosoplia Naturalis. In this work he begins with his celebrated hypothesis of the nature of an atom, and then seeks to show how physical phenomena, such as the law of gravitation, or the pressure, size, and elasticity may be accounted for if matter is composed of atoms such as he imagines. According to his hypothesis, an atom is a central point to which mass or inertia is assigned, a mass-point let us say, and towards this point force is acting so that another mass-point is urged towards it with an acceleration proportional to the mass of the first point, and varying with the distance in such a way that at a great distance the attraction is inversely as the square of the distance. But when the distance is reduced there are either one or more alternations of repulsion and attraction, finally ending with a repulsion which is infinitely great when the two points are infinitely near each other. Two central mass-points can therefore never actually coincide. Boscovich did not assign any formula for the force, probably considering that future experiment alone could determine the law, but it is easy to devise expressions which satisfy his general conditions.

For instance, if a mass-point is distant r from a mass-point m, and if its attraction to m is exerted on it as the force, then (r-2a)3a7, the force is attractive, and inversely as the square of the distance if r is very great, it increases as r diminishes to a certain point, and then diminishes to zero when r=2a. Between r=2a and r=2a it is a repulsion, again vanishing at r=2a. Between r=2a and r=0 it is an attraction changing again to a repulsion when r is less than a, a repulsion becoming infinite when r is infinitely small. Whatever the velocity of approach, that velocity will be destroyed before the two points coincide, i.e. they never will coincide.

Perhaps we can form an idea of the way in which Boscovich's atoms would act, by imagining that two solid surfaces are brought together. At great distance there is no repulsion between the first square law of gravitative attraction. When, however, they come very near, there is mutual pressure, which we may represent by supposing that the surface atoms have come into each other's first sphere of repulsion, and outside pressure is required to overcome such repulsion. If the outside pressure is made very great, we may force the atoms through this sphere of repulsion into the second sphere of attraction, and we may have equilibrium at the point where the attraction again changes into repulsion. If we can reach this point, the outside pressure is removed. Thus the hypothesis explains the adhesion of bodies pressed very closely together.

Boscovich's predecessors had, like Newton, imagined a little hard nucleus round the centre of the atom; this would have been totally unnecessary. Its place was efficiently taken by the repulsive force rapidly increasing as the centre was approached. The nudens had no part to play, and might be disregarded.

The hypothesis, we have noticed, was attended by some excited attention. It was adopted, as Priestley's instance, by Priestley (Vision, 1772, and Matter and Spirit, 1777). In the next century it attracted Faraday, who definitely adopted it (see two letters to R. Phillips, Researches in Electricity, 1844-56, i. 254, iii. 477). Faraday laid stress on the uselessness of the little, and of the finite size
—an idea which had again gained ground in the form of the atomic hypothesis of Dalton. He urged that the powers of matter, the forces which it exerts, are all that we know about it. These powers or forces are the matter, and where they extend the matter also extends. Each atom, then, extends through all space. Faraday symbolized the forces by straight lines extending out on all sides from the point, and oxygen removed it, too, from the list. Earth was resolved into at least several different earths, and the discovery by Lavoisier of the part played by oxygen in ordinary combustion killed phlogiston. Fire and flame, however, still remained as substances; for the idea that heat was a form of phlogiston could not save the energy, so often put forth in the 17th cent., had fallen into abeyance, and heat was regarded as a subtle substance. The way was being prepared for the atomic theory of Dalton, and there were several foreshadowings of it, the most notable by William Higgins, who in 1789 published A Comparative View of the Phlogistic and Antiphlogistic Theories, in which he says that we may justly conclude that water is composed of molecules formed by the union of a single ultimate particle of dephlogistized air (oxygen) and an ultimate particle of light inflammable air (hydrogen), and that they are incapable of uniting to a third particle of either principle. But it is doubtful whether he considered this as an example of a general principle, and he does not appear to have considered the 'ultimate particles' of and an atom—he uses the terms indifferently—in a simple body are all exactly alike, and in a finite space enormous in number.

In 1804 the modern doctrine of chemical combination was definitely formulated by Dalton, and communicated to his friends. In 1808 he first published it in his New System of Chemical Philosophy. According to Dalton, the particles or atoms—he uses the terms indifferently—in a simple body are all exactly alike, and in a finite space enormous in number.

Chemical analysis and synthesis go no farther than to the separation of particles from one another and to their reunion in a new creation or destruction of matter is within the reach of chemical agency. We might as well attempt to introduce a new planet into the solar system, or to annihilate one already in existence, as to create or destroy a particle of hydrogen. All the changes we can produce consist in separating particles that are held together by a state of cohesion, and joining those that were previously at a distance.' Compounds are definite groupings of definite atoms. Thus 1 atom of A + 1 atom of B may form 1 atom of C, binary compounds; or 1 atom of A + 2 atoms of B may form 1 atom of D, ternary, and so on.

Here he uses 'atom' for C and D where we now use 'molecule'; and it is evident that he does not think of an atom as an indivisible particle, but as the smallest particle of a body which loses the properties of the body. If this particle is divided, the substance is resolved into different substances. Dalton goes on to show that the relative weights of two elements entering into, say, a binary compound are proportional to the weights of the atoms themselves, and he gives the first table of atomic weights of the elements, taking the hydrogen atom, the lightest, as having weight 1.

Dalton's great advance appears to consist in the clearness of his conception of an element as consisting of particles all alike, and not, yet indivisible by ordinary chemical agency, and in his supposition that compounds consisted in general of small groups of these elementary particles or atoms. This gave an easily pictured hypothesis to the chemical facts, by this time established, that the elements combine in definite proportions, which are always integral multiples of the smallest proportions in which they enter into combination. From this time forward, chemists, already freed from the burden of the four kinds of phlegistic fire, or the seven elements, or the four humors, or the four bodies which were not to be decomposed by ordinary chemical and physical agency. These they termed 'elements,' and they investigated the
proportions in which the elements entered into compounds.

Soon after the publication of Dalton's theory, Avogadro put forward the hypothesis that in gases at the same temperature and pressure equal volumes of different numbers of molecules are in the same relation as the squares of their molecular weights. This hypothesis was restated by Gay-Lussac; and it was not long before it was supported by experiments on the combination of gases, and since shown to be in accord with the kinetic theory of gases.

We have seen that with Dalton the atom was not necessarily indivisible, but merely indivisible in modern times. But the notion of indivisibility held the position of an idea. Indeed, quite early in the development of the atomic theory by chemists, the old idea was revived, that the atoms of the different elements were really made of one kind of material, differing only as to the number of their constituents and the configuration of that material. Prout held that all the atomic weights were exact multiples of the atomic weight of hydrogen, a supposition which seems to imply that other elements were really groups of hydrogen atoms not to be divided by known agency. Later, it was suggested that discrepancies with this theory might be accounted for by taking one half or one quarter of the hydrogen atom as the unit out of which other atoms were built. But subsequent research on atomic weights has not supported these suggestions. There are, however, other evidences for supposing some community of plan in atomic structure. If weights of different metals be taken, containing, on the atomic hypothesis, equal numbers of atoms, nearly equal quantities of heat are required in many cases to raise these weights through one degree of temperature. In electrolysis, equal quantities of electricity are required to turn equal numbers of atoms out of combination. If the atoms of different elements had, as their only common property, weight or gravity, and in other qualities were entirely differing only, we should hardly expect these quantitative relations.

The chemical atomic theory, as set forth by Dalton, is a statical theory. For chemical purposes the atoms may, up to a certain point, be considered as little bodies somehow held together in compounds by forces which need not be specified; and their motion and the motion of the molecules need not be regarded.

By the middle of the 19th century, the researches of Joule and others had led every one to reject the doctrine of indivisibility. Joule brought to the front the old idea that heat was the energy of motion and of separation of the atoms and molecules. The dynamic aspect of the atomic and molecular theory now began to be seriously studied. We have seen that D. Bernoulli made an early but fruitless attempt to show that gas pressure could be accounted for by molecular motion. Other attempts were made by Horath in 1821, by Waterston in 1846 (published only in 1892, when Lord Rayleigh disapproved the paper from the archives of the Royal Society), and by Joule. In 1848 (Scientific Papers, I. 290), was the first to publish a calculation of the velocity with which the molecules are flying about. But the general acceptance of the dynamical, or, as it is now termed, the kinetic, theory began with the work of Krönig, Clausius, and Maxwell about 1856, and from that time onwards the theory has been developed in a series of memoirs by various authors, especially by Clausius, Maxwell, and Boltzmann.

2. Kinetic Theory. The kinetic theory has been studied chiefly with regard to gases. It supposes that a gas consists of an enormous number of molecules, all exactly alike in a given gas, but so small that their average distance apart is very great compared with the size of any one molecule. These molecules are flying about in all directions with very great velocities, continually colliding with each other and with the walls of any containing vessel. The collisions are of such a kind that on the whole the energy of motion remains constant; the same so far as the totality of all the molecules is concerned. The molecules are so far apart that they do not act upon each other except just during the moment of collision. Between collisions, then, they move in straight lines, and the average length of path between two collisions is called the 'Mean Free Path'. The velocities of the molecules at any instant, and therefore the mean of the squares of the velocities, if \( p \) is the pressure, and if \( \rho \) is the density, then \( \frac{v^2}{2} = \frac{3}{2} \rho p \). If we suppose that \( v^2 \) remains constant so long as the temperature is constant, when the density is changed by changing the pressure, \( \frac{v^2}{2} \) is constant. This gives 'Boyle's Law.' The mean velocity is not quite the same as \( v \) (the square root of the mean of the squares), but the difference is only small. For hydrogen at \( 0^\circ \) C. \( \frac{v^2}{2} \) is about 1800 meters per second—over a mile per second. For oxygen and nitrogen \( \frac{v^2}{2} \) is about 2500 and 750 meters per second. It can be shown that in a mixture of gases it is necessary that the average kinetic energy of each kind of molecule be the same in order that the collisions shall not affect the general condition; hence it can be further shown that the number of molecules in equal volumes of two gases at the same temperature and pressure is equal. This is 'Avogadro's Law.' Experiment shows that the pressure of a gas in a closed vessel increases by equal amounts with equal rises of temperature, and is, in fact, proportional to the temperature. But the pressure is produced from the impact of the atoms, and \( \frac{v^2}{2} \) is also proportional to this temperature. Or the mean kinetic energy of the particles is proportional to the temperature reckoned from \(-273^\circ \) C. On this scale of temperature the sun's surface is probably about twenty times as hot as the earth's surface, so that the molecules of hydrogen there have about twenty times as great a \( \frac{v^2}{2} \) as they have here. Their velocity is thus about 4\( \frac{1}{2} \) times as great, say, some 5 or 6 miles per second.

So far it is not necessary to enter into the structure of the gas molecules or any developments with regard to the specific heats of gases, structure has to be taken into account, and difficulties arise into which we need not enter.

The mean free path, or the average distance travelled in a straight line between two collisions, plays a very important part in the theory. It is evident that the rate of diffusion of one gas into another, or the diffusion of one part of the same gas into another part, will depend partly on the mean free path, partly on the velocity; and from certain phenomena depending on the rate of diffusion, most simply from the resistance to the travelling of one layer of gas over another, the mean free path can be calculated. For hydrogen at atmospheric pressure it is about 0.00002 cm., or, say, a little less than a hundred thousandth of an inch. For air it is almost half as much. This implies that the hydrogen molecule is effectively less than the air molecule, since it can thread its way farther through its neighbours without collision.

The greatest triumph of the kinetic theory consists in its explanation of the constitution of the molecules and of the number in a given space. By the size of the molecules we are not to suppose some definite solid shape. Imagine two molecules approaching so closely that they just begin to deflect each other, i.e. just begin to collide. Draw equal
spheres round each, just touching. Then the radius of either sphere is termed the radius of molecular action, and the sphere round each molecule is called a sol. Though the atomic centres may be far within the sphere of the liquid, it is evident that the mean free path of a molecule depends partly on the number of molecules in a given space, and partly on their size, just as the distance a man can walk straight on a street without touching another passerby will depend partly on the number of people, partly on their breadth from shoulder to shoulder. A relation can be found connecting the mean free path, the molecular size, and the number present, and actually a known, as we have seen, this gives a relation between size and number. Another relation can be obtained from the supposition that when the gas is condensed to a liquid the contraction is due to all the molecular spheres coming into contact. We may illustrate this by thinking of a cloud of equal water drops in a vessel as representing the molecules. When the cloud sinks to the bottom of the vessel, the volume of water at the bottom will be equal to the volume of each drop multiplied by the number of drops. If the observations are made in the laboratory, where a given volume of gas condenses may be taken as equal to the volume of each molecule multiplied by the number of molecules. At least it may be taken as nearly equal. We cannot say how closely the molecules are packed in a liquid, and thus some uncertainty is introduced into the results obtained. Thus we have two relations between number and size, and from these two we can calculate approximately both number and size. The result obtained is that the number of molecules in a cubic centimetre of a gas at 0°C and atmospheric pressure is approximately the volume divided by the partial pressure of a molecule of hydrogen, which we must suppose to consist of two atoms, is a little less than 10^24 of a gramme. The radius of molecular action, differing somewhat for different gases, lies between 10^-7 and 10^-8 of a centimetre. The number of molecules in a cubic centimetre of water is about 10^23, and the distance from centre to centre about 10^-8 cm. (These results can be translated into inches if it is remembered that 1 inch = 2.54 cm.) The number of molecules of gas per cubic centimetre has been calculated from the observation and use of the results of experiments on electric discharge, and the results obtained are in fair accordance with those given above. Unless, then, we reject the theory altogether, we may assume that we know with fair accuracy both the ‘size’ and the average distance apart of the molecules in a body.

The kinetic theory, when applied to account for the properties of solids and liquids, has made very little progress. In the gaseous condition the molecules, according to the theory, spend most of their time in moving in straight lines, and when the collisions do occur there is no need to consider the forces acting. It is enough to assume that, on the whole, collisions do not alter the general condition. Many properties can then be accounted for. But when we come to solids and liquids, the molecules are supposed to be so closely packed as to be always entangled with each other, and there is no mean free path. Hence we cannot go far without knowing the forces between the molecules; and even if we could specify the forces, the calculation of the effect of such complex systems would be exceedingly difficult. In the solid condition, we must suppose that the molecules do not move far from a mean position. Each is held by its neighbours, so that though it may be agitated slightly in one direction, yet it was, to one spot. In a liquid, the molecules are still entangled with each other, but they possess more energy, and are able to break away every now and then from their anchorage and get into new surroundings. A liquid may probably be regarded as a somewhat solid-like if time be reckoned by millions or billions of a second, gas-like if it be reckoned by seconds.

3. Atomic and molecular structure.—Since the kinetic theory of matter arose, several attempts have been made to magnify atomic structures which should serve to give some account of phenomena. Rancine (Nichol's *Encyclopedia, s.v. 'Heat,' p. 353) assumed that the atoms were little nuclei surrounded by atmospheres whirling round them in vortices—a revival of Descartes’s idea. Though Raukine made use of the theory himself, it is obscure in detail, and has not been used by others.

The vortex atom of Lord Kelvin (PRSE, Feb. 1867) is a much more celebrated hypothesis. This atom is founded on Helmholtz’s investigations on fluid motion. We are to suppose that space is full of a frictionless incompressible fluid of uniform density throughout. An atom is a vortex ring in this fluid, a ring-shaped portion of the fluid distinguished from the rest by its whirling motion. The whirling motion may be understood by running an india-rubber umbrella ring along its stick. The friction makes it move round and round as it travels. The rings which an expert smoker makes are vortex rings. A spoon drawn sharply across a cup of tea makes half a vortex ring of which the two cut ends, as it were, appear as little whirlpools, the half ring being below the surface. We can make rings in real fluids, because they possess viscosity or friction. But in a frictionless fluid, the creation and equally the destruction of vortex rings is possible, which the fluid itself does not possess; so that a ring if in existence must have existed in all past time, and will persist in all future time, the same portion of fluid always existing in it. We thus have a suggestion for an indivisible and eternal atom. The difficulty of the mathematical investigation of the mutual actions of vortex rings is so great, that little progress has been made in the theory. But it possesses value in suggesting the possibility that all energy is of one kind, energy of motion either of the fluid outside the rings, or its energy of motion in the fluid itself. In accounting for the eternity of the atom it perhaps goes too far. In recent years the theory has dropped into the background.

Another hypothesis, due to Larmor (*PS Lxi.* [1897], p. 275), supposes that space is filled with an elatic solid, or jelly, capable of vibrating and carrying waves. An atom is the centre of a strain or twist in the jelly. The strain is persistent, but it can move from point to point in the jelly, using new parts as it travels along. It is the form of strain which is the persistent atom. The atom may be likened to a kink on a rope which travels along the rope, new material continually passing into the kink to take the place of the material which passes out of it.

Larmor has developed this hypothesis in several memoirs, showing how electrical and optical phenomena are to be interpreted in terms of it.

The latest atomic hypothesis is one which assigns an electrical structure to the atom. Here we can only give a sketch of the subject. Fuller details will be found in *Electricity and Matter* and *The Corpuscular Theory of Matter,* by Sir J. J. Thomson, on whose researches the hypothesis is chiefly based, and in *Electrons,* by Sir Oliver Lodge.

The idea that the forces keeping the atoms together in the molecule are electrical in nature is
as old as Davy. It is rendered probable by the fact that electric charges put into a liquid will decompose it, and by the fact that one of the chief sources of electricity is the volatile cell in which chemical combination occurs and charges are given out. In the process of decomposition it is evident that in the two constituent atoms or groups of atoms, one of these is positively electrified and the other negatively electrified, and that it is the attraction between the two charges which binds the atoms together in the cell.

Faraday discovered that, when a liquid is decomposed by an electric current, a definite charge of electricity of each kind is required to disengage a definite amount of an element from a compound, and that, if we accept the atomic theory, the charge is proportional to the number of atoms disengaged. The hydrogen atom always requires the same charge. Other atoms require either the same charge as the hydrogen atom or twice the charge or a small multiple of it. There is no evidence for the existence of a smaller charge than that on the hydrogen atom, and apparently all other charges are exact multiples of it. Thus electricity appears to be, as it were, atomic. Any quantity of it consists of multiples of the hydrogen atom charge, which is an indivisible unit. We have seen already that to each constituant of a molecule, each constituent has a charge, one positive and the other negative, and we have to put in equal neutralizing charges to render the products of decomposition neutral. This interpretation of Faraday's discovery may be regarded as the foundation of the theory of the electrical atom.

The superstructure began with a discovery made by Crookes, when investigating electric discharge in highly rarefied gases. If the discharge takes place between two metal plates in a space sufficiently rarefied, Crookes found that a stream of negatively electrified matter shoots straight out from the plate to which negative electricity is supplied. This stream of matter can be deflected by a magnet. Sir J. J. Thomson found that it can be deflected also by electric force. In a series of brilliant experiments on the deflections by known magnetic and electric forces, he made the immensely important discoveries that the mass carrying a given charge is the same whatever the gas used, and that it is $\tau v^2$ part of the mass of the hydrogen atom charge. By further experiments he showed that each particle in the stream carried a charge equal to that of the hydrogen atom, so that the mass of each particle is $\tau v^2$ part of the mass of the hydrogen atom. This negative electricity he termed 'corpuscles.' They are usually now called 'electrons.' We must suppose that the electric forces during the discharge tear away the negatively electrified parts of the atoms at the negative plates, that these are alike for all atoms, and that their mass is $\tau v^2$ part of the mass of the hydrogen atom. If the atom was neutral before the corpuscle was torn from it, an equal positive charge remains behind upon what is left.

In building up the electric atom we must bear in mind that all experiment shows that there are equal quantities of the two opposite charges, and that we do not know of such a thing as a charge of one kind alone. One kind of charge is always accompanied by the other kind of charge — either united to it as in a so-called neutral atom, or separated from it by a greater or less separation in a conductor or by electric forces. We imagine, then, that an atom consists electrically of a charge of positive electricity and a greater or less number of electrons, and there are reasons for supposing that the number of electrons is proportional to the atomic weight. The oxygen atom will possess, for instance, $\tau v^2$ times as many electrons as the hydrogen atom. The positive charge is equal to the sum of all the negative charges on the electrons. This positive charge is supposed to be spherical, and to be distributed uniformly within the sphere. In some way it holds, and is supported by the constant volume of the atom. The spherical supposition is made for simplicity of treatment. The electrons are moving about inside the globe, and can move without resistance through the central core. With these suppositions, it can be shown that, if there were a single electron moving within the globe of positive, it would have a definite period of revolution round the centre of the globe, the same whatever its distance from the centre. With a number of electrons moving in orbits round the centre, each would affect the time of revolution of the others, but certain arrangements of orbits would persist. Other arrangements might be unstable, and then electrons might be thrown out of the atom. As the electrons circulate in their orbits, they radiate out energy in the form of waves, one wave for each revolution, and the hypothesis seeks to account for light and other radiation of like kind. If two such atoms approach each other, one may be so nearly unstable that it parts with one electron to the other, giving it a self-contained atom.

The atom possesses an enormous store of energy in the motion of the negative electrons. It may become unstable through mutual action of these in their orbits, and some part may fly off to form a new atom. Thus the hypothesis seeks to account for the breaking down of the atoms which appears to occur in radium and other radio-active bodies.

We have seen that the mass of each electron is $\tau v^2$ part of that of the hydrogen atom. The hypothesis gives an account of this mass which we owe to J. J. Thomson. If a body with an electric charge upon it is moving, it acts like a short length of electric current, and it is surrounded by a field of magnetic force; that is, there is magnetic energy in the space around as well as electric energy. If we consider the charge upon its surface, the quantity of magnetic energy is directly proportional to the square of its velocity, and is inversely as its radius. Now, the mass of a body may be measured by the energy required to get up to a velocity $v$, for that energy is $mv^2/2$. If the sphere has masses $m$ and no charge, its energy when moving with $v$ is $mv^2/2$. If it has a charge, then there is in addition the magnetic energy also proportional to $v^2$, say, $m v^2/2$, or the total will be $(m + m^2) v^2/2$. Suppose that when without charge the sphere has no mass, $m$ will be 0. When it has a charge, there will still be mass $m^1$, or rather the sphere will behave just as if it had this mass. It is possible, then, that the mass of the electron is entirely due to its charge. Calculation shows that a massless sphere carrying equal charge equal to that of the hydrogen atom, and about $10^{-12}$ cm. in radius, would behave as if it had mass $\tau v^2$ of the hydrogen atom.

If we could suppose that the hydrogen atom contains 1700 or 17000 charge, we could thus account for its whole mass. But it appears much more probable that what we account for is not a single electron, but a few or many electrons, so that if we are still to give an electrical account of mass, we must break up the positive globe into very small spheres each containing a nearly full charge, far smaller than...
that on the electron, these being scattered through the globe. But for this supposition there does not as yet appear to be any justification, i.e. it does not follow that the electron is an actual entity.

Certain experiments do seem to show that the mass of the electrons is fully accounted for by the magnetic energy of their charges when in motion; but even if we accept this account it is very doubtful if we have 'explained' mass. Certainly all our measurements of energy involve the idea of mass, and it may perhaps be maintained that the magnetic energy in the space round the moving electron implies the existence of mass in that space to serve as a seat for the energy. If so, the electron theory may be described as the mass from the inside of the moving sphere and spreads it through the outside space. Again, we come to the Bosovich-Paraday conception, that an atom is wherever its force acts—not at the centre alone, but spread through all space.

Summary.—Present position of the atomic theory.

—The belief that matter is granular in structure, that it consists of exceedingly minute discrete particles, is irresistible. The particle is consistent with a vast host of observed facts, for which no other explanation has been suggested. We must be content to accept the proposition by means of hypothesis, and are willing to content ourselves with mere description of phenomena—a frame of mind which is non-existent. When we pursue the particle structure into detail, we find an excellent explanation for the facts of chemistry in the hypothesis that, in a definite chemical compound, the particles are molecules, all alike, and that each molecule consists of a group of still smaller particles, which, without prejudice to their divisibility, we call atoms. The chemist finds that the compounds are resolved into bodies, each of which is incapable of further resolution by ordinary chemical agency, and which he terms 'elementary.' An element is supposed to consist of atoms all alike in each one kind. No explanation other than this has been devised for chemical phenomena, and it works so well that it has been universally accepted. So far, we cannot even conceive of any other hypothesis. The hypothesis that in a gas the molecules are, on the average, far apart and rushing about leads to a similar conclusion. Many gas phenomena which has suggested properties hitherto unknown which investigation has shown to exist. Again, no alternative hypothesis has been offered; and if we accept this, we are bound to accept the determinations of number and size, determinations arrived at also from other starting-points.

So far, no special assumptions need be made as to atomic or molecular structure. But if we seek an explanation, on the atomic hypothesis, of certain electrical phenomena, we must imagine some definite structure for the atom. The electrical atom, in some such form as that described, is the only atom yet imagined which has any value for the purpose. It has served to explain many of the phenomena, and it has suggested researches which have led to new and important discoveries. It is easy to criticize it, to point out the large assumptions on which it is founded. There is, for instance, the coherent globe of positive electricity held together by unknown agency and allowing the magnetic energy to pass through it. Further, this we require properties unlike the properties of any known electrical system. But the chief value of such a hypothesis lies, not in its objective truth, but in its success in accounting for, in co-ordinating, we desire actually and in predicting results which are afterwards verified—the electrical atom as a 'working model' which gives the same results as the actual atom, though, it may be, by quite different machinery. From this point of view the electrical atom is a brilliant success.

We observe phenomena due to matter in large masses. Our senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch are due to the action of large masses of atoms. This is the phenomenon which we can observe and the only way we can observe it is by means of the microscope, and perhaps the sparkling of zinc sulphide when exposed to radium is the only phenomenon which can fairly be ascribed to single atoms, each sparkling being assigned to the impact of one atom. When we go behind observed phenomena and attempt to take into account for them—a structure far beyond the range of our senses in minuteness, and probably utterly beyond direct verification—it is possible to imagine many types of structure which will account for the effects as when we turn the hands of a clock which we cannot open, we can imagine many different trains of wheel-work which will account for the motion of the hands. We must, therefore, accept only provisionally any one type of atomic structure which may be offered. It is, I think, the highest type of the problem. We must be prepared for alteration, for addition, for re-construction, as new phenomena are observed and need to be accounted for. We must be prepared even to abandon it altogether if something fundamentally new is observed. The hypotheses of science are continually changing. Old hypotheses break down and new ones take their place. But the classification of known phenomena which a hypothesis has suggested, and the new discoveries of phenomena to which it has led, remain as positive and permanent additions to natural knowledge when the hypothesis itself has vanished from thought.


ATONEMENT.—See EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT.

ATROPHY.—This term in its simplest meaning signifies lack of nourishment, but in its strictest use is applied to the diminution and enfeebled state of the limbs and organs, or parts of organs, of complex animals and vegetables as a result of disuse. The rapid decrease in weight of an animal as a result of starvation, or the wasting (emaciation) so commonly seen as a consequence of protracted fever or malignant disease, does not even in the medical sense come under the term 'atrophy'; this term is used to express such changes as the wasting of a muscle when its nerve supply is cut. Muscles are in reality the specialized end-organs of motor nerves, and without the necessary nervous stimulus they can perform no work, and are useless. The atrophy of a muscle is brought about not only by dividing its dominant nerve, but also by destroying the nerve-centre in the spinal cord or brain from which its impulses to contract are derived. Examples of atrophied muscles from these causes may be found in the battlefields of the Great War, and in the field of a large number of diseases. Similar results may be studied in other special sense-organs like the
eye; when the optic nerve is divided, or the visual centre in the brain destroyed, the retina, the delicate structure in the eyeball which is the recipient of light rays, quickly atrophies. It is likewise a matter of importance for the preservation of highly organized structures that they be moderately used. It is common knowledge that living animals kept in dark places lose their acuteness of vision, and in fish, crustaceans, and burrowing forms of animal life the sense of vision is not only diminished but is actually lost, and the eyeballs diminish to inconspicuous dots.

The most interesting case of atrophy and suppression of parts are those which come under the observation of naturalists and morphologists. These observers are especially interested in the effects produced by disease of organs of animals and plants caused by changed habits of life, or by the increasing importance of other organs. This is illustrated by tadpoles. When the frog embryo emerges from the egg, it has a long tail and external gills; in the course of its metamorphosis limbs appear, and the tadpole assumes more and more the form of a frog; the gills and tail do not drop off, but are slowly absorbed and disappear, and the aquatic tadpole is changed to the amphibious frog. The disappearance and modification of the cartilaginous arches which supported its gills, and some correlated changes in the framework of the head and neck, the lungs, gills, gills, ovaries, etc., due to the development of the atrophy of the tail. Similar atrophy of organs may be studied in many animal forms which in their early life enjoy a free existence, but later become fixed forms, such as ascidians. Many animals which are always swimming, when atrophied and disappear, as larval organs may be studied among invertebrates, especially sea-urchins and star-fishes. Whilst wondering at these remarkable things, we should not overlook the fact that many instances of this suppression of parts occur in the highest mammals, even in man. The fall of the milk-teeth is due to a process similar to that which causes the loss of the tail in tadpoles and ascidians. Puppies are born blind, owing to the existence of a vascular membrane occupying the space known as the pupil of the eye; this membrane atrophies, and the eyes become sensible to light. In the human embryo this membrane is also present, but it disappears shortly before birth.

The bodies of all mammals contain many remnants of organs which in the early stage of their development were of first-rate importance in their economy; but when the animals are born and become lung-breathers, the alteration in the manner of respiration leads to great changes in a few of the larger blood-vessels, causing them to atrophy; but they remain throughout life detectable by the eye and scalpel of the anatomist. Even more remarkable are the great number of vestiges of parts which may be discovered in every special organ of the body; and the more specialized these organs become, the more atrophied parts it contains. The brain abounds in such remnants, and contains rudiments of a third eye. The organ of hearing, and even the external ear, or auricle, contain many atrophied parts. In this true of the eyeball and its protect- ting lids, a large external ridge, or a dog has three eyelids, merely by holding the paired eyelids apart: and if he examines the nasal side of his own orbit he will see the little pink cone representing the third eyelid (nictitating membrane), and with a magnifying glass may distinguish the delicate hairs upon it. The larynx, the heart, the liver, the intestines, and even the limbs abound in vestiges. In those remarkably modified mammals the whales, the blind limbs are represented by mere rudiments concealed in blubber.

Probably the result of atrophy in producing profound modification of outward form and structure and yet leaving traces of its steps in the form of atrophied organs is nowhere so convincing as, or more easily observed in, these interesting flowers known as orchids. The present writer believes that it is hardly an exaggeration to urge that orchids hold the same relation in the floral world in regard to modification of form through atrophy and suppression of parts—the results of a changed economy—that whales hold for the same reasons among mammals.

Not the least important aspect of atrophy is its relation to sexual organs. It is well known that flowers represent the reproductive organs of phanerogamous plants, and that in many of them a single flower contains male and female parts. In some plants the sexes of the flowers are separate, some being male and others female. A careful investigation of the development of certain flowers which, when fully blown, are of single sex, shows that they possess the germ of organs belonging to both sexes, and that in the course of growth the organs of one sex develop and attain maturity, whilst those of the opposite sex remain rudimentary or completely atrophy. It happens, and not infrequently, that in a flower of a plant normally unisexual there may develop the flower equally: such are called hermaphrodite. Exactly similar conditions have been detected throughout the animal kingdom, even to its summit—man. In the higher mammals, hermaphrodite forms are known in which the ovary is so developed that they are equivalent to ovaries, and similarly the testes are developed into testes. In addition to suppressed or atrophied parts remaining a former higher grade of development, they may even in their degenerate condition, like idlers in a community, be a source of much trouble. Very many curious and often dangerous conditions, known to surgeons as cysts and tumours, arise in the remnants of boted organs. Many occur in the neighbourhood of the mouth, tongue, and neck. Probably the two most persistently fatal are the vermiform appendix, and the remnant of the representative of the yolk-sac, known as Meckel's diverticulum, a fertile source of intestinal obstruction as well as a cause of malformation in that part of the alimentary canal known as the ileum.

When an organ, or part of an organ, which is usually suppressed, or represented by an atrophied rudiment, is developed, as in certain amphibious animals, in an animal, it is regarded as a malformation. For example, men and women normally possess twelve pairs of ribs, but the vertebral segments in the neck, and some of those in the loin, possess minute undifferentiated ribs. In many vertebrates the corresponding cervical and lumbar vertebrae bear well-developed ribs, but, as they are always present, it is usual to speak of them as normal. Occasionally in man the rudimentary ribs in the neck and loin appear as well-developed elements in the skeleton, and are described as being abnormal. The condition has a deeper meaning. The interpretation which the morphologist places on the matter is this: Man is descended from an ancestor who normally possessed more than twelve pairs of ribs; more cavity and limb parts have atrophied, suppression, and are represented by rudiments or vestiges. When a vestige of this character re-appears in a functional form, it is described as an example of atavism (q.v.) or reversion.

Atavism has been studied at considerable length in plants. This has been a subject of great fascination since Goethe drew the attention of botanists to the fact that the various parts of a flower may be regarded as modified leaves. This does not mean that each
ATTACHMENT—ATTENTION

part of a flower is a metamorphosed leaf, but that we are able to trace every structural gradation, from leaves to bracts, from bracts to scales; and not infrequently serpals will be replaced by or become converted into true leaves. The changes from serpals to petals, and from petals to stamens, are as gradual as from bracts to serpals; and the homology is often declared by the stamens becoming petals, and petals appearing as leaves. Even stamens occasionally revert to this way, and constitute abnormalities or monstrous

Atavistic conditions of this kind are met with in animals, especially in connexion with the appendages of crustaceans; and it is astounding to see a lobster with an antenna surmounting its eye-stalk and replacing the whole or part of its eye. Yet parallel malformations occur in sheep, dogs, and children, when the conjunctival covering of the eyeball reverts to skin and produces hair. Though men offer explanations of these curious phenomena, and call them reversions to ancestral types, yet they often have no environment to solve them by the phrase ‘natural selection,’ it must be admitted that the cause still remains veiled in impenetrable mystery. It is also certain that, if we knew the cause of the shedding of the scale, we should be at once convinced of the origin of the species, and the cause of the great division of plants and animals into males and females. See also Degeneration, Disease.


J. BLAND-SUTTON.

ATTACHMENT.—Attachment may be considered in three relations: (1) attachment to the things of sense; (2) to objects of affection; (3) to the whole mind.

1. Attachment to the Things of Sense.—This is the uncontrollable attraction that the physical and emotional environment has for the lower consciousness in man. Now it is obvious that attachment in this sense is perfectly natural, and is quite necessary for long stages of evolution during which the ego in man is gaining experience and learning the necessity for self-control, while the various faculties of the mind are developed through the activities induced by the struggle for life and goods. The characteristic of this form of attachment is that it is associated with the self, and is essentially selfish, and so cannot be an abiding condition in the life of humanity. A time comes in the evolution of each individual soul when that attachment is weakened and a new centre formed; and it is religion that then begins to draw in opposition to that downward absorption in worldly affairs which claims so strongly the energies of man. There may indeed be long periods during which the attraction towards a spiritual life may seem almost imperceptible, but sooner or later man must come to the conversion to a new course of life, when the old way will be forsaken and an upward path adopted.

2. Objects of Affection.—Though attachment here, in the more primitive phases, is strongly perverted with selfishness, yet there is always and in all cases a centre of attraction formed outside the self, and this change, implying new motives, at once begins to humanize and improve the entire nature. From sex and family affections—extended gradually to parents and friends—there eventually arises a wide love of mankind, losing all the elements of attachment as it grows in unselishness and approaches union with the Divine.

3. The Fruits of Action.—Man seeks advantages, and he is proportionately elated or depressed as events turn out in accordance with his wishes or against them. He is attached to the outcome of his efforts, and is not content solely with doing his duty, or his best, and leaving the result to God. It is on this kind of attachment that the Bhagavad Gita (ch. 5) has so much to say: ‘The man who is devoted and not attached to the fruit of his actions obtains tranquility; whilst he who through desire has attachment for the fruit of action is bound down thereby.’ Man acts less and less selfishly as he rises towards perfection, and hence becomes undismayed when the results appear adverse. When he has rid himself of all the lower attachments, he is no longer a slave to the lower desires, and has become ready to enter the abode of bliss, or the Kingdom of Heaven, for he has conquered self and obtained freedom.


G. A. GASKELL.

ATTENTION.

‘Strange to say, so potent a fact as the perpetual presence of selective attention has received hardly any notice from psychologists of the English empirist school. The Germans have explicitly treated of it as a faculty, as a natural function, and have even classified it into the different types of sensations (forms), and have attempted to reduce the phenomena of the mind are pure products of “experience.” Experience is supposed to be of something simply given. Attention, implying a degree of reactive spontaneity, would seem to break through the circle of pure receptivity which constitutes “experience,” and hence must not be spoken of under penalty of interfering with the smoothness of the whole’ (James, Principles of Psychology, 1, 493).

This is the opening paragraph of James’s chapter on Attention, which introduced into English-speaking countries a magnificent and better way of treating the subject. Other writers on Psychology have written luminously on the subject, and readers of the works of Ward, Baldwin, Stout and others, may now have an adequate conception of the function of attention in the evolution of mental life, and of its significance in mental work.

While the empirists have, for the reason stated by Professor James, thrust attention into the background, and have neglected the whole function of mental activity in experience, other schools also have conspired towards the neglect of attention. Idealists in all its forms finds scarcely any place for it and its function. As the empirist, in the interest of a view which regarded experience as given and determined by the pressure of the external order on the mind, insisted that all experience is implicit in sense impressions, so the idealist regarded experience as determined by the evolution of the Idea. Will is, for some of them, especially for Mr. Bradley, the self-realization of the Idea. But in the evolution of the Idea there is no room for selective attention; there is scarcely room for any activity of the subject at all. It is curious that both idealists and empirists come to practically the same result. Empirists ignore selective attention, because they wish to account for all the products of experience by laws of association which cluster things together independently of the activity of the subject; and idealists, in the interests of the ideal order, regard experience as dictated by the objective selection of pure thought.

In truth, the question of attention and its significance involves the whole question of the possibility of spontaneity in life, and of whether the movement of life is wholly determined from without, or whether the organic being has the power of selecting, out of his power of life, what will be and do. Is there such a thing as subjective selection, as Dr. Ward calls it, or organic selec-
tion, as Professor Baldwin calls it? Or is the life of an organism determined for it by factors in which it has no function? Is there subjective selection, or is it determined by what is called Natural Selection? The question is too large to be argued here, but it is named because the same fundamental issue is raised by writers on attention. It may be well, then, simply to state the issue and to present from this view of biology before we discuss it from the narrower view of Psychology and Ethics.

The question may be broadly stated thus: Is there an autonomy of life? Is the proper activity of the organism a real factor in biology? And are there the conditions of life, in addition to those which are required for an adequate account of the phenomena of the inorganic world? A quarter of a century ago, it was strongly affirmed that a true and adequate scientific account of vital behaviour could be reached only when the behaviour of life could be expressed in terms of physics and chemistry. Vital phenomena were only transformed physical and chemical processes. They were altogether determined by the pressure of physical and chemical agencies, and the work of our senses is a chemical one, and the art. 'Zoology' in Ehr., and it will be seen that the physical and chemical explanation held the field. It held the field no longer. There are now many who do not fear to speak of the autonomy of life. Why do we not hesitate to affirm that the chief factor in biological life, as the proper activity of the organism. It is questioned now whether any organic feature can be explained, even in the most general way, by the action of physical forces.

What at first seems to be the result of mechanical pressure may afterwards be found to be an active process of growth, and what at first seems to be a full effect of capillarity among the leafless stems of the ferns, afterwards may depend on the specialized metabolic conditions of the surfaces as its principal cause (Driesch, The Science and Philosophy of the Organism, 1, p. 93).

As Driesch further shows, these processes do not constitute life, 'they are used by life.' In this sentence the issue is stated with clearness and precision. Life uses for its own purpose the physical and chemical processes, and account must be taken of the activity of life, if we are to understand the problem of vital behaviour.

Life, then, uses the physical and chemical processes, and by its own activity disposes of them for its own purpose, and puts them to uses not further capable of mechanical explanation. The processes are taken up, transformed, raised to a higher level, and used for the well of the organism. Life selects out of the environment what is needed for itself. There is selective activity on the part of life; it takes what it needs and neglects what it does not need.

'Turn a miscellaneous lot of birds into a garden: a flycatcher will at once be intent on the gnats, a bullfinch on the peas, a thrush on worms and snails. Scatter a mixture of seeds, evenly over a diversified piece of country: heath and cistus will spring up in the dry, flags and rushes in the marshy ground; violets and ferns in the shady hollows, gorse and broom on the hilltops... by the principle of subjective selection special equations is brought about by different individuals from the general environment.' To this, it is replied, there is no necessary competition. Two artists or two anglers may be in each other's way, but an artist and an angler will hardly inconspicuously each other. A garden would still interest a flycatcher if there were neither pease nor cherries in it, provided there were gnats. The same with bullfinch would at once forsake it. Natural selection, as distinct from subjective selection, comes into play only when two contending for the same food, two contending for the same place, where one early bird gets the worm that the later one must go without.' (Driesch, The Science and Philosophy of the Organism, 1, p. 93.)

For a complete explanation of biological phenomena, account must be taken, no doubt, of the two comprehensive factors summed up under the names of 'natural selection' and 'subjective selection.' This is not the place to deal with them in any comprehensive manner (see art. Activity and other related articles). Here it is sufficient to say that both natural selection and the subjective selection working under the influence of all external conditions, and all that Darwin sets forth under the comprehensive title of Natural Selection) is not sufficient to describe the behaviour of life, or to account for its manifold activities. In the conduct of life itself, for example, assimilation, growth, assimilation, and reproduction attest the activity of life. These show that life so far selects its environment, and that, if there are a thousand species in a square mile of ground, each selects its own environment, and each uses it in its own way, and for its own ends, the further the phenomena of life.

The wider problem set to biology by the activity of the organism, and by subjective selection in relation to natural selection, is parallel to the problem set to the psychologist and the moralist by the relation of attention to the general conditions imposed on conscious individual life by the fact that there are legal laws, laws of association, psychological conditions of thought, action, and feeling, and other conditions which seem to determine the limits within which attention is to be directed. Does natural selection account for vital experience without the postulate of the activity of the organism? so here we ask the question, Do the logical, psychological, and other laws and conditions of mental life account for mental behaviour without the postulate of the conscious activity of the individual subject?

As regards life in general, it is to be observed that its first work is concerned with those movements which are indispensable to vital functions and to its existence as a living body. As a primary condition of existence an organism must adapt itself to its surroundings, and a series of actions must proceed in order that such an end may be accomplished. These activities relate themselves to the general ends of self-preservation and the preservation of the species. A full account of the phenomena connected with this problem would lead us into the region of the relation of organ and function, the relation of appetite and desire to their objects, and also the relation of feeling generally towards physical, chemical processes on the one hand, and mental processes on the other. Without entering into these, we shall merely notice here that life can be described only as a series of actions having reference to an end. That end is the preservation of the individual or the preservation of the species. In the species, there is a question of instinctive activities which are said to be instinctive in the individual are really so; that is, whether they are the outcome of activities which at the outset were acts of choice, these being by repetition consolidated into habit; or whether they were automatic from the beginning. Some contend that actions at present instinctive were originally the outcome of choice, and that these actions, stimulated by a feeling of pleasure, which usually accompanies the exercise of vital functions, have been translated into habit, and have passed into the region of reflex action. Habit is 'lapsed intelligence,' I.e. voluntary action may become instinctive, or impulsive, and in the evolution of life may become habitual or reflex action.

But, if we take any organism as it stands, leaving undecided the question as to the forces which have operated to make it what it is, there is no doubt that every organism has to adjust itself to its environment. Whether it has been made by natural selection, or whether it has had something to do with the making of itself, yet, as it is there in its circumstances and conditions, it has to strive,
to work, to adapt itself to varying conditions; and if it is to survive, it must select the most advantageous course of action. In the case of life generally this is comparatively simple. The individual organism adapts itself to its environment through a series of actions directed to the main ends of self-preservation or the preservation of the species.

All acts of willing, whether external or internal, are divided into two groups: the first group comprising single actives; the second, complex acts, which imply freedom of choice. Simple or impulsive acts are determined by a single motive, whereas complex acts, though they may be determined by a single motive, imply a choice between several. An impulsive act, whether internal or external, is therefore quite as much an act of choice, which is preceded by a feeling of doubt and hesitation. The latter is also termed a free act, or an act of "will" (subjective consciousness), which expresses more clearly the freedom, spontaneity, and independence of the individual, with regard to external stimuli. Impulsive acts are also acts of volition through a lesser degree than acts of free-will. We possess the character of spontaneous consciousness, which distinguishes all manifestations of the will (Villa, Contemporary Psychology, p. 219).

In an ordinary organism, up to the appearance of reflective consciousness, action is directed to its ends mainly by what Villa calls a single motive. Dr. McDougall, speaking of the impulse of hunger or love, the action of the organism may go straight to the object. Whether this is the outcome of natural selection, or whether it is acquired by the organism itself as the result of a process of education, it is not necessary here to decide. For in either case the action as a whole in accepting the name is the result of subjective need finding its satisfaction in an appropriate object. In any event, the action and its motive are simple, direct, and imperative.

In a life which is merely organic, the need of the organism may be regarded as in direct and simple relation to its external objects, and proceeds straight to the appropriation of them; in conscious life, or in the life which is on the way towards self-consciousness, other factors enter in, and the situation becomes more complex. Yet the more complex situation rises naturally out of the simpler. There is no abrupt break in the evolution of mental life, and we can scarcely say when we call attention begins to be properly exercised. In every organism there is a centre, to which all movements are referred. The organism is aware of its own needs, and of the objects which are to satisfy those needs. With the growth of consciousness, the awareness becomes intensified, until, in the fully-developed self-conscious life, consciousness is aware of itself and of the actions which it has performed in general is just this awareness, and this awareness involves that mental activity which we call attention. More fully described in the words of Dr. Ladd, attention is "a purposeful volition, suffused with peculiar feelings of effort or strain, and accompanied by a changed condition of the field of discriminative consciousness, as respects intensity, content, and clearness" (Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory, p. 61). While the description just given, shows how to apply its fullness only to a mental life complete in itself, it is applicable to all conscious life. It will be observed that in the definition given above there is no attempt to limit attention to the exclusive operation of any particular activity of the mind. It is, on the contrary, the synthesis of all the activities of the mind, whether of feeling, of action, or of thinking. Attention is thus elementary and universal; it belongs to every state of consciousness, and is present in every field of consciousness, or, Dr. Ladd says: "As to the subjective relation of objects, the relation of presentation itself, we have merely to note that on the side of the subjective consciousness of a word, may be called attention, extending the denotation of this term to all cases, even what we ordinarily call inattention. Attention so used will be dependent by consciousness of much of it, that is, as answers to being mentally active, active enough at least to "receive impressions." Attention on the side of the subject implies intensity on the side of the object: we might indeed almost call it an objectification of the attention, without which it is a nonentity" (Villa, art. 'Psychology,' p. 419).

Awareness of the stream of consciousness, as it passes on, becomes attention in the stricter sense as elements in experience become more or less intense. It is impossible to describe all the elements which enter into consciousness, nor is it necessary. For the reaction of the mind against its presentations, whatever these may be, gives us at once the elementary condition of attention. At the outset, before the elementary consciousness itself, it is possible that attention is without purpose, that it is aroused by change in mental experience—by pleasure or pain, or by the over-stimulation of sense or faculty—and that it is exercised in an unthinking, involuntary way. But such rudimentary forms of conscious activity are the foundations on which voluntary, deliberate, and sustained attention are built up. Some, indeed, limit the term 'attention' to its more developed form, and refuse to recognize the more rudimentary forms as worthy of the name. But without the rudimentary forms there can be no possibility of the development of mental life, and no possibility of the deliberate sustained attention which fashions for itself a scheme of living, and shapes means for realizing it. Mental activity in this book is the result of the fundamental finding that it can enhance the intensity of some elements, may hasten or retard the flow of the stream of consciousness, may also discriminate between desirable and undesirable elements, and thus the value of attention is recognized. For mental life cannot grow without proper mental activity, and the proper name of such activity is simply attention. Usually the conditions of attention are just the conditions of consciousness in general. We have seen from Dr. Ward that a large part of the stream of consciousness is properly included under the phenomena of attention. It so happens that many writers on this topic so describe the conditions of attention as to leave out of sight any proper activity on the part of the subject. It is possible so to describe the effects of attention as to leave out all reference to the selective activity of the individual. One may say, with Professor Pillsbury, that 'the essence of attention as a conscious process is an increase in the clearness of the one idea or group of ideas that are in the field of attention' (Attention, p. 11). This is quite true, only it leaves out the essential element of how attention was directed so as to produce that result. In fact, in the able work cited so much stress is laid on processes and conditions of attention that attention itself scarcely ever appears. Thus there are many valuable descriptions of the mot concomitants of attention, of its conditions, of the effects of attention on consciousness, and so on, and yet the proper character of mental activity receives scarcely any recognition. The following summaries, usefully appended to each chapter. The summaries of the chapter on 'The Conditions of Attention' are these: 'The conditions of any act of attention are to be found in the present environment (objective conditions) and in the past experience of the individual (subjective conditions). The main objective conditions are the intensity, extent, and duration of the stimulus. The stimulus which is validly perceived must be in the mind at the time, in the mood of the moment, the education, previous social environment, and heredity of the individual.' (p. 22).

Professor James has said: "My experience is what I agree to attend to. Only those items which I notice shape my mind; without selectivity interest is no more than the mere fact of perception. The emphasis, light and shade, background and foreground—intellective perspective, in a word. It varies in every creature, but without it the consciousness of every creature would be a grey,
chotic indiscriminativeness, impossible for us even to con-ceive" (Psychology, 1, 602.)

But Professor Pillsbury in his summary of the chapter on 'Interest and Feeling of Activity as Conditions of Attention' speaks:

'Neither interest nor "mental activity" can be regarded as a condition of attention. Interest is either a general name for the tendency of attention which is directed to the object, or it is used to designate a mood which accompanies all attending. Mental activity is truly bodily activity—a mass of sensations originating from the contraction of muscles in different parts of the body. The contractions result from motor innervations which accompany attention (p. 66).

Professor Judd in his write "we attend to things because they are interesting. Professor Pillsbury is of opinion that 'things are interesting because we attend to them, or because we are likely to attend to them: we do not attend to them because they are interesting. Frohlich, the cart and the horse are somehow united, but we are left in doubt as to which comes first. To us it appears that in the solution of Professor Pillsbury the cart is before the horse. His book is the largest and most elaborate of any work we know on 'Attention,' and contains many things which are of the highest value. But it does not seem to cast much light on its main theme.

Attention in its proper meaning seems to be conspicuous by its absence. We quote from the chapter called 'General Conclusions':

"An act of attention, as a type, is possible to bring many of the other mental processes under that head and to make it seem the classification of minds. We have, for example, that attention influences recalled im-pressions in practically the same way that it influences their original impressions. With a minimum of consciousness it once given, it will be retained very much as a perception received immediately from the external world. Furthermore, attention can be determined whilst of the many possible associates of any impression shall become actual. In this sense it selects the memory offered by association just as it selects the objects of sense that shall be permitted to enter. By attention in this sense we mean again from the side of the conscious, the sum of the sum-total of previous conscious states, as united in the purpose of the moment, the general trend of the preceding thought, the character of the man, his knowledge and experience. We lock the complete series of earlier experiences and inherited tendencies which make him what he is. His thought about any subject, no matter what the starting-point, is an expression of himself in the fullest mean-ing of the term" (p. 312.).

When Pillsbury in the passage quoted describes attention as 'the most essential of all the attendant states,' etc., has he not left out the most essential element in attention? When he speaks of the complete series of earlier experiences and inherited tendencies which have made 'him what he is,' has he not neglected the most potent factor, namely, 'me,' which he has in making of himself? Take members of the same family, descended from the same parents, subject to the same kind of earlier experiences, the same inherited tendencies, responsive to the same environment in family, school, and neighborhood, and how on his principles does he account for the manifold differences between them? It seems to the present writer that Professor Pillsbury, in his earnest desire to lay stress on the general conditions, has forgotten the personal equation of each individual. He has justified the procedure of the biologist, who lays the whole stress on natural selection, and neglects the part played by the subjective in the evolution of life. General laws can never account for particular effects. It is a useful study to seek to find out the general conditions which have helped to make a man what he is; but that has to be supplemented by a par-ticular study of the man in his habit as he lives. It does not help us much to say that Shakespeare was an Englishman, and that Burns was a Scotsman. We are still to learn what were the topics which interested these great men, and what was the interest which directed their attention to this or to that line of thought and action.

It is possible that we may never be able to give a scientific explanation of the individual in this relation or in any other; for the individual, as such, is outside of general rules, and must be accepted in all his concreteness as a subject of study by himself.

It is pointed out by Hulding (Outline of Psychology, 1, 214) that, in immediate sensations and in the flow of them, interest and the attention determined by the interest play an essential part. He points out (p. 120) that we are not given over in a purely passive way to the impressions of the external world. Excitations from without call forth movements which serve them. An involuntary search and accommodation help to determine the character of the sensation.

'If a sensation takes complete possession and almost succeeds in driving all else out of consciousness, it then arrests our activity also. An exclusive sensation therefore presupposes attention, but is not one with it. Besides, how does a sensation become exclusive? Excitations can flow in upon us simultaneously from several sides. The eye, e.g., receives simultaneous excitations from several points of light. Several senses, moreover, may be in operation together. If purely passive, sensorium perception would afford at every instant a clash of diverse sensations. But from the multitude of these diverse sensations, in every instant, one is selected which becomes the centre. Reflexly and instinctively the attention moves from one excitation to another . . . . The motive which decides the attention to leave one excitation and turn to another is to be looked for in a sense of fatigue or in a feeling of dulness' (p. 118-119).

Furthermore, attention can be determined whilst of the many possible associates of any impression shall become actual. In this sense it selects the memory offered by association just as it selects the objects of sense that shall be permitted to enter. By attention in this sense we mean again from the side of the conscious, the sum of the sum-total of previous conscious states, as united in the purpose of the moment, the general trend of the preceding thought, the character of the man, his knowledge and experience. We lock the complete series of earlier experiences and inherited tendencies which make him what he is. His thought about any subject, no matter what the starting-point, is an expression of himself in the fullest meaning of the term" (p. 312.).

Referring to the whole discussion for further elucidation, we may now say that even in sensations and in the flow of them choice has a part, and attention may determine what sensations may occupy the centre of consciousness, what may be thrust into the background, and what may be thrust altogether outside the threshold of con-sciousness.

But such attention may be involuntary, or may have the character of reflex movement. His elementary choice is the necessary condition of such new arrangement of sensations as will be transformed into those results of human effort which we recognize in the contents of science, art, philosophy, and in all other results of human effort. But, it may be said, that the almost unconscious attention come the magnificent results which we have already named. We may attend to things because we cannot do other-wise. But when we have an express volition to attend to something, or to that, that is the attention. All other attention is called non-voluntary or spontaneous. The relations between spontaneous and voluntary attention are manifold. They may be antagonistic to one another, or they may act in such a way that the one passes over to the other, or that voluntary attention to an uninteresting object may invest it with such interest as to make attention to it a spontaneous matter. For example, when we are occupied with any matter, as when a great misfortune has be-fallen us, or when we pass in review a certain course of events, in order to find the cause of failure, it may take possession of our minds to such a degree that no effort of will can make us cease from brooding over it. An article has to be written, or a book is in process of preparation; the work is in such a condition that the writer are unable to tear ourselves away from it; the attention which began voluntarily has become an obsession.

On the other hand, experience shows that, by the constant exercise of voluntary attention, a subject which at the outset was dry and uninteresting may become full of interest as we master it, and learn its meaning and its issues. The power of concentrating our attention on the subject may become stronger, the intervals of con-
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centration may become more prolonged, until no effort is needed to attend to the subject. Volun-
tary attention has become spontaneous (see Stout, Analytic Psychology, vol. i. p. 241 f.).

At the individual level, the unique experience is profitable to enumerate the various kinds of involuntary attention. Reference may be made generally to systematic treatises on Psychology, in which the various kinds are described. Vital needs, the calls of love or hunger, pleasure and pain, every relation between the organism and its en-
environment, may give rise to that exaltation of consciousness which calls forth the reactive energy which we name 'attention.' It is possible, however, to classify all of these under two general divisions, and to speak of them under the general heads of 'external' and 'internal.' The external are the presentations with the accompanying emotions which precede action. These are usually simple and single in their procedure. The internal are those which, as already indicated, consist in a variation of the current of presenta-
tions and feelings. In these we have emphatically the presence of choice, of the selection of one motive out of many, with the increase of intensity and urgency resulting from the concentration of the mind.

In the description of these external and internal movements an attempt has been made to intro-
duce greater precision into psychological phrase-
ology. Instead of the phrases 'involuntary' and 'voluntary,' which many still use as adequate, some psychologists have introduced the terms 'perception' and 'appereception' (q.v.). By 'perception' they mean a content of which we are conscious. When we concentrate ourselves on a content of consciousness so that it stands out distinctly or as distinctly as possible, we say that it is perceived. This content may be found in the history and meaning of this term; it is sufficient to say here that those psychologists who use attention in this sense define it as that peculiar state, characterized by certain special feelings, which accompanies appereception. Spatial illustrations are used to describe the state of appereception. Consciousness is figured as a circle, the centre of which represents the focus or point of appereception. The circumference of the circle represents the threshold of consciousness; and of all the movements of the mind out of the circle, while others pass along a diameter, and so through the centre. Or it might be represen-
ted by a reference to the great circles of navi-
gation. These pass through the centre of the earth. Appereceived mental contents correspond to great circles, which pass through the centre of conscious-
ess. These spatial illustrations do not add much to our knowledge, yet the distinction between perception and appereception might be very helpful, it writers on Psychology were to use the term in this manner.

With regard both to our perceptions and to our appereceptions we are never wholly passive. We have seen that even in the immediate sensations, as well as in the flow of them, the attention is determined by interest, and the interest has a determining influence on sensations selected for closer examination. So it is in the flow of ideas. Here, too, interest has a determining influence. We can never account for the association of ideas, or the movement and interaction of the ideas, and the many highly-evolved forms of life, which come together in the mind, by a mere regard to the laws of association, or to any other laws of a general kind. There are laws of association, as there are laws of science, of logic, of psychology, but these do not act as if they aggregated them-
selves into an organic whole. There are other general laws, by which parts, as well as the whole, are guided.

regards mental laws they are used by the mind. The determining influence is in the conscious mind itself, which guides its action by its own law of action, so that each experience is essentially a determining factor. Fortunately, accurately the practical problem of attention for any individual would be to determine the real character of per-
sonality. But that is beyond the scope of science, which deals with the general, and with the super-

One will find that the characteristic difference between perception and appereception, or between involuntary and voluntary attention, is that in the one case the strain follows directly on the presentation of the stimulus, and in the other case the strain, or the turning of the mind, in a certain direction towards a certain object, is present before the stimulus.

The fusion of the sensation with the corresponding idea, whence perception arises, takes place in inverse order in voluntary and involuntary attention. We see in great measure what we wish to see, and as a general rule are able to see only what we wish. Hence the possibility of strokes of genius and prophecies, as also of literary interpretations of facts. The originally sublime tendency of human nature anticipates ex-
p erience, and only gradually accepts correction from it. Fortunately experience per se has the power to force us to see. But the activity of the will is always an essential condition (Holden, Outlines of Psychology, p. 310).

The relation of the mind to the life which the system in which we live is too large a subject to be discussed here. Generally it is analogous to the relation of life to the system of which life forms a part. The conscious subject lives in rela-
tion to an environment. In interaction with it, it realizes itself. But the process of self-realization is an active process. It reacts against the en-
environment, it selects out of it what it can use, and what it needs and wants, and it makes out of it something new. Merely organic life modifies itself in order to adapt itself to its surroundings.

Conscious Life modifies the environment, and does so to make it in a measure accomplish its ends. It im-
presses itself on the environment, and modifies the earth so as to command its resources in the shape of food, clothing, and houses. Homes are built, cities are founded, facilities of travel are made to abound. We need not enumerate the resources of civilization. The forces of nature are at the service of man, just because man has modified nature to accomplish his ends. But these are the out-
comes of active purpose, and the great importance of the mind lies in the way attention is directed to the laws of the system. Attention of the intellectual kind may be set forth as the activity arising out of the desire to know what are really the laws of the system in which we live. No doubt this is the characteristic of the highest form of intellectual life. But it exists, and ought to be recognized. Into this also choice enters, for it is allowable for a man to think twice, or more than twice, in order that his thoughts in their flow may correspond with reality. Thus into the most abstract and intellectual of our pursuits voluntary activity may enter.

Truth has thus a value of its own, and the greatest determinant of attention is just the scale of values which human judgment has set up for itself. It is the value of values that determines our interest, and our interest dominates our attention. Referring to the art, VALUE for the full account of the doctrine of values, we state briefly here that it is the characteristic quality of art and of workmanship, which in the exchange and commerce of the world, will correspond with its highest ideal, and be the image of its deepest thought. What forms these may take, and what strivings may issue from the attempt to make a world in which our values may be realized, has been already described here. But whatever value may be striven
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after by this people or by that, or by this man or by that, it can be realized only by thinking about it, attending to it, working at it, till airy nothing obtains a local habituation and a name. Thus, for the man of science, truth may have the highest value, and he may concentrate his attention on the highest of the laws of thought, and it is, for philosophy, everything else may be neglected in the desire to know reality, and to see it in its wholeness; while for the artist a thing of beauty is a joy for ever, and the beautiful is the value that is highest. On the other hand, for some the highest of the laws of thought, and so do around the whole circle of human activity. In whatever direction we look, we find that it is the scale of values that determines the interest of men, and sets him to work for its realization.

What constitutes, perhaps, the ethical, the spiritual—Are the dominating interests of conscious life, and these are the ends which all men seek to realize.

For the conscious spirit, then, the given world is plastic, something to be formed into a world of specific value in which it may find its appropriate home. In Plato's world, its laws, whether mental or material, may submit to new directions, take on new meanings, and issue in results not to be accounted for apart from the activity of the conscious spirit. Material laws may enter a new expression in the Principles of Newton, or, after all, in the poetry of science. It is nature as transformed in the mind of Newton. The philosophy of Hegel, e.g., or of other great masters in philosophy, is a revelation of personality, as much as, or even more than, it is a transcript of the meaning of reality. For each mind in the world has to make a world for itself, and it will be the centre of its own world. How each world so made corresponds to the world which is common to all, how the general is related to the individual world, is another question. Well interpreted, some religious, some moral—Are which we call voluntary attention is the chief means by which the world of values is made; and without its working no world is possible for man.


JAMES IVERACH

ATTIS.—Attis was a male Asiatic deity whose relation to Cybele, the Great Mother, was analogous to that borne by Adonis to Aphrodite, Besal to Ashtaroth, Osiris to Isis, etc. Of Semitic origin, or at least greatly influenced by Semitic religion, his worship, always in dual connexion with that of the Great Mother, and never independent of it, became strongly centralized in Phrygia and Asia Minor, spread to adjacent countries, was introduced into Greece, and later became known throughout the Roman Empire. According to the legend given by Pausanias (vii. 17) as current among the Phrygians, the seed of Zeus, discharged in sleep upon the earth, begot the hermaphroditic monster Agdistis, who was afterwards deprived of male organs by the gods. An almond tree having sprung from these, the daughter of the river Sangarius ate of its fruit and bore Attis, who, after having been exposed, was reared by a hermaphroditic mother, beautiful, and inspired passion in Agdistis. Being about to displace the king and his daughter, Attis was struck with madness by Agdistis (who suddenly appeared during the nuptial hymn), and emasculated himself. Agdistis in repentance prevailed upon Zeus to preserve the body of Attis from wasting away or decaying. In Arnowilis (ude. Nations, v. 5-8) the fruit is the pomegranate, the daughter of the river-god is named Naia, and the king and his daughter are Medas and Ia. The Great Mother, created by Deucalion and Pyrrha on Mount Aegus, also loves Attis, and by his interpolated marriage in order to rescue him from the shameless love of Agdistis, who strikes the entire company with madness. Agdistis mutilates herself under a pine tree, and Ia, after wrapping Attis in wool and mourning over him, kills herself. The fatal pine is borne by the Great Mother into her own city, where she and Agdistis are yearly feasted. Zeus allows the body of the youth to remain undecayed, his hair to grow, and his little finger to move. Agdistis has the body of the youth consecrated at Pessinus, a city in Galatia to whose capital Attis' spirit—itself—was installed, and the Great Mother institutes annual ceremonies in his honour. The little finger (digitus, δάκρυς) is interpreted as the phallos by Georg Kaibel (GGN, 1901, p. 519). In Diodorus Siculus (iii. 38, 59), Attis is a stripping whom Melo, the king of Phrygia and Lydia, slays because of an intrigue between him and the king's daughter Cybele. As a consequence of plague and famine, worship of both is instituted by the Phrygians. In Ovid's version of the legend (Fast. iv. 232 ff.), Attis breaks his pledge of chastity to Cybele; Saguntus, the nymph who has sinned with him, is destroyed by the Great Mother, and Attis, dying from his own in a frenzy on Mount Dindymon. In the version of Arnowilis the blending of two forms of the Attis legend is apparent—one accounting for the birth of Attis, the other for his relations to Cybele—and the latter and Agdistis are really identical. A Lydian form of the legend, in which the youth is killed by a bear, is found (Paus. vii. 17).

There is no evidence of an Attis cult in Asia Minor until the 4th cent. B.C., though it must have existed long before that time. It never attained to great prosperity in Greece, because of the strange and un-Hellenic nature of its rites. The same is true of it in Italy up to the Empire. There is no direct evidence of the existence of the worship of Attis at Rome under the Republic, and the general probability of its existence is rendered very slight by the lack of monumental and literary evidence where such evidence might be expected (Showerman, 'Was Attis at Rome under the Republic? in TAPA xxii. 1909, pp. 46-59). Under the Empire, however, from the time of Caligula onward, it becomes of great importance, Attis being worshipped side by side with the Great Mother, and frequently appearing in literature and on the monuments with her. His prominence in the cult is indicated by his part in the annual season of festivals in honour of the Great Mother which covered the period March 15-27 (Hepdng. Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult. Giessen, 1903, pp. 123-176). On March 15 the college of Cannophori, or reed-bearers, took part in the ceremonies of the day by carrying reeds in procession—a custom explained as a commemoration of the finding of Attis by the Great Mother on the reedy banks of the river Gallus, but more likely a reminiscence of a primitive phallic procession (see Showerman, 'Canna intrat und der Cannophori' in the Classical Journal, ii. 28-31). Sexual abstinence and fasting were prescribed for the day. On March 22 the sacred pine, the emblem of the self-mutilation of Attis, was borne in procession by the Den- drophori to the temple of the Mother on the Palatine, covered with flowers which covered its branches and its branches hung with garlands of violets, the whole being regarded as a commemoration of the wrapping of Attis' body in wool by Ia and the deckiing of the original tree by the
If we adopt the analysis given by Kant ("Monedologia physica, 1756, and Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft, 1786), we may even add: the very existence of a space-filling body presupposes that the body must resist compression (repulsion), or it would become a mere mathematical point; and, again, it must resist expansion, or it would be scattered indefinitely through space.

Attraction and repulsion are to be differentiated from two other similar forces, tension and pressure, in that they act from a distance; and this characteristic has made them especially the subject of philosophical discussion. Can a body exert a force where it is not? The day has gone by when the metaphysicist had to demand, involving a priori answer to the question thus simply put; but in the 17th and 18th cent. the correct answer was a frequent matter of debate. The followers of Descartes, including Leibniz, were strongly opposed to the affirmative answer; for it seemed contrary to 'natural light' that a body can act where it is not (cf. Leibniz, Erdmann's ed. p. 707).

For us of to-day the question is more complicated; but it still involves a truly metaphysical or a priori problem. On the one hand, empirical evidence seems to lead us to believe that we do not exert any force upon the distant instance in nature of absolute contiguity between bodies. Moreover, mathematical intuition would add that the only true contiguity is where bodies have one point in common, and this, in turn, would involve complete coincidence of the two bodies; for the same problem of contiguity must be raised regarding all the points in each body. On the other hand, there is much prejudice, well or ill grounded, against the doctrine that a body acts at a distance. Faraday, it seems, had this prejudice; and it discovered that the force was acted upon by magnetic forces, along with evidence of tension and pressure within this medium, justified his point of view. Again, there have been repeated attempts to reduce the forces operating in the phenomena of gravitation to pressure (cf. the theory of Le Sage, and Clark Maxwell's article 'Attraction' in Ebr.3). Possibly this prejudice has its origin in the fact that our bodies must come in contact with objects to move them or to exert a force upon them, and, in turn, that when this happens we often have the sensation that we have bodily contact with a body, or medium, upon the surface of our body. Such an explanation of this prejudice does not, however, do it full justice.

Here, then, the metaphysical problem arises: Is there an ultimate presupposition actually present in man's attempt to explain nature, forbidding him to rest satisfied with an explanation that involves the action of one body upon another from a distance? Whenever we are forced to adopt as an explanation such a force as gravity, ought we not simply to regard it, not as a final solution, but as a confession and an assumption? Does there not remain in all such cases an unsolved problem bidding us seek for a medium between the two bodies? Faraday sought a medium in one set of cases, and found it. Ought not science to seek it in all cases? Hence, is not this prejudice a fundamental methodological attitude? If so, we can call it an axiom, meaning by an axiom an assumption that seemingly we have to make, but have no hope of either proving or disproving. We cannot prove that bodies do not act upon one another from a distance, nor can we prove that they do; for these latter cases mean, at the most, that we have not as yet been able to find any known medium.

Moreover, the mathematical statement that in a continuous space all particles of matter must be separated, and therefore cannot be in absolute
contiguity, does not contradict this axiom. It simply introduces the larger metaphysical question: Is not nature a continuum, and therefore an inexhaustible source of problems; that is, does not all scientific explanation leave residual problems which arise the moment we think of any given system isolated into yet another entities then the which remain considering, and so on to infinity? In short, our axiom means contiguity relative to the type of spatial objects involved in the problem at hand, not absolute or mathematical contiguity. Cf. art. ATOMIC THEORY.


W. T. Marix.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION.—See Confessions.

AUGURY.—See Divination.

AUGUSTINE.—See Divination.

AUGUSTINE.—1. Life. Aurelius Augustine (the prævarum "Aurelius" is attested by contemporaries but does not occur in his own works or in his correspondence) was born of mixed heathen and Christian parentage, 13 Nov., A.D. 354, at Tagaste, a small municipality in proconsular Numidia. He was taught in his childhood the principles of Christianity, and great sacrifices were made to give him a liberal education. From his youth he was consumed by an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and was so inflamed by the reading of Cicero's Hortensius in his nineteenth year that he thenceforth devoted his life to the pursuit of truth. The profession to which he was bred was that of rhetorician, and this profession he practised first at Tagaste, and then successively at Carthage, Rome, and Milan up to the great crisis of his life (386). In his early manhood he had fallen away from his Christian training to the Manicheans, who were the rationalists of the age (373); and subsequently (383) had lapsed into a general scepticism; but he had already fought his way out of this, under the influence of the Neo-Platonists, before his conversion. Towards the end of his life Christianity took place at Milan in the late summer of 386. He spent the interval between this crisis and his baptism (Easter, 387) in philosophical retirement at Cassiciacum, and then, after a short sojourn at Rome, returned to Africa (autumn, 388) and established at his native town a sort of religio-philosophical retreat for himself and his friends. Early in 391 he was almost forcibly ordained presbyter at Hippo Regius, and nearly five years later (shortly before Christmas, 395) was raised to the rank of coadjutor-bishop. From the first he sustained practically the entire burden of the administration, and, soon succeeding to its sole responsibility, continued bishop of that second-rate diocese until his death, 28 August 430.

In this simple framework was lived out the life of one who has been strikingly called incomparably the greatest man whom, between Paul the Apostle and Luther the Reformer, the Christian Church has possessed.1 We cannot date from him, it is true, the external fortunes of the Church in the same sense that we may from say, Gregory the Great or Hildbrand. He was not, indeed, without ecclesiastico-political significance. He did much to bestow great eulogies upon the African Church. He regenerated the clergy of Africa by his monastic training school. And it must not be forgotten that the two great Glycyripi stood upon his shoulders. But his direct work as a reformer of Church life was done in a corner, and its results were swept away by the flood of the Vandal invasion.

2. Writings.—It was through his voluminous writings, by which his wider influence was exerted, that he entered both the Church and the world at large, and, as it were, made a new creation, a work which indeed created an epoch in the history of the Church but has determined the course of its history in the West up to the present day. He was already an author when he became a Christian, having published (about 380) an aesthetical study (now lost), On the Pulpit or Lyceum. But his astonishing career of productivity began with his conversion. His first Christian writings were a series of religio-philosophical treatises, in which he sought to lay the foundations of a specifically Christian philosophy. These were followed by a great number of controversial works against the Manicheans, Manichaean and Pelagian, interspersed with Biblical expositions and dogmatic and ethical studies. The whole was crowned by four or five great books in which his genius finds perhaps its fullest expression. These are his Confessions (397–403), his great and masterly analysis of his religious experience and creates a new genre in literary form; the De Doctrina Christiana (397–426), in which the principles of his Biblical exposition are expounded; the Enchiridion ad Laurentium on Faith, Hope, and Charity (421), which contains his most serious attempt to systematize his thought; the De Trinitate (385–420), in which its final formulation was given to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; and the De Civitate Dei (413–419), in which are laid the foundations of a rational philosophy of history. He seems to have been so swept up in the current of the influence of his written works as to extinguish its stream; but his writing continued for many years to influence the development of the Church in the West and to be read with profit by the clergy and laity of the Western Church.

3. Influence.—(a) Its extent.—The greatness of the influence exerted by Augustine is fairly intimated by the suggestion that the division between the Eastern and Western Churches may properly be represented as having been "prepared" by him.2 No doubt, according to Renan's saying, the building of Constantinople contained in it the principles of the division of the Empire, and the division of the Empire the prophecy of the division of the Church. But it was Augustine who imputed upon the Western section of the Church a character so specific as naturally to bring the separation of the Churches in its train. It must not be inferred, however, that his influence was felt only in the West. The prevailing impression to this effect implies some failure to appreciate not only the extent of the intercourse between the East and the West in Augustine's time but also the extension of the East to the West for its theological constructions. The interest of the Antiochenes in Western Christo-

1 Harbach, Monasticism and the Confessions of Augustine, p. 123.

2 Renaut, Augustinische Studien, vii. 499.
logical thought, as illustrated, for instance, in the *Erasmians* and the correspondence of Theodoret, is only one example of a much wider fact; and in any event, the great doctrines of the Trinity and the Virgin Birth from almost the very tweniety of 'dogma' in the East, so far from being a gift from the East to the West, as often represented, had their origin in the West, and were thence communicated to the East—the former through the intermediation of 'the great Hesiodus,' and the latter through that of Leo the Great. Augustine, through whom—working, no doubt, in full knowledge of what had been done by the Greeks, but in entire independence of them—the doctrine of the Trinity received its complete statement, cannot be late to affect the Greek construction of this doctrine and to give form on this great topic only to the thought of the West. But his Christological conceptions underlay the formulations of Leo, as those of Ambrose underlay his, and through Leo determined the Christological definitions of the East as well as of the West. Accordingly, while the doctrines of the East and the West on the Person of Christ have remained identical, in their doctrines of the Trinity the two sections draw somewhat apart, not only with respect to that perennial bone of contention, but also with respect to that matter of the procession of the Spirit, but in what underlies this difference—their general conception of the relations of the Trinitarian Persons. This in the East is ruled by subtle subordinational inheritances (embodied in the Nicene formulay in the phrase φανερωμένη και ιδιατικά and its equivalents), while in the West it is dominated by that principle of equalization which found its sharpest assertion in the ascription of *aoromorphi* to Christ by Calvin, whose construction marks the only new (subordinational) particularization of the dogma of the Trinity after Augustine. This complete determination of Western thought on the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Trinity fairly illustrates at once the place of Augustine in Western Christia thought, and the extent of his supreme influence there in creating a specifically Western type of Christianity.

It is worth while, no doubt, to distinguish between the actual influence exerted by Augustine in the West, and what may perhaps, in a more external sense, be ascribed to him through the name in the Latin Church. To no other doctor of the Church has anything like the same authority been accorded, and it seemed for long as if his doctrine of grace at least was to be treated as a definitely defined dogma, *de fide* in the Church. Already in 431 Celestine sharply reproved the bishops of Gaul for permitting Augustine's authority to be questioned in their dioceses; and soon afterwards, Gelasius (493) addressed to the bishop of Pescium a similar letter of rebuke for the like carelessness. Subsequently, in 529, Boniface II. (530-531), and John II. (534) confirmed the authority thus assigned him; and their encomiums were repeated by many later Roman bishops. It very naturally became, therefore, the custom of the 'Augustinians' in the Church of Rome—like Diego Alvarez, Jansenius, Noris—to ascribe 'irrefragable authority' to his teaching; and the question was gravely debated among the theologians whether a truly plenary authority were really to be attributed to him, or whether he were only a master of the first rank of the Church and of the teachers. The result was very naturally that every tendency of thought in the Church was eager to claim for itself the support of his name; and the extraordinary richness of his mind, and the remarkable versatility, of so to say, the extent of his teaching, lent him not only outwardly to the appeal of numerous and even divergent points of view. The possibility of this was increased by the long period of time covered by his literary activity, and the only gradual crystallization of his thought around his really formative ideas. The Augustinian of Cassianus or even of the presbyterate was a somewhat different Augustinian from the Augustinian of the episcopate; and not even at his death had perfect consistency been attained in his teaching. Accordingly the most fascinating variety of conceptions of the peculiarly receivable subject, throughout the Middle Ages, and later in the Church of Rome, has sought support for itself in some saying or other of his; and both sides of almost every controversy have appealed with confidence to his teaching. Schools of thought which had drifted entirely away from his most fundamental postulates still regarded and represented themselves as 'Augustinian'; and the Church of Rome itself, whose whole history since the second Council of Orange (529) has been marked by the progressive elimination of Augustinianism from its teaching, is still able to look upon him as the chief doctor of the Church, upon whom its fabric is especially built. Confusion became so confounded that the Confession of Faith which Pelagians presented to Innocent was inserted in the Nicene Creed, though it was not even produced by the Sorbonne in 1521 against Luther as Augustine's own.

Obviously this universal deference to the name of Augustine furnishes no accurate measure of his real influence upon supplies, how ever, a fair general refection of its extent. In point of fact the whole development of Western life, in all its phases, was powerfully affected by his teaching. This, his unique ascendency in the direction of the thought and life of the West, is due in part to the marked particular preoccupation of his books done, in part to the richness and depth of his mind and the force of his individuality, and in part to the special circumstances of his conversion to Christianity. He stood on the watershed of two worlds. The old world was passing away; a new world was arising in him. His heritage and it fell to him to mediate the transference of the culture of the one to the other. It has been strikingly remarked that the miserable existence of the Roman Empire in the West almost seems to have been preordained by the work of Augustine; affording an opportunity for the influence of Augustine to be exerted on universal history. He was fortunate even in the place of his birth and formative years; although on the very eve of its destruction, Africa was at this precise moment, in the midst of the universal decadence, the scene of intense intellectual activity—into which he entered with all the force of his ardent nature. He gathered up into himself all that the old world had to offer, and re-comining it sent it forth again bearing the light of a new day. What belonged to the East already to the peculiarities of his genius that he embraced all that he took up into himself with all the fibre of his soul: not, as has been said, 'with his heart alone, for the heart does not think, nor with the mind only, for he never grasped truth in the abstract, and as if it were dead, but with his whole being, giving himself to it and soul ing it forth from himself as living truth, driven on by all the force of his great and inspiring personality. Accordingly, when, having tested everything in his heart and found it wanting, he gave himself at last to Catholic Christianity, it was with no reserves. Catholicism, frankly accepted as such, became his...
passion, and into the enthusiastic maintenance of it he threw all his forces. It was primarily as a Catholic Christian, therefore, that he thought, and worked, and lived. But the man who threw himself with such faith into the bosom of Catholic Christianity was a man who had already lived through many experiences and had gathered much spoil in the process. He had sounded the depths of heresy in its most attractive form, and had drunk the waters of philosophy in its culminating development, and entered with the spirit of the speculative and in the circle of culturot heathenism was alike familiar to him. But, above all the spoil he brought from without, he brought with him himself. He was a man of the highest and most individual genius—intellectual, but far beyond that, religious genius, and his own personal contribution to make to thought and life. If we cannot quite allow that there were in very truth many Augustines, we must at least recognize that within the one Augustine there were very various and not always consistent currents flowed each of which had its part to play in the future. Within the Catholic Christian a philosopher of the first rank was restless activity; and within both a religious genius the highest order was working; while for the expression of the resulting complex of fears and hopes within the consciousness of the individual there is no salvation was fundamentally the hierarchal institution. It was Gregory the Great who first spoke of the organized Church as the Divine cives, To Augustine the Church was not the foundation of the congregatio sanctorum, the Body of Christ, and it is this Church which has in mind when he calls it the Civitas Dei, or the Kingdom of God on earth. He is, however, not carefully observant of the distinction between the empirical and the ideal Church, and repeatedly—often apparently quite inconsistently—carries over to the one the predications which, in his fundamental thought, belonged properly to the other. Thus the hierarchically organized Church tends ever with him to take the place of the congregatio sanctorum, even when he is speaking of it as the Kingdom of God or City of God in which the deepest communion with God is possible here, and through which alone eternal blessedness with God is attainable hereafter.

In the Donatist controversy, although the distinction between haeres and utiles of saltare habere is made to do yeoman service, the conception of the Church as the sole sphere of salvation, passing into the conception of the Church as the sole mediator of grace, and therefore the sole distributor of salvation, was necessarily thrown into high emphasis; and the logic of the situation too directly and too powerfully identified this Church with the empirical Church for the deeper-lying conception the congregatio sanctorum to remain in sight. Thus Augustine, almost against his will, became the stay of that doctrine of the Church as the sole instrument at once of true knowledge of the Divine revelation and of saving grace which provides the two fori about which the eclipse of Roman Catholic doctrine revolves. What before him was matter of assertion became in his hands a religion, and went forth to conquer the world. His profounder conception of the Church as the congregatio sanctorum, and the consequent distinction between the empirical and the ideal Church, with all its implications with respect to the action of the sacraments and the claims of ecclesiastical decrees, and even of excommunication, did not indeed remain unobserved or unutilized when occasion demanded. Thus, for example, they came forward in their completeness
in the arguments of the Imperialists in the great controversies of the later 11th century. These themes are the foundations of the Scholasticism that developed from that debate. They were 'Augustinianism.' But the main stream of Augustine's influence flowed meanwhile in the traditionalist channel, and gave the world the Church as the authoritative organ of Divine truth and the inerrant vehicle of saving grace, through which alone the assured knowledge of the revelation of God could be attained, or the effectual operations of His redeeming love experienced. Many of the subsidiary conceptions which fill out the system of Roman Catholic doctrine also find their direct prop in his teaching. — His doctrine of the distinctions between concepts and conunds, mortal and venial sins, and particularly the elaborate sacramental system, with its distinction between matter and form, its assertion of ex opere operato action, and of the indelible character of baptism and ordination, and even the doctrine of intention. On this side of his teaching the Roman Catholic Church may well be accounted Augustine's monument.

(c) As a thinker. — But beneath Augustine the traditionalist lay Augustine the thinker, of profound intuitive insight. He was not only to the world, but to his own times, so deeply sunk in doubt and darkness, a child of his age, and yet such a one as he never ceases to be. ¹ Yet this single great philosopher on the basis of Christianity proper the world has had — in the richness of his thought and poetry of his expression, not unworthy of comparison even with his great master Plato.² He brought with him into Catholic Christianity not only a sufficient equipment of philosophical knowledge, but a powerful and trained intelligence, and an intellectual instinct which had to find scope. It was in the role of Christian philosopher, seeking to give form and substance to fundamental verities from the Christian standpoint, that he first came forward in the service of faith; and though later the religious teacher and defender of the faith seemed likely to swallow up the philosophical inquiry, they never really did so, but his rich and active mind kept contact with the world, and the world not only was impelled to it all teaching an unwonted vitality, originality, and profundity, but the activities set in motion were not confined to the narrow circle of theological science, but extended widely into the whole fabric of human life.³ In every department of philosophical inquiry he became normative for the succeeding centuries; and until the rise of Aristotelianism in the 12th cent. and its establishment in influence by the advocacy of such teachers as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, Augustinianism reigned supreme. Throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages it contended masterfully with its great rival, forming many compromises with it, and tending to off-set the rationalism into which Aristotelianism was ever degenerating by itself falling into mysticism. It thus became the support of the tendency towards Mysticism which prevailed through the Middle Ages, or rather its protection from the pantheism into which, when drawing more directly from Neo-Platonic sources, it was ever liable to deteriorate. From it every Catholic Reformer drew his strength, and to it the whole body of Reformers before the Reformation made their appeal. From its partial obscuration it emerged at the Renaissance, and burst again into full view in the 17th cent. to lay the foundation of the rationalist philosophy that is ceaselessly exemplified in the work of the French philosophers. The shorter of these evidences is devoted to the question of the exactness of the designation, he is free to allow that the modern world finds in Augustine many points of contact, and, not only in questions of religious philosophy perhaps, may wisely take his start from him rather than from Luther or Thomas, Schleiermacher or Kant, but in purely philosophical matters will find him in many respects more modern than Hegel or Schleiermacher.⁵

It was in these spheres of psychology and metaphysics that the dominion of Augustine was most complete. He aspired to know nothing, he tells us, but God and the soul; but these he strove with all his might to know altogether. His characteristic mark as a thinker was the inward gaze; the realities of consciousness were the primary objects of his contemplation; and from them he took his starting-point for reflexion on the world. Antiquity supplies no second to him in the breadth and acuteness of his psychological observation. And in his attempt to establish a philosophy of 'formulas of life,' as Windelband calls it, in 'the controlling central position of philosophical thought' he transcended his times, and became 'one of the founders of modern thought.' If he may truly be said to have derived from Plato and Plotinus, in a far truer sense than his contemporaries Kant and Hegel, and of his lineage have come Descartes and Malebranche and all that has proceeded from the movements of thought inaugurated by them. Even the famous ontological argument for the being of God, and, indeed, the very very word of God, as it is, has been put into the mouth of the Son of God, and is made to bear the stamp of his own recognition. This is the only single fact in the history of the Church and dogma which lies in his giving to the West in the place of the Stoic-Christian popular morals, as that was recapitulated in Pelagianism, a religious, specifically Christian ethics, and in the philosophy of the Church that at least its formulas maintain up to-day their supremacy in the whole extent of Western Christianity. Indeed, we might do worse, in seeking an index of his influence as a thinker, than fix upon the place he has occupied in political theory and practice. The entire political development of the Middle Ages was dominated by him; and he was in a true sense the creator of the Holy Roman Empire. It was no accident that the de Cividate Dei was the favourite reading of Charlemagne; 'he delighted,' Einhard tells us (Vita Caroli, 24), 'in the books of St. Augustine, and especially in those that bear the title Of the City of God.' And in the great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy in the later 11th cent. it was expressly to him that the controversialists on both sides made their appeal. No Father is quoted by them as often as he, except, perhaps, Gregory the Great; and no series of documents is cited more frequently than his writings, except, perhaps, the pseudo-

¹ Mirbt, Die Stellung Augustins in der Publizistik, etc., p. 89.
² Eucken, Die Lebensanschauungen, etc., p. 216.
³ Nottebohm, Kirchenrecht, 1895, p. 234.
⁴ Augustine was the great poet of the ancient Church, though not so little as Plato did he write in verse. These two go together, as the greatest-literary-philosophers of all time.
⁵ Mirbt, op. cit. p. 1.
Isidorian decreals. Not only do writers like W alram of Naumburg and Wido of Ferrara reflect accurately his conception of the Church, with its exalted character and its position between the ideas of the congregatio sanctorum and a hierarchical organization—echoes of which still sound in William of Occam's Defensor Pacis and the discussions of the conciliatory party in the Roman Church whose ornament was Perso—but the other knowledge Augustine had, his acquaintance with the writings of the anti-Pelagian Augustine in their endeavours to give validity to their defence of the State as a Divine institution, of the moral significance and relative independence of the earthly sovereignty, of the necessary concordance of the moral and political order, and the like. On the theoretical side he must be accredited in this aspect of his thought, with the creation of the science of the Philosophy of History. For the primary significance of the City of God lies in the fact that 'in it for the first time an ideal consideration, a comprehensive survey of human history found its expression.' No doubt his external position at the division of the ages, when the old world was dying and the new world, under the dominion of Christianity, was struggling into its place, supplied a motive to the creation of this new science; and the demands which the times, in the crash of the secular order, made for an apology for Christianity, powerfully determined him to a general historical philosophy. But it was Christianity itself, as the entrance into the world of a renovating force, and his own particular conception of Christianity (leading him to conceive the history of human society no less than the course of the individual life, as the continuous evolution of the Divine purpose, and impelling him to interpret all the forces of time as working harmoniously onward towards that far-off Divine event to which all creation moves) that gave him not only the impulse to work out a philosophy of history, but the elements of the particular philosophy of history which he actually presents in his epoch-making treatise, which, incomplete and perhaps one-sided as it is, still retains full validity in its fundamental traits.

(d) As a religious genius.—Not even, however, in Augustine the philosopher do we find the Augustine whose influence has wrought most powerfully in the world. The crisis through which he passed at his conversion was a profound religious revolution; and if he gave himself at once to the task of constructing a philosophy, it was distinctively a Christian philosophy he sought to construct, built truly and solidly out of the material of the life of the Church. Augustine, in his earliest of the writings in which this task was prosecuted, ranked with him even above that of reason. And if he devoted all his powers to the exposition and defence of the Catholic faith, it was because he saw in the Catholic faith the pure expression of religion, and poured into the Catholic faith all the fullness of his religious emotion. It is not Augustine the traditionalist, or Augustine the thinker, but Augustine the religious genius, who has most profoundly influenced the world. The most significant fact about him is that, first among Church teachers, gave adequate expression to that type of religion which has since attached to itself the name of 'evangelical'; the religion, that is to say, of faith, as distinct from the religion of works; the religion of a man who throws all his hope on God, as opposed to the religion which, in a greater or less degree, trusts in itself; in a word—since religion in its very nature is dependence on God—religion in the purity of its conception, as opposed to a quasi-religious philosophy. What requires particularly to be noted is that he gave full expression to this type of religion both in its vital and in its ethical aspects—the former most profoundly in his treatment of the theme of grace, which reveals his soul, and admits us as spectators to the struggles of his great heart as it seeks to cleave itself of all trust in itself and to lay hold with the grasp, first, of despair, next of discerning trust, and then of grateful love, on the God who was its creator and its shared force. He is in these long series of writings in which he expounds, defends, and enforces with logical argument and moving exhortation the fundamental elements of the theology of grace, as against the most direct assault of his age and the like. It was not until he had long passed over the great Christian world, and come upon to meet in the whole history of Christian thought. The great contribution which Augustine has made to the world's life and thought is embodied in the theology of grace, which he has presented with remarkable clearness and force, vitally in his Confessions, and theologically in his anti-Pelagian treatises.

It would be altogether a mistake to suppose that Augustine consciously discriminated between the theology of grace which was his personal contribution to the doctrine of faith, and the traditional Catholicism which he gave to that doctrine and propagated. In his own consciousness, the two were one: in his theology of grace he was in his own apprehension only giving voice to the Catholic faith in its purity. Nevertheless, however unreservedly Augustine gave it to the Church teaching, it was only recovered for the Church by Augustine, though in that age, dominated in all its thinking by the dregs of Stoic rationalism, it came with all its weaknesses: it was the formative power of the Catholic Church's thought; and Augustine did not discover it all at once. Because his conversion was a vital religious experience, in which the religious relation was realized in thought and life in unawont purity and power, the fundamental elements of his religious revolution were from the first present in his mind and heart; in his earliest Christian writings he already gives expression to both the formal and the material principles, as we may term them, of the theology of grace. The authority of the Divine revelation in and through Christ, embodied in the Scriptures, and the utter dependence of man on God for all good (potestas nostra sse est, da fidem), are already the most intimate expression of his thought and life. But just because the religious system to which he gave himself on his conversion was taken over by him as a whole, time was requisite for the translation of the whole mass by the consistent explication, and conscious exposition of the 'Augustinianism' implicitly summed up in such maxims. The adjustment went on slowly, although it went on unbrokenly. Not only did Paulinism attain a fully consistent positive enunciation (first in the work, De diversis quesiti-
danger which threatened the Reformation. Where this tone of thought was dominant the Reformation failed, because religious depth was wanting. What Spain, for example, lacked, says R. Saint-Hilaire justly, was not freedom of thought, but the gospel.'

In the first stages of the Reformation movement in the North, this same spirit, however, was shown by the constantly pursued effort of Roman Catholicism to neutralize, and which in very fact either must be neutralized by, or will neutralize, Roman Catholicism. Two children were struggling in the womb of his mother. There can be no doubt which was the child of her heart. His death, however, which he had received from his predecessors, and he gave it merely the precision and vitality which ensured its persistence. His doctrine of grace was all his own; it represented the very core of his being; and his whole progress in Christian thinking consists in the growing completeness with which its fundamental principles applied themselves in his mind to every department of life and thought. In this gradual addition to them of every element of his inherited teaching, it was inevitable, had time been able, that Augustine's doctrine of grace over the Church, too, with all its implications, would have gone down before it, and Augustine would have been swept to the Church, not 'problems, but a thoroughly worked out system of evangelical religion.'

(c) Augustine and Protestantism.—The problem which Augustine bequeathed to the Church for solution, the Church required a thousand years to solve. But even so, it is Augustine who gave us the Reformation. For the Reformation, inwardly considered, was just the ultimate triumph of Augustine's doctrine of grace over Augustine's doctrine of the Church. This doctrine of grace came from Augustine's hands in its positive outline completely formulated: sinful man depends, for his recovery to God, and to God, entirely on the free grace of God; this grace is therefore indispensable, prevenient, irresistible, indefectible; and, being thus the free grace of God, must have lain, in all the details of its conference and working, in the intention of God from all eternity. But, however clearly announced and forcefully commended by him, it required to make its way against great obstacles in the Church. As over against the Pelagians, the indispensableness of grace was quickly established; as over against the Semi-Pelagians, its prevenient character with almost equal rapidity manifested itself. But there was the necessity of prevenient grace was thereafter (after the second Council of Orange, 529) the established doctrine of the Church, the irresistibility of this prevenient grace was put under the ban, and there remained no place for a complete 'Augustinianism' within the Church, as Gottschalk and Jansen were fully to discover. Therefore, when the great revival of religion which we call the Reformation came, seeing that it was, on its theological side, a return to this 'Augustinianism,' the Augustinianism of the West, and that this Augustinianism of the West must be (as the thotetical expression of religion in its purity), there was nothing for it but the rending of the Church. And therefore also the greatest peril to the Reformation was and remains the diffused anti-Augustinianism in the world; and, by a curious combination of circumstances, this, its greatest enemy, showed itself most dangerous in the hands of what we must otherwise look upon as the chiefly ally of the Reformation—that is to say, Humanism. Humanism is really an unneutralized Augustinianism in so far as it too worked for the emancipation of the human spirit; and, wherever it was religious, it became the seed-plot of the Reformation. But there was a strong anti-Augustinian party among the Humanists, and from it emanated the gravest
taught Aurangzeb the lessons of strategy, and taught his followers to respect their commander's courage. They laid the foundations of his future dominating influence. He was again governor of the Deccan in 1655–57, when the illness of his father brought about a check to the struggle for the throne between him and his youngest brother. Murad Basha, Aurangzeb defeated the Imperial army under Jaswant Singh at Bharatpur on April 23th, 1658, and again at Samugarh on June 2nd, when his eldest brother Dara was forced to flight. Agra fell into the hands of the victors. Shah-Jahan was held a prisoner till his death seven years later; the other brothers were ruthlessly killed; and Aurangzeb, who had already been proclaimed Emperor at Delhi in July, 1658, formally ascended the throne on May 26th, 1659, with the title of 'Alamgir, 'World-glorifier.'

Though he had won the throne by treachery and by the murder of his brothers, Aurangzeb was humane by nature, and no subsequent act of barbarity has been proved against him during his reign of half a century. The keynote of his character was a rigid Muslim's puritanism. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity, for he had nothing earthly to gain and everything to lose by his stern adherence to every little of the law of Islam. He might have cast Muhammadan's precepts to the winds and granted other indulgences, and only strengthened his hold of his Hindu empire.

'There was nothing but his own conscience to prevent Aurangzeb from adopting the eclectic philosophy of Akbar, the humanism of Shah-Jahan, or the wisdom of Shah-Jahan. The Hindus would have preferred anything to a Mughal, and other hindus had done so, and only strengthened his hold of his Hindu empire.

In his daily life Aurangzeb observed not only the minute details of the Muslim ritual, but an extreme austerity. He ate no meat, drank only water, kept all the fasts and vigils, passed whole nights in prayer and reading the Qur'an in the mosque, gave alms profusely, and used the utmost simplicity in his dress and manners. In accordance with his monarch's principle, every Muslim should practise a trade, he made skull-caps; he was also a fine calligraphist, and twelve copied the whole Qur'an, which he knew by heart. Laxity of morals, lewd conversation, the dancing of the Nautch Girls, he pronounced anathema, and every detestation. Since to the fanatical puritanism of a strict Muslim were added an indomitable will and a courage so cool that he would dismount and recite the ordained prayers at the customary hour in the very thick of a battle, it is clear that far-reaching changes were in store for the social and political life of India. The storm began to gather in 1669, when the temple of Venu at Benares was destroyed by his order, and the idols buried under the feet of good Muslims at the mosque at Agra.

Three years later the Imperial forces of the Hindus, led by, a ruler of the House of Gorkha, known as Sattamis or Narmad, which was sternly suppressed. Soon afterwards Aurangzeb imposed the intolerable jizya, or poll-tax, upon all non-Muslims, and turned the whole Hindu population against him. An interference with the mint princes of Marwar led to a revolt of the Rajaputs, and though this was more or less extinguished in 1658, Aurangzeb lost thereby the support of the finest fighting force in Hindustan.

The loss of Rajaput loyalty was felt as soon as the sudden and unexpected succession of the Deccan, which he regarded as "India's land," Dör el-harb, and resolved to make Dör el-Islám. He had nearly conquered Gulkanda when he was called away to fight for the throne in 1657, but since then a new Hindu power, more formidable than the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Gulkanda, had arisen under the energetic, but not Maratha freebooter, who had gradually established an era of brigandage on an heroic scale, built up a kingdom in the Western Ghats, and widened his authority to the extent of levying blackmail over a great part of the Deccan. His death in 1689, when the victory was won, was found that he had to deal with an indomitable nation of freebooters, whose strength and skill in guerrilla warfare he was never able to break. The Mughal generals had been too often repulsed, and the Emperor himself led his army in person in 1663. He first attacked the old Deccan kingdoms which appeared to shelter the Marathas: Bijapur fell in 1666, and Gulkanda in the following year. Their extinction, however, only strengthened the Marathas, whose disbanded armies swelled the forces of rebellion. The effeminate Mughal troops, deprived of the Rajaputs' stiffening, grew more and more demoralised by year after year of guerrilla fighting; and, whilst Aurangzeb effected a kind of military occupation of the whole Deccan, except the Portuguese possessions in the south, his own county was often the scene of distress, and his own persons was ill-served by the army: and the moment the Mughals turned their backs the hardy Marathas emerged from their mountain fastnesses and recovered the territory lately occupied by their enemy. The country was too large for the army to subdue it in person, and in extreme age was barely withheld from leading the assault. It was all in vain; Hindustán itself was full of revolt in the prolonged absence of its Emperor; the Deccan was a desert; the army was embittered and clamouring for its pay; and the Marathas ever hung about its skirts and insolently defied it. Finally Aurangzeb died, alone as alone he had lived, with all the puritan's sense of sin and unworthiness and dread of death, and full of the deception of a colossal failure, on March 16th, 1686, in the 48th year of his reign and the 82nd of his age. With him the orthodox Muhammadan revival in India died also.

AURELIUS-AUSTERICISM

AUSTERICISM.—1. Introduction.—Asceticism, strictly so-called, is not found among peoples of lower grades of culture, but the practice of various kinds of austerities is very common. These take the place in the social, moral, magical, and religious life of savages which asceticism holds in that of more advanced peoples, but it is also noticeable that in certain instances, as where these austerities have the form of a self-discipline or are performed as part of the service of the gods, they approach very near to some aspects of asceticism. In savage life the primary motive for self-denial, the struggle for food, the constant state
of warfare between different peoples, the ravages of diseases whose nature and prevalence are quite unknown, and many other things, are productive of much suffering and call for great endurance on the part of those whom they affect. More particularly women must undergo many austerities, whether as mothers, or as workers, or as suppliers of food; yet many of them are without the sexual existence of child-bearing. When carrying her child for miles on long journeys in great heat and often with little food, and in relieving its wants at the expense of her own comfort, the savage mother, in thus fulfilling her functions of motherhood, will willingly undergo pain and discomfort. Nor are similar forms of austerity lacking, especially among the poor, even in our highest forms of civilization, where want, toil, and suffering must be undergone to satisfy the conditions of existence. The savage methods of punishment, the various forms of the ordeal, of revenge or retribution, are usually of the most cruel and painful kind. But all such forms of austerity do not concern us here. Those alone are dealt with which are self-inflicted or which are willingly borne, for definite purposes, subserving moral and religious ends, and which are specially intended for the purpose of strengthening the soul for manhood; and such, when they are well directed, may become aids to the object in view. Unwilling as the savage is to suffer pain, his theory of the universe constrains him to undergo it on many occasions in order to fit him better for the ends of life, or to make life more tolerable, or to guard against the aggression of his fellows, or to strengthen himself to surround. Such austerities, undergone at one time for magical purposes, frequently change their nature. Thus they may come to be regarded as possessing a disciplinary character, in which case they are hardly to be differentiated outwardly from the disciplinary exercises, often of the same kind, of a higher asceticism, though they may not possess the same ethical or religious content. Others, again, as time goes on, may assume a more or less symbolic character, their excessive severity being then much lessened. On the other hand, even where such earlier forms of austerity survive in higher forms of religion, their severity is often by no means decreased, although the motive may have become a nobler one. Examples of this will be found in the various forms of austerity discovered in this connexion. These are mainly austerities connected with a variety of initiatory ceremonies, flagellation, fasting, mutilations of the body, tattooing, and medical rites, while some notice must be taken of self-restraint among savage races.

Austerity and Exposure. It is possible that the universal custom of sacrifice, involving a greater or less renunciation of property and possessions, of food-stuffs, and not infrequently life itself, or, as a substitute for that, of some part of the body, is a marked form of austerity; and its equivalent in the higher ascetic life—the devotion to poverty, the willing renunciation of comfort and luxury for the sake of life to God—has surely received a considerable impulse from this wide-spread custom of ethico-religious origin, though the motives be not more fully detailed here, life itself is sacrificed in suicide, often through pride or shame or a sense of duty (see A. Sutherland, Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct, London, 1898, i. 35). Or, where it is thought that one ought to pass into the other world before the body and mind have become frail, deject, and worn out, life is often freely yielded up by the aged or the sick (see Abandonment and Exposure). Though the custom may appear cruel and frequently is accomplished by cruel means, it is mostly a willing self-surrender of life that a higher life may be attained beyond the grave (see Letourneau, Sociology, London, 1893, 154 f.; Westermarck, Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, vol. 1., London, 1906, p. 533 ff.).

2. Adolescence initiation ceremonies.—Among savage tribes the beginning of manhood or womanhood is usually accompanied by a number of ceremonies, several of which are more severe and painful, but must be undergone willingly in order to preserve their effect. This stage of life, being a highly critical one, the beginning of a new life which requires ceremonies of a purificatory kind, besides purifying them of the taint of new relations with the other sex. Hence there must be seclusion for a time, while the youth is usually debarked from intercourse with any kind of the other sex, and silence is frequently imposed. Fasting is also made use of, either in the sense of complete abstinence from food for a longer or shorter period, or abstinence from certain foods which are taboo at such a stage. This is intended to prevent the entrance of evil influences to the body with such foods, or to prepare the way for receiving their influence. Other ceremonies are directed to the purpose of strengthening the youth for manhood; these are often of a severe character, and, joined with others which are intended to purify from the contagion of evil, easily pass over into more or less severe—the more severe forms being circumcision, loss of a tooth, or cutting of the flesh,—is frequent. In this case, perhaps, the primary intention is, by losing some part of the body, to secure the rest from evil influences; but it easily passes over into the idea of the body being cleansed by purificatory ceremony, or simply a test of endurance. Again, the youth at this period sometimes obtains a guardian spirit, whose nature is revealed to him in most cases by fasting in solitude, exposed to all the terrors which imagination and the sense of mystery may conjure up. This sense of mystery existing fear is usually present at all these initiatory ceremonies, for now the youth is instructed not only in sexual matters but in such tribal lore—magical, religious, moral, or otherwise—as is connected with the medicinal arts, though in different places the nature of the rites may vary, or their severity be greater or less, they call for the endurance of great austerities on the part of the youth. See art. INITIATION.

A few examples chosen from different localities will show the nature of the austerities undergone at this period of life by the northern tribes of Central Australia the long and complicated ceremonies of initiation to manhood include beating, which must not be received, circumcision, sub-incision or cutting open the urethra, and cutting the youth's scalp; while, as a rule, though fasting is not carried to an extreme, severe foods are taboo. During the painful rites of circumcision and sub-incision the youth's mouth is gagged with 'fur-string' to prevent his crying out, while no attempt is made to spare him pain when his scalp is bitten, the object being to cause a plentiful growth of hair. With some of the tribes knocking out a tooth is a part of the ceremony, with others it has no connexion with the purificatory ceremony, or simply a test of endurance. Again, the youth at this period sometimes obtains a guardian spirit, whose nature is revealed to him in most cases by fasting in solitude, exposed to all the terrors which imagination and the sense of mystery may conjure up. This sense of mystery existing fear is usually present at all these initiatory ceremonies, for now the youth is instructed not only in sexual matters but in such tribal lore—magical, religious, moral, or otherwise—as is connected with the medicinal arts, though in different places the nature of the rites may vary, or their severity be greater or less, they call for the endurance of great austerities on the part of the youth. See art. INITIATION.
end of this time a tooth was knocked out, and a year later a further test of endurance was applied (Haddon, Head Hunters, London, 1901, 90ff, 191). Similarly in Mahua nau dia were tested and the girl was permitted to associate with a factory boy, who was spared, scraped, or beaten with the wets of green ants which stung him furiously (G, 140). In many tribes ritual sacrifice and some among the natives of the Borneo region the gatore ceremonies include passing the new initiate through a pageant of death, in which the initiate comprises a plant which burn his skin, incision of tribal marks on the arm, and the performance of secret ceremonies in some of which he is seen to make a sign in his skin, death occasionally resulting (Daly, JAI 1896, xxxvi, 159ff.).

But it was among the tribes of North America that such awful trials were imposed on the girl, and especially when they were connected with the ceremony of aanutum. Thus among the California tribes the ascenience and indifference to the suffering of the young girl were unexampled, and before the youth could rank as a warrior his naked body was stung with newts and serpents; his arms and shoulders were laid out, a nest of a virulent species of ant, which, swarming over his body and stinging it, caused him fearful agony. To discover his manhood he was set on fire, and a sure being cut with a sharp tooth, after which she was bound and hung in a hammock, in which she remained without food or drink for three days. Similar ordeals were inflicted in other ways, and remained in the hammock under less strict rules of abstinence until the girl perished (JAI, 1904, xxviii, 222). This is also found at higher levels of civilization (Lv 1909, 62ff). Similar ordeals were imposed on boys and girls among the Bokwun tribes, the girl was subjected to the greater score of trials and punishments (Tanner, anthrop. 1891, 140).

In Guinea the hammock seclusion lasted for a month, after which the girl's naked body was exposed to the bites of venomous ants (Lalat, Voy, en Guadeloupe, Amsterdam, 1782, i, 235).

Similar instances might be cited, occurring among more advanced races, e.g., the Hindus, though with less severity. Here it may also be noted, that, on account of similar beliefs regarding the danger and impurity of menstruation, women, among most savage tribes, must go into seclusion, often at some distance from the village, abate from certain foods, or fast (see above). The custom is also found among the Peruvians, rigidly enforced for a certain number of days, and short periods were among the means employed in solitude for obtaining mystic dreams and a knowledge of the munion (Hill Tont, JAI, 1904, xxxvi, 222). The Gagens, living in an island of the Bismark's, were subject to similar trials as regards boys and girls, who were allowed to eat no food, drink for a month, and afterwards abstained from all fresh meats (O, xxxiv, 136). In S. America these customs also flourished among nomadic races, especially when they were associated with the girl's naked body was cut with a sharp tooth, after which was bound and hung in a hammock, in which she remained without food or drink for three days. Similar ordeals were inflicted in other ways, and remained in the hammock under less strict rules of abstinence until the girl perished (JAI, 1904, xxviii, 222). This is also found at higher levels of civilization (Lv 1909, 62ff). Similar ordeals were imposed on boys and girls among the Bokwun tribes, the girl was subjected to the greater score of trials and punishments (Tanner, anthrop. 1891, 140).

3. Admission to secret societies or 'mysteries' at opening manhood or womanhood was, in many cases, and characterized by severe austerities, which, though it might require the passing of some years for the revelation of secret knowledge, myths, or ritual, can hardly be separated in their origin from the pains undergone at puberty, while in some cases they seem to have been invented also as puberty ceremonies. Yet, in so far as these and certain original initiatory ceremonies pave the way for the communication of religious and, occasionally, moral teaching, we see such forms of austerity almost passing over to a kind of disciplinary asceticism, and certainly preparing the primitive meaning of austerities as 'training.' In Australian mysteries, for example, the advice given by the old men was intended to soften the heart, and, as among the Kurnai, the stomachs of the boys were kneaded to drive out selfishness and greed (JAI, 1905, xxxvii, 296; 1854, i, 296). One of the aims of selfishness is taught in the Yau mysteries, a selfish person being called uninitiated (Macdonald, Africana, London, 1832, i, 130; cf. the moral teaching given by headmen to boys at circumcision and initiation during the painful rites attendant theron among the Mavanhand of S. Africa, JAI, 1905, xxxvi, 263). Further, in many of these mysteries, the initiation to which lasts for a long period of time, the candidate is supposed to die and come to life again as a new being, the idea being that he is actually undergoing a process of intimation of ascetic renunciation—Stift und worte—yet in it and in the moral training for the attainment of 'solfesseness,' so far as a savage can grasp the idea, we see a conection with the later ascetic ideals.

In Africa, examples of such initiation are numerous. Among others may be cited those of the west coast, in which the youths are confined in a sort of cell and are permitted to have food and drink only a once a week. Many a time the girl is shut up in a cage with a small hole, in a hut, where she remained on mats and knives. This treatment lasted for a month. Among the young men of the Shewani tribe the naked body was cut with a sharp tooth, and the girl was exposed to sun, rain, and wind (JAI, 1905, xxxvi, 221). Bancroft cites many instances among the tribes of the Pacific coast. Thus among the Isthmian tribes the girl was closely confined, sometimes for a period of two years (XR 1722, cf. 82, 110, 197, 375). Among the Californian tribes she was laid over a hole previously heated, and kept with fire and the fat of a deer or an elk imprisoned in a box with a sharp tooth, after which she was bound and hung in a hammock, in which she remained without food or drink for three days. Similar ordeals were inflicted in other ways, and remained in the hammock under less strict rules of abstinence until the girl perished (JAI, 1904, xxviii, 222). Similarly among the Shiwani tribes—a woman's society—the initiation lasts for two weeks, and is accompanied by severe orders and fasting, while the girl is shut up, and the naked body is exposed to sun, rain, and wind (JAI, 1905, xxxvi, 221). The ordeals are intentionally hard, so that the wills of the candidates may be broken and secrecy ensured (Nassau,
Petechiae (in W. Africa, London, 1904, 249). With candidates for the Malanda society among the Batangas the sun- 
gazing ordeal is applied to the ladis; then, when everything is 
arranged and the candidate has been placed by his friends 
confined in a hut for twenty days along with a corpse, and 
has been kept there fasting, hot and with a wholly 
rigid position, he is permitted to fast for another day 
(Trav. & Expl. in the Insular Archipelago, 1903, 187). In 
Melanesia entrance to such societies is possible only after 
severe initiation, including hardships and tortures. In other 
cases, in the practice of the business of the candidate 
are made to fast and to take live eunuchs in their hands, and 
are trodden upon; or, as in the Welu society, they are each placed in 
the grave of a deceased relative and thus thrown with clay, charcoal, mud, or filth, which must not be washed 
down to the corpse. On the other hand, the more or less 
protracted use of fasting, or of clothing the body in such a way 
as to indicate the end of life, is as it did in certain Greek mysteries (Long 
and Customary Myst. London, 1846, 49; JAI, 1839, xix. 201; 
Demosthenes). The ancient initiatory customs used in the Eleusinian and other Greek 
mysteries, in which, besides other tests, the candidates had to 
prepare themselves by fasting for several days; the similar 
lasting before initiation to the cult of Osiris and Isis in Egypt; 
and the various tests of endurance undergone by 
candidates for initiation to Mithraism (see art. Mysteries, 
Mithra, SECRET SOCIETIES, and Apul. Metam. xi). 4. Initiation to the priesthood. — As in savage 
societies the priest, sorcerer, or medicine-man has a controlling influence by virtue of his relation to the spiritual 
world, it is natural that those who seek to enter 
upon that profession should be subjected to a severe course of training, involving many austeri-
ties. The candidate who, with the other world are usually associated 
with a state of trance, or his revelations are 
given in some ecstatic condition, the candidate's 
course of training is intended to adapt him for 
the production of those states either by reducing him 
to an abnormal condition of body, mind, or 
or by accustoming him to the use of such severe 
methos as will readily produce them. The pheno-
mena of hysterics, epilepsy, catalepsy, and such-like 
diseases are believed by savages, and indeed by many Europeans, to be wrought up by swallowing 
poison or inspiration by gods, spirits, or demons. 
Hence such persons as are subject to them are 
often deliberately chosen for the profession of 
medicine-man, while their abnormal states are 
only heightened by the austerities undergone. In 
other cases, in accordance with the prevailing 
theory of the nature of inspiration and of the 
state into which the inspired person is thrown, the 
production of such states at will is the object of 
the painful processes to which the candidate must 
submit himself. This is shown by such facts as the 
attainments, exposure to the elements, scarring the 
body, castigation, fasting, and drinking various 
unwholesome beverages. By all these means the 
candidate soon arrives at a hysterical or 
abnormal state. He acquires the faculty of seeing visions, 
of producing a convulsionary state of body, or of 
falling into a trance. A few examples of the 
method of training will suffice to show its severity 
and the painful nature of the austerities undergone 
(see also art. MEDICINE-MAN and PRIEST). 
Sorcerous School of Zanzibar. — A school of witchcraft 
which begins at an early age, and includes retirement into solitary 
prison, and the wearing of the marks of fasting. By 
means of the ties which are produced in which the novice obtains a tornam, or guardian 
spirit, or falls into its in which his ravings are held to be com-
 munications from the spirits (Bink, Tales and Traditions of the 
Pokhina, London, 1875, 58; Cazan, Erländand, Leipzig, 
1770, 269). Among the American Indians similar methods are adopted: 
protracted fasts, severely bodily exercises, and solitary vigils all 
reduce the candidate to a hysterical state, in which he dreams of 
the revelations of the gods, and the greater his judgments are, the more 
violent and copious are his visions, and hence the higher is the estima-
tion in which he is held (JAI, 1904, xxvii. 59; Schoolcraft, 
Reminiscences of Indian Life, among the Iowa, 1851, 124, 
yet are chosen for their natural aptitude to the office of priests, 
or sorcerers, and are confined in a solitary place, subjected to a 
specific disease, and the marks of fasting thrown upon them. 
In the island of flame, or living only on a scanty diet of vegetables and 
water; while all sexual intercourse is prohibited (JAI, 1777). 
In S. America we find similar modes practiced. Among 
African ascetic aspirants they had to remain seated on the branches of a tree and to fast 
for several days. By this means they contracted a weak-
ness of brain, a goddessness, and kind of delirium, which makes 
them imagine that they are gifted with superior wisdom, and 
give themselves out for magicians' (Dobrinholter, Abgesen 
Societies, London, 1832, 150; for the dance of the 
Guiana involves a painful and severe trial of endurance. The 
candidate is clothed with paint, and is cast into some 
acrimonious state, and accustoms himself to drinking large draughts of 
tobacco-juice mixed with water. The tortures of solitude and 
fasting, and the process of meditation, are said to 
be conducive to self-control, and prepare him for the work of 
medicine.}
austerity, but it may also be a pathological form of asceticism. Or, again, it may be used as an erotic stimulation, though here it assumes a pathological form as subserviving genetic excitability. In other cases its religious disciplinary use is conjoined with erotic purposes, as in the case of Brother Cornelius and his penitents, or of Père Girard (Cooper, *Hist. of the Rod*, London, 1870, 122 ff.; Zöckler, *Askese and Mönchthum*, 6, 600). The pain caused by flagellation, again, made it an obvious and well-nigh universal form of punishment. With this and its previous use we are not concerned here. Finally, it remains to notice how, while subserving its primitive purpose or used simply as a means of producing pain, it may be regarded as a form of sacrifice to gods who will that their worshippers should suffer, or it may pass as a substitute for an offering of the person himself as a human sacrifice. Most of these purposes are also served by using instead of a scourge some stinging plant or some substance causing pain to the tissues when applied to the body, as has been seen in several cases of initiation rites.

The primitive purpose of flagellation is seen in the fact that those animals or men on whom the evils of a community were laid (scape-goat), and who were driven away or slain, had probably in their punishment received the representation of a spirit of vegetation who was slain. They were frequently scourged, and the scourging had the effect of driving off 'any malignant influence by which at the supreme moment they might conceivably be beset' (Cash, 125). In some cases when they were regarded simply as scapegoats, the scourging became a means of causing pain. Instances of this use of flagellation to drive away evil are found in many places. When a king was installed in the Sandwich Islands, the priest struck him on the back with a whip, in order to purify him from defilement (Ellis, *Polyenes. Researches*, London, 1829, iii. 110). Brazilian Indians scourge themselves on the genital organs with a certain plant at the time of the new moon (Nery, *Folklór brasilien*, Paris, 1889, 253). Sometimes the scourging is done on a substitute, as in New Caledonia, where, when a chief is ill, a girl is severely whipped to drive away the evil (Featherman, *Soc. Hist. of Races of Mankind*, London, 1891, ii. 92). Or it may be mutually inflicted, as in Peru at an autumn festival, when one part of the people was scourged by the other with torches, saying, 'Let all harm go away' (Acosta, *Hist. of the Indies*. Hakl. Soc. 1880, ii. 375). Similar practices still survive in folk-custom (GP iii. 131 ff.).

The same object of driving out the demon of disease which has entered into a patient's body, in accordance with the universal primitive view of the cause of sickness, flagellation is resorted to in savage medicine, the patient often undergoing great suffering through this cure. Thus among the Californian Indians, in cases of paralysis, the affected parts are whipped with nettles (NZ i. 419). Among the Ainuus beating with herbs to drive out the demons of sickness is part of the healer's method (Batchelor, *Ainus and their Folklore*, London, 1904, 315). In Timor-Laut, if a smallpox prao should be stranded on the coast, the people are beaten with branches, which are then put on the prao before it is launched away again, and the demon of smallpox is besought to depart (GP iii. 98, citing Nielsel). Women suffering from demoniacal possession were thrashed with a stick, the demon alone being supposed to feel the blows (Bastian, *Ostl. Asien*, Jen., 1866-71, ii. 192). These methods survived into later medicine, especially in the case of madness, though here the curative virtue was evidently supposed to lie in the rough treatment to which the patient was subjected (Cooper, *op. cit.* 204).

The magical value of flagellation is seen in the flogging of women with thongs cut from the skins of the sacrificial goats by the Laperes at the Laperes. The magical act, communicating to them magically the beneficial effects of the sacrifice, was believed to render them prolific (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 267 ff.). Although the numerous cases of scourging or stinging at initiation frequently have the primitive purpose here discovered, they are sometimes expressly said to be done with the view of causing pain or testing endurance. Thus, among the Bavendus, after circumcision, the youths, stripped naked, are beaten and suffer other hardships by exposure to the intense night cold, in order to harden them (JAF, 1905, xxxv. 252). Among other Bechuana tribes, after circumcision the youths are scourged at intervals with great severity, and it is a point of honour that they should show absolute impassibility even though the blood spouts from their backs, and the whip leaves life-long scars. At the same time they are allowed no flesh meat but what they can themselves obtain, and are subjected to the endurance of cold and hunger (Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, London, 1857, 146 ff.; JAF, 1899, xix. 268 ff.).

The primitive view of scourging has here, as in other cases, a very ancient connotation and conception of it as a painful test of endurance. At this point the cruel flogging of youths at Sparta in connexion with the cult of Artemis—the blood from the wounds caused by the whip being shed on the altar—can scarcely be viewed in any other light than that of a survival of earlier rites of initiation, especially as the Spartan youths, like the Bechuana, were allowed no food save what they could discover for themselves. The flogging was done in presence of their parents, who encouraged them to show no sign of suffering; and so severe was it that the youths sometimes died. Various mythical explanations of this flogging were current, but it was generally regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice ordained by Lycurgus (Paus. iii. 16; Lucian, *Anacharsis*). But in the light of similar customs elsewhere, the origin must be sought in old initiation rites of a savage past, remains of which, like the 'bull-roarer' (phonos) and daubing with mud, were also found in the Greek mysteries. Similar scourgings to take place at the departure of other tribes were used in Greece, Edinburgh, 1824, i. 258); and among the Thracians, according to Artemidorus, flagellation in honour of their Artemis was also practised.

Such tests of endurance by flagellation enter sometimes into the festival day of the Arawaks, where the men armed with whips lashed each other alternately until they were covered with bleeding wounds, yet the pain was 'borne and inflicted with perfect good temper' (Im Thurn, 326; cf. a striking match, resulting often in death, among the Mosquito Indians, NZ i. 735). Probably this is to be connected with a group of rites in which blows, effusion of blood, etc., are intended to promote fertility (see § 5(b)). For the discipline of self-flagellation in the Christian Church, see artt. ASCETICISM, FLAGELLANTS; Zöckler, *op. cit.* 485, 525 ff.; Cooper, *op. cit.*. Beginning as an act of monastic asceticism in the 11th cent., it assumed a pathological form with the later orders of Flagellants (especially during the ravages of the Black Death), who regarded it as more efficacious than the sacrifice of the Purim Purim. Flagellation as a sacrifice or as a substitute for sacrifice has already appeared in the case of the Spartan youths. Perhaps the mutual flagellation of the Galli at the spring festival at Hierapolis, accompanied as it was by self-cuts (Lucian,
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reserve (JAI, Hunger, the rendered concerned, religious initiated, war. medicine purely for the being attention and Bushman whole food go fasting likely here London, On cation. The say, the fasting or aperiod unfselfish act, giving his food to his starving children or sharing his scanty supply with his fellows, who, when it is exhausted, starve to death with him (Nansen, Eskimo Life. London, 1898). The Bushman is largely abstemious, especially in regions where the food supply is scarce, are forced upon him. We are here concerned, however, with voluntary fasts rather than with those imposed upon savage man. A fast stamps habitually the civilized ascetic, and usually has no strong wish to suffer the pangs of hunger, yet voluntary fasting is forced upon him for different reasons.

The origin of fasting is complex, but on the whole it seems to have been adopted at first for magical reasons. Man's experience of hunger in times of scarcity may have suggested to him that fast voluntarily might guarantee him against scarcity, and also have the effect of increasing the food supply. Thus at the Intichima ceremonies of the Cherokees (see: Travels in the Interior of North America, 1854) the purpose of the increase of the totem food supply, fasting is a part of the rite (Spencer-Gillen, 290). On more purely religious grounds an analogy is found where the sacrifice of one person wards off danger menacing a whole group. Fasting is also intimately connected with the system of food tabus. In some cases these may arise from the selflessness of stronger members of a human group, who forbid others to touch certain foods sacred to themselves, or again from the wise practice of early peoples, who, being able to provide foods which are likely to become scarce, as in Polynesian, where, if a bad harvest is feared, a tabu is placed on bananas, hens, etc., to establish a reserve (Lettourney, Sociology, 489). But they often arose out of man's peculiar views regarding the contagion of evil influences which might be warded off by, so to say, sacrificing a part in lieu of the whole. Food was eminently a vehicle for evil influences entering the body, hence by the tabouing of some particular food other foods would be rendered unattractive, and thus kept out of the range of negative influences, where some particular animal or plant species is not eaten by those whose totem it is. But it also has a much wider range, and affects foods which may not be eaten at certain periods of life, e.g. before a youth is initiated before marriage, during pregnancy, at the time of the convalescence during hunting or war. In this aspect fasting from the taboued food also acts as a kind of purifi-
cation. Fasting in all such cases includes such varieties as abstemious from certain foods, or from meat, or from food with which certain women are tabued (sexual tabu), or from all food for a varying period. In certain cases kings or priests might not eat certain foods for tabu and other magical reasons, such as being recognized as incarnate divinity, which often occurs. Frequently, too,
The origin of gashing or cutting the body may be found simply in ecstatic expressions of grief, at first spontaneous, then reduced to a custom. The pain caused by such methods of wounding, though in the ecstasy and delirium of grief it may be less than we imagine (Beckworth says of the horrible gashings of the Crow Indians that "they seemed to feel no pain," 14 REEW, p. 385), is itself an expression of sorrow. But other meanings were perhaps given to these self-inflicted wounds. Thus there may have been some idea of union with the dead through the blood spilt on the grave, as in N. Wales, where the men stood over it and cut each other with their home-ranges, letting the blood trickle down into it (W. R. Smith, 305). This bond of union with the dead implies "on the one side submission, on the other friendliness" (Spencer, Cerebr. Inst., London, 1879, 70). The blue blood of the dead in order to refresh them (ib. cf. Westermarck, Origin and Development of Moral Ideas, i. 476). In either case the rite would have a propitiatory aspect. It is found among the Australians, Melanesians, Polynesians, in Africa, among the American, and it existed in ancient Israel (Lv 19), among the Greeks, Turks, Huns, etc. (cf. Stoll, op. cit. 88 ff.; Spencer, op. cit. 70-71), and with some of these peoples assumed a ghastly form, while it was frequently proportionate to the rank of the deceased. The wounded either cut or pierced their bodies, cutting or cutting the arms, breasts, or legs, piercing them, slitting the ear lobes, wounding the head, etc. Thus the Crow Indians made two cuts down the length of the arm, tearing away the skin, or cut the flesh on the breast and shoulders (JE, loc. cit.). The Tongans cut and bruised themselves with shark's teeth, shells, axes, clubs, and knives (Mariner, Tonga Islands, 1817, i. 380, 403; the Spartans tore the flesh from their foreheads with pins and needles to gratify the ghosts of the dead, cf. Plutarch, Stier. SPEC., 402). Among savages, the conceptions of mourning ceremonies among all savage tribes supply copious instances of the severity of these lacerations.

(2) The mutilation of some member of the body, usually a finger, occasionally an ear, is also found as a common sign of grief at mourning ceremonies. Spencer regards this as an act of sacrificial appropriation of the dead and a sign of submission (op. cit. 56), and it certainly has the significance of a propitiation of divinities or spirits, e.g. in cases of illness, etc. It is regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice, giving a part in place of the whole, as when a widow has her finger chopped off in the Nicolai Islands, evidently in place of being slain at her husband's grave (Tyler, ii. 365). But it might readily become a formal expression of grief. In Fiji, where, on the death of a chief, orders were given that a hundred fingers should be cut off (Williams, i. 197). Even yet in Fiji a child's finger was cut off as a sign of affection for a dead father (ib. p. 367). Usually a joint or the whole of the little finger is cut off, though another finger may be removed later when this is lacking. This painful custom is found among other Australian tribes, in Tonga and Fiji, among various N. and S. American Indian tribes, among the Hottentots.

Harper's Magazine, 1889, xvii. 451). Again, where foods are taboo, either through totem restrictions or for some other reason, abstinence from them is frequently regarded as a hazardous duty done by an animal or a divinity, who would resent any breach of the rule, or it has the nature of a sacrifice committed among the Fijians, the Javanese, and others, certain animals, which were probably earlier taboos, were believed to be incarnate gods or sacred to particular deities, and eaten by the deity. In my own day the native of the Andaman Islands abstains from a certain number of foods at the absolute request of the god Pulunga requires them at these times (JAF, xi. 154), as anomalous when committed by primitive tribes. A certain prohibited food or animal, which a man will not eat even when suffering from hunger, is 'literally a sacrifice or offering to the deity by him and his parents and is a gift to the governing spirit of his life,' and to eat of it would be a sin at once punished by the spirit and requiring atonement however much the man might need the food (Stoll, op. cit. 78; M. Kingsey, Travels, 460), or they are not eaten because they are dedicated by man to the use of his attendant spirit (Dennett, Signs of the Times, 3). From because the god Pulunga requires them at these times (JAF, xi. 154), as anomalous when committed by primitive tribes.
when a widow re-marries, and occasionally with Chinese widows as a sign that they will not re-
marry.  The period of mourning varies from 53 to 65 days (Kolh, Caput Bone Spei, Nuremberg, 1719, 572; 
Giles, China and the Chinese, London, 1879, 202).  (3) The custom of fasting is here met with once 
more as a natural expression of mourning, often of a severe and prolonged character.  The Fijians 
fasted for a dead chief for ten or twenty days (Williams, i. 197).  Some of the Salish tribes of 
British Columbia fast for four days after a death, while a widow must not eat fresh meat for a 
year, a widower for a shorter period (JAI, 1905, xxxv. 462).  Before death, the bodies of the 
chief were found among the Basutos and other African tribes.  Among the Kikuyus, and in many 
other places, the ceremonies by which the Indians performed their rites as a sign of mourning 
were held in the paths where the dead had walked.  Even among the Tubu, the spirits of the 
dead are supposed to visit the earth at certain times, and to demand the food and drink of their 
owns, or certain favourite foods, and these relations are often joined in this custom by other members of 
the tribe as a token of sympathy (JAI, 1882, xii. 142, 146).  The Japanese partake only of a spare 
vegetable diet during the period of mourning, while in Korea the mourners drink rice water 
for some days, and then are allowed to partake of gruel for the rest of the time (JAI xii. 225, 
xxxv. 359).  (4) Finally, though the custom of a wife's being shaved andburned, in India, has become a 
mere customary rite, and though its origin may be sought in sacrificial ideas and in the belief that 
she must accompany him beyond the grave, it is frequently found as an extreme act of austerity 
devo t ion, the wife devoting herself to death out of pure love and devotion.  Among the Naiad 
in Piji (Williams, i. 189), where wives were frequently sacrificed at their own instance; in India, where a 
wife lit the pyre with her own hands; in China, where wives will take their own lives to follow 
their husbands into the next world (de Groot, Rel. System of China, Leyden, 1894, i. 1. 756 ff.); among 
the ancient Greeks, with whom historic instances of this suicidal devotion are recorded (Euripides, 
Supp., 1000 ff.; Paus. iv. 2, 7); and among the ancient Celts (Leachy, Heroic Romances of 
Ireland, London, 1805, i. 105; cf. Cesar, v. 19; slaves and clients beloved by the dead; Mela, iii. 
2. 19; see artt. SATI and MOURNING).

S. MUTILATIONS.  A great variety of ethnical muti-
lations involving a considerable degree of pain 
may be observed among primitive races.  Sometimes 
these may have a different origin or intention, 
some may be mere customary or symbolic follow-
ing s of archaic rites, but this makes no difference 
in the degree of suffering which is borne or in the 
stoical patience with which it is endured (see art. 
Mutilation and Torture).

(1) The custom of cutting the body and using the 
blood for some specific purpose is widely extended, 
and has already been met with as a mourning 
ceremony.

(a) It is found as part of the ceremonies of initi-
ation in various quarters.  Thus in North Central 
Australia the final ceremony among several of 
the tribes consists of making a series of cuts on 
the back and one on the neck of the candidate. 
These are said to commemorate certain events in 
the Alcherings, or mythical period (Spencer and 
Gillen's, 335).  A similar rite is found among 
the Australian tribes (Schurmann, in Nat. Tribes 
of S. A., Adelaide, 1879, 231 ff.).  Scars are also 
made on the face and body at puberty among the 
Basutos (JAI, 1905, xxxv. 462) and elsewhere in 
Africa (Burton, Abokcuta, London, 1863, i. 
104; Denham, Travels in Africa, London, 1828, 
iii. 175: "the process is said to be extremely pain-
ful on account of the heat and flies.").  These 
appear to be in the nature of marks, not curses, 
or tribe marks.  Among the Abipones the marks 
were made with thorns, and ashes were rubbed into 
the wounds—a species of tatuage (Dobrizhofer, ii. 
30 ff.).

(b) Cutting or gashing the body in order to 
obtain blood, usually for magical purposes or for 
use in various for magical purposes or for 
use in various for magical purposes or for magical 
uses in various forms is frequent in Aus-
tralia.  Thus among the Dieri two men are bled 
with a sharp flint, and the blood is allowed to 
flow on others of the tribe.  The ceremony was 
intended to produce rain, the blood representing 
rain (Gason, in Nat. Tribes of S. Aust. 276).  Among 
the Wiradjuri tribes, at initiation rites, men 
wounded their gums or the flesh under their 
tongues with sharp pieces of bone, and allowed 
the blood to fall on the seat used in the ceremony; 
and among the Kamilaroi, at the boora, quantities of blood were frequently shed from certain 
finger nails of those who have carried a corpse to the 
grave are scratched with a knife, and magic stuff 
is put into the wounds to remove the contagion 
of death (GB. ii. 302).  Here, too, may be mentioned 
a group of customs already alluded to (§ 5), in 
which the Indian tribes, at the dissolving of a 
magical ceremonial, cut themselves, parties 
and engage in a sham fight, in which, how-
ever, severe blows are given and received, blood is 
shed, limbs are broken, and sometimes life itself 
is taken, the fight lasting for some hours.  This 
fight takes place at some given moment in the 
processes of agriculture, and has for its object 
the promotion of fertility.  The rationale 
probably is that the blood shed fertilizes the earth, for 
among the Aboakwanas of Peru women caught 
the blood and sprinkled it on the fields (Bastian, 
Der Mensch in der Geschichte, Jena, 1890, lii. 75). 
Similar fights, more or less severe, have been ob-
served among the Tongans, American Indians, 
African tribes, among the Khonds, in China; they 
occurred in the form of stone-throwing in Greece 
at certain festivals, and they still occur in a modi-
fied form in European folk-custom (see Frazer, 
Pauanzins, i. 267).

(c) Incisions in the flesh and blood-letting are 
also customary before marriage in many places. 
Incisions which leave raised scars are made on 
the bodies of men and women, and the Kikuyus 
of E. Africa, the purpose being ora-
mental (JAI, 1905, xxxv. 255).  Elsewhere the 
bleed-letting, followed by each spouse drinking or 
swallowing the blood in food, has the purpose of 
uniting them, and shrinks in some cases to a mere 
symbol (Crawley, Mystic Rose, 385; see artt. 
BLOOD, BROTHERHOOD [artificial]).  Or, again, 
the opening of a vein in both bride and bride-
groom is a species of blood-offering, mainly among 
American Indian tribes (Zo6ckler, op. cit. 270).

(4) Frequently the making of scars and cicatrices, 
rainful as the process is, seems to have mainly an 
oncarnal purpose, as among the Australians 
(Spencer-Gillen's, 50), Tasmanians and Melanesians 
(Letourneau, Sociologia, 50), and N. American tribes, 
e.g. the Thlünkks (NR. i. 15), though with most of 
these they are also made for other purposes.

Among West Coast African tribes, with whom 
tattooing is rare, cicatrices are made by cutting the 
skin and then placing in the wound the fleshy 
part of the tail of the rabbit.  H. Kingdon 
(Hadon, 113).  In New Guinea women make scars on the 
chest when a brother spears his first dugong

(c) Finally, gashes are frequently used to draw 
blood as a propitiation of the gods.  Thus, among
the Mosquito tribes of Central America, besides sacrifices to influence the gods before war or any important undertaking, blood was drawn from tongue, ears, or other parts of the body (Nic. i. 723, 740). Similar gashings were made by the priests of a human sacrifice among the Goths, which made an incision in the victim's flesh (Pomp. Mela, iii. 2, 18). But possibly they may have been intended to promote union with the divinity through the vehicle of blood. Connected with this is the custom of self-castration seen in the Phrygian worship of Cybele and analogous cults in Syria, etc. In these the priests also wounded themselves in the arms and scourged each other (Tert. Apol. 25; Lucian, de Dea Syria, 50). Similarly in the Roman cult of Belona the priests made gashes in their shoulders and the blood was sprinkled on the image of the goddess and used in the sacrifices (Luctantius, i. 21; W. R. Smith, 304). (2) Amputation of fingers.—This practice, already met with as a mourning ceremony, is also found sporadically as a sacrificial observance. In sickness or victory the tip of the fingers was cut off (Farrer, Prim. Manners and Customs, London, 1879, 143). The Cochinches of California, when all other means had failed, cut off a finger from a daughter or sister of a sick man, in the belief that the blood would preserve him (Nelsan, Gesch. von Califor., Longo, 1759, i. 76). This was also done by the Tongans in cases of illness as a propitiatory offering to the gods, while a man would also cut off his own finger to aver his anger when danger threatened (Mariner, Melv., iii. 210). During initiation the candidate among the Mbutians held up his finger to the Great Spirit expressing his willingness to offer it, and then had it chopped off with a hatchet (Lewis and Clarke, Travels, London, 1817, 80). In India the practice is found in custom and myth. Mothers will cut off their own fingers as sacrifices for the preservation of their children, while Siva has to cut off his finger to appease the wrath of Kali (Tylor, i. 401). Mothers in Bengal frequently draw blood from the finger tips of a sick child, in the same manner to propitiate the goddess Chandika (Rajendrabala Mitra, Indo-Aryans, London, 1882, i. 111). This may also have been a Celtic practice, since in one legend Æðne the Horrible is said to have cut off the ends of her children's little fingers to make them longer-lived (Windisch-Stokes, Frische Texte, Leipzig, 1891-1897, iii. 363). We may compare with these rites the Chinese custom of cutting pieces of flesh from the thighs, while offering a prayer to Heaven to accept this as a species of self-immolation on behalf of a sick relative, who then was given the flesh to eat (de Groot, op. cit. iv. 2, 386). (3) Circumcision.—This has already been found as one of the rites of initiation to manhood; and, in general, where it occurs it is performed at puberty, though sometimes, as with the Jews, it takes place in childhood. We are not concerned here with the various reasons assigned for it by the different peoples who practise it, or with its original intention, though this may have been, as already stated, for the prevention of danger from the whole organ by removing a part, which part might also harbour dangerous influences. What concerns us here is the painful nature of the rite, and its wide-spread use. Practised by many peoples of antiquity, Egyptians and others (Herod. iv. 47), it is found among most African tribes, in N. and S. America, in Polynesia, Australia, and parts of Melanesia, and sporadically elsewhere. Among most of these peoples it is regarded as a disgrace not to have it done, or as rendering a man unclean. If the patient shrieks or cries, this is done not uncommonly, but occasionally he is in such a frenzied state at the moment. But sometimes, besides the actual pain of the cutting, the youth has to undergo other ordeals. Thus, among the Bantu peoples of W. Africa ecyzume knife is spared on the wound made by the Christian missionary. Among the Mavendans of S. Africa the candidates are subjected to exposure for some time in a nude condition and to treatment of a harsh nature (JAI xxxv. 263). See art. CIRCUMCISION, and Andre, Ethnographische Untersuchungen über Paradies, Leipzig, 1854, and Ploss, Das Kind, Leipzig, 1884, i. 340 ff.; Stoll, op. cit. 499 ff.; Wellhauen, Protopenmena, Edinburgh, 1885, 360; L'Anthropologie, Paris, 1896, vii. 653 ff. (4) The practice of sub-iniation or mikva or para-aritho-krama has already been referred to (2). This terrible rite involves the slitting open of the under side of the urethra, and is found in Queensland, N. S. Wales, S. Australia, and among N. and W. African tribes (Spencer-Gillen, 212 ff.; ib. b. 133, 328 ff.). Analogous to this is the custom of semi-castration, practised, according to Kolb, by the Tongans as a joint rite. It has been questioned by later observers; it is also found among the Ponapes in the Caroline Islands and in the Friendly Islands (Finsch, ZE xii. 316). For other mutilations of the sexual organs for different purposes among the Dayaks, Bataas, ancient Romans, etc., see O. Hovorka, Mitt. der Anth. Gesell. in Wien, 1894, xxiv. fusc. 3; JAI, 1892, xxiv. 45; Stoll, op. cit. 406 ff., 421 ff. (5) Girls at puberty among many separate peoples must also undergo the equally painful rite of circumcision, probably as a means of self-cleansing, as circumcision, and like it frequently an initiation ceremony. It is found among various African peoples, in Nubia, Abyssinia, Gallia and Masai lands, on the west coast, and also in the south, while it is also met with among several S. American peoples, occasionally in N. America, and sporadically in Indonesia (Stoll, op. cit. 523; Ploss, Das Kind, i. 379 ff.; Merker, Die Maoris, Berlin, 1894, 60 ff.; Martinis, Zur Ethnog. Amerikas, Leipzig, 1875, 267, 445; ib. a. xxiv. 143). With it may be classed the cutting or artificial slitting of the hymen, mainly among several Australian tribes, but occurring elsewhere also. While the Australians it is an initiatory rite, and also serves as an immediate preparation for marriage (Spencer-Gillen, 25; ib. b. 135). Even more painful is the rite of 'infibulation' of marriageable girls, which is found mainly in the Nile region, the Sudan, Gallia and Somali lands, Nubia, Kordofan, and the Abyssinian highlands, and also in Pegu (Stoll, op. cit. 548 ff.). (6) Among other forms of mutilation causing considerable suffering may be mentioned (a) knocking out one or more of the front teeth, usually as an initiation ceremony, though various interpretations of its purpose are current among those who practise it, and with some it is regarded as an ornament. Perhaps arising as a preparation for the reception of new food at puberty, it soon became a mark of acquired manhood, and sometimes, as with the Kavirondos, any one not undergoing it endangered his life in battle (Stoll, Uganda Protectorate, London, 1902, ii. 728). Among many African tribes it is found as a regular initiation ceremony performed only on youths, but among the central tribes it has ceased to be so, and is performed on both sexes indiscriminately (Spencer-Gillen, 588 ff.). The custom is found among most African tribes,
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Banta and Negro; in N. America, e.g. among the Seri Indians, who practise it on girls before marriage (17 RBEW, p. 169); in Fornos among the Pepos, who think it assists breathing (Ploss, Dies Kind, ii. 424); in the ancient Peruvians, who regarded it as a punishment ordained on their ancestors and binding upon themselves, or as a service rendered to the divinity (Garcilasso de la Vega, ix. 3; Herrera, Historia general, Madrid, 1759, v. 6, 1). It is also found as a mourning mutilation at the death of a chief in the Sandwich Islands (Ellis, Tour through Hawaii, London, 1826, 146).

(b) Filling the teeth, usually to sharp points, grinding them down, and breaking part of them, and then inserting gold or blackened metal. The operation sometimes causes great pain (Marsden, Sumatra, London, 1811, 52; Hist. gén. des voyages, Hague, 1757, xv. 97; Ling Roth, Notices of Sarawak, ii. 78). But the object of the operation was merely to make the teeth more beautiful.

(c) Making holes or slits in the nose, lips, cheek, or ears, in which are inserted various objects, is a world-wide practice, and, though regarded as a means of ornamentation, was probably in its origin of a magical character (the objects serving as amulets), while it was also and still is in many cases associated with initiation rites. Frequently the hole or slit is begun in childhood, but the permanent object is inserted only at puberty. Only the most extreme instances of this form of mutilation need be referred to here. Among the Thln-kets the under lip of female children is pierced and a small object inserted. As time goes on, a larger object is inserted, and this is sometimes repeated, causing a painful and continuous strain, until, at the age of maturity, a grooved block of wood sometimes six inches long and half an inch thick can be inserted (NR i. 399). The Botocudos of S. America treat the under lip and the ear lobe in the same manner; gradually enlarging the apertures, until wooden plugs of a considerable size can be inserted, the ear lobe sometimes reaching to the shoulder (von Wied-Neuwied, Reise nach Brasilien, Frankfort, 1820, ii. 5). Every variety of these mutilations, either singly or together, is found over the American continent; lip-slitting occurs in Africa, ear-slitting and ear-extension in Fiji, Easter Island, and the Nicobar islands, while ear-piercing, with a religious significance, occurs all over India, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula (see Stoll, op. cit. 398 f.; Hovorka, 'Verzieren der Nase,' Mitt. der entl. Ges. in Wien, xxv. pts. 4 and 5, 1875: 3 RBEW, p. 76 f.).

(d) The well-known and painful custom of deformation of the foot among Chinese women is regarded as a world-wide practice, and, though regarded as a means of ornamentation, while it has apparently also some erotic character. The process is begun in early childhood by bandaging the feet firmly so that all growth is hindered, until they become little more than stubs. This clumping is found in the Oriental (Brandt, Sittenbildner aus China, Stuttgart, 1885, 53 ff.; Ploss-Bartels, Das Volk, Leipzig, 1904, i. 173 ff.). A similar custom is found among the Kutchin Indians, where a child's feet are bandaged to prevent growth, small feet being there thought handsome (Richardson, Arctic Searching Expedition, London, 1852, 262).

9. Tatung.—This custom is of world-wide extent; but while every variety of motive is ascribed to it, it frequently has a religious or magical significance, and it is commonly done as an initiation rite. Among the Eskimos the process usually consists in making a needle and thread dipped in soot below the skin (Egede, Besch. von Grönlund, Copenhagen, 1790, 153). More usually pricking the skin or cutting it, and then rubbing in some pigment, is resorted to. Or in some cases figures are cut out of the skin and the faces painted, as in the Desean and among the Mosquito Indians (Forster, Voyage round the World, London, 1777, 588; NR i. 716). Still, however done, the process involves much suffering, especially where great parts of the body are tatted; but to shrink from it or to show signs of suffering is held as evidence of cowardice. Mereenhout says of the operation in Polynesia that it was the cause of such sufferings that sometimes the girl died under them. Yet in spite of this the operation, which is a tedious one, is seldom or never refused (Wilson, Miss. Voyage, London, 1799, 339). Nearly every observer says that the actual carrying out of the process speaks of its extremely painful and even dangerous character. Hence it may be regarded, for whatever purpose it is undergone, as by no means the least serious of the many kinds of austerities practised by lower races. Thus, when it is undergone at puberty, it affords a test of the individual's capacity for enduring pain and showing courage (cf. JAI, 1882, xii. 331). Where it has a religious significance, as in Fiji, where it was held to have been imposed by the god Ndengi, it may be regarded as a kind of offering made to a divinity, while it also secured the entrance to, or the recognition of the individual in, the other world, untutored persons being there subjected to torture (Williams, Fiji, i. 160; cf. Pl. 1894, v. 23, 318; Hall, U.S. Explor. Expet., Philadelphia, 1846, 90, for other instances). The practice of making marks or designs on the body by cuts or scars, into which some pigment is often rubbed, is found among many peoples, especially those with dark skins (Australians, Papuans, etc.), and must involve considerable suffering. See art. TATUNG; Joest, Tätowiren, Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemalen, Berlin, 1887.

10. Medical austerities.—The methods of healing used by the medicine-man, or doctor, in savage societies are often of a drastic and even cruel nature, though they are generally borne submissively by the patient. Resting mainly upon the theory that all disease is caused by evil spirits, the object of the treatment is to drive these away or to obtain possession of the object which they have placed in the body. Hence a great part of the treatment consists of yelling and singing, noises of all kinds, dances, and invocations. But in addition the patient is subjected to a variety of rigorous remedies wrought upon his body. Among the most common of these are scarifying the flesh and bleeding. Thus among the Anda-nese the flesh is cut with quartz or glass flakes (JAI, 1882, xii. 83), elsewhere, as among the Dinkas (JAI, 1904, xxxv. 156), with knives, and sometimes, as among the Kemerinas, by a very nasty method, the whole body being rubbed with a medicine in rags rubbed upon the body (JAI, 1895, xxx. 215). Similar scarifications are used by many other peoples—Australians, Papuans, American Indians, both north and south. A primitive method of treating the patient is to produce a disagreeable taste, consisting of making an incision in the flesh, plunging a horn above the incision, exhausting the air by
suasion, and then closing the orifice. The horn is then gradually filled with blood (Nassau, op. cit. 1885, 315); but a higher level is not allowed to fill it, for fear of blistering, or sucking blood from an incision in the flesh, is common, e.g. in N. America ( Bancroft, passim; Pictit, Traditions indiennes, Paris, 1836, 434). There, too, kneading and pounding the body violently, and pressing the lins into the pit of the stomach until the patient’s strength is exhausted, are in great favour, and occasionally the medicine-man bites the patient with his teeth and shakes him (VR i. 246, 355; Kane, Wanderings, London, 1839, 225). Another remedy is to make, when possible, use of a hunting- spear, and to rub it down with nettles (GB- i. 301, iii. 216). This, like flagellation in cases of madness, is intended to drive off the demon of disease. A favourite remedy for fever and other diseases among American Indians is the sweat-bath. This is a small hut which by various means is heated to suffocation. In it the patient is placed, and afterwards, dripping with perspiration, he rushes out and plunges into cold water. This treatment sometimes causes death, but is generally curative (VR i. 246, 285). A similar remedy for madness is found in Gabun (Nassau, op. cit. 273). It is to be noticed also that sometimes the relatives of the patient, or even of the medicine-man, fast, to assist the progress of the remedy (Ploss, Das Kind, i. 152). Sometimes these circumstances are combined (JAI, 1889, 349). In the latter case the patient is placed, sometimes, in a box with the bark cut off, and is placed in a current of air, and sometimes even exposed to the cold of the night (Im Thurn, 229). Again, probably on the principle of sympathetic magic and the intimate connexion between a man and his wife, fasting and other forms of rigorous discipline are enjoined on women in many quarters while the men are absent on war or the chase. For such a period the women must fast and abstain from sexual intercourse (Riedel, Séleurs en Papouas, Hagué, 1886, 341).

The rule of continence is also followed in various other circumstances. In Congo, when the Chitomb is on circuit, a fast of continence is proclaimed, the penalty for breaking it being death. By such a rule men are forced to make a common tabu after slaying a man or touching the dead, here probably connected with the contagion of death, which necessitates the avoidance of one’s fellows till a certain time has elapsed or certain purification have been performed. Fastling frequently accompanies ceremonies of a religious character. Among the Chaluaras, for instance, fasting with women is forbidden for one month after the shedding of blood among the Kikuyus of E. Africa (JAI, 1890, xxxiv. 264); and among the Natchez, after the first scalp-taking or securing a prisoner, the warriors of the tribe fast for four days, abstaining from eating flesh for a month (Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1744, vi. 196; cf. Western-mack, op. cit. i. 375). In many places continence must be observed for a time after marriage and after a birth (Crawley, op. cit. 345 ff.; Lubbock, op. cit. 81). Even among savages chastity on the part of the priesthood is sometimes a necessity. Thus Algonquin priests were ordained to a life of chastity, and could not eat food prepared by a woman (NR ii. 212), and in Yucatan the ‘captain,’ during his three years’ tenure of office, had to observe the same rule (ib. ii. 741). This corresponds to the general rule of chastity found among higher priesthoods, while there too, celibate orders are found, e.g. those in Mexico dedicated to the service of Quetzalcoatl, and the virgins of the sun in Peru, who, though not celibates, yet annull all contact of the flesh, and otherwise, on pain of a cruel death, to live in chastity, in this exactly resembling the Vestal virgins in Rome (Zöckler, op. cit. 83; Prescott, Peru, London, 1839, 53; cf. also the purity enjoined on the Roman phase of the Roman household).

See also the articles on ASCETICISM. 

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article. 

J. A. MACCULLOCH.
AUSTRALASIA (Ethnology, Religions, and Ethics).—*AUSTRALASIA* is here taken in its widest sense, so as to cover the great insular world which comprises nearly the whole of the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, and constitutes one of the five main divisions of the globe. The term is practically synonymous with a southern extension of the Indo-Malayan, and for which English writers now generally substitute *Australasia,* as harmonizing better with the other divisions, and at the same time serving to recall its essential characteristics—firstly, that it is geographically an eastern extension of the Philippines, and secondly, that the great island-continent of Australia forms its central and most important feature (A. R. Wallace, *Australasia,* p. 2).

As thus understood, this Oceanic region comprises five main insular groups, which form the subjects of separate articles, but may here be briefly tabulated with their more important subdivisions:

I. **AUSTRALIA** with **Tasmania.**

II. **MALAYSIA,** comprising the Malay Peninsula; the large islands (Jalak, Lumbock, Sumbawa, Flores, Sumban, Allor or Onlay, Timor, Wetta, Serawati); Borneo; Celebes; Jilolo or Jiloke (Ternate, Tidore); the Moluccas; Sulawesi; Moluccines; Formosa; and the outlying Andaman and Nicobar groups.

III. **PAPUA,** with two sections:

1. New Guinea, with the D' Entrecasteaux, Lonsdale, and other islands.
2. Melanesia, comprising the Bismarck Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland, Duke of York); Solomon; Santa Cruz; Banks; Fiji; New Hebrides; New Caledonia; and Loyalty Archipelages.

IV. **POLYNESIA,** including New Zealand; Tonga (Friendly); Cook or Herman Islands; Mangaia, Raratonga; Sanea (Tuvalu); Society (Tahiti); Low (Tahitou); Marquesas, Nakuru, Futauha, etc.; Navigators (Savai, Sini, Tukokesia); Ellice (Funafuti); Savage (Niue); Sandwich (Hawaii) and Easter (Rapanui) groups.

V. **Moluccas,** comprising the Bajau (Palaun); Ladrones (Samarra); Caroline; Marshall (Balick, Rudaki); Gilbert (Kirguina); Phoenix and Penrhyn (Manahulu) groups.

For purposes of this article it should probably be included in No. II., see art. **AFRICA.** The Secesshells, M around, and other scattered clusters in the Indian Ocean are excluded because unimportant when discovered, and the same remarks apply to Norfolk, Kermadec, Pitcairn, and a few other South Sea islands. Note that South Sea is synonymous with Pacific Ocean.

All the lands in this table have been occupied by man since the remotest times, and it is argued in the art. **ASIA** that the cradle of the human family lay most probably in Malaysia (Java). From this central area of dispersion the first migratory movements ranged north to Asia, west to the Caucasus, and south to the Oceanic world by land connections which have since been greatly reduced by subsidence (see art. **ETHNOLOGY,** § 3). It would thus appear that the first inhabitants of Australasia must have been direct descendants of a Pleistocene precursor whose prototype is found in the Japanese *pikunotsumyre cretus,* and who are themselves represented by the black elements still persisting in Malaysia (Malay Peninsula, Flores, Timor), in Papuasia, Australia, and even in Polynesia and Melanesia, though their numbers have been reduced by later intruders from Asia. As in Africa, there are two black elements in Oceania: (a) the dwarfish *Negritos* surviving in the Andamans, in the Malay Peninsula (Sakais, Semangis), in the Philippines (Abor), and in Java (the nearly extinct Kalangis); and (b) the medium-sized or even tall *Papuans,* who form nearly the whole of the population in New Guinea (Papuans proper), and throughout Melanesia. For several reasons, such as their physical, linguistic, and religious differences, it is desirable to separate them from the Melanese as two distinct though closely related sub-groups, while both may be conveniently comprised under the collective name of *Papuans.* The Melanesians, for instance, are of Malay-Polynesian speech, and worship no devils, whereas the Papuans speak numerous languages fundamentally distinct from any others, and are pronounced demonologers. Dr. Haney speaks of their origins as lost 'dans les profondeurs d'un insomniable passé,' while W. Volz shows that in pre-Malay times they occupied all the Pacific Ocean (A. A., Nov. 1894). Their westward extension to the large Sunda Islands, where no full-blooded Papuans are now found, is also established by B. Hagen, who groups together the Batacas, Gayos, and Alas of Sumatra, the Ulu-yars of Borneo, the Semangas and Aetias of Malacca and Singapore, the Kajays, and the Celebes recently discovered by Dr. Saras in Celebes, the Melanesians, Papuans, and Australians, 'as local varieties and remains of a great wide-spread primitive southern race,' which he calls 'the old pre-Malay racial element,' in *Oceania* (Globes, 1894, 76, No. 2, p. 241). These pre-Malaysians therefore constitute the substratum, the true aborigines, everywhere in Australasia.

Their watery domain was later, but still in remote pre-historic times, encroached upon first by the Caucasians and then by the Mongoloids who came from the Asiatic mainland. It is shown in art. **ASIA** that during the Stone Ages two branches of the western Caucasians reached the uttermost confines of the continent, one probably from Europe through Mongolia to Korea and Korea southwards from North Africa through Irania to India and Indo-China. Some of the northern branch, all dolmen or megalithic builders, appear to have passed from Japan to Micronesia, where they may have joined hands with those of the southern branch, who ranged from Indo-China southwards to Malaysia and thence eastwards to Polynesia. Thus are explained those astonishing *mararis* and other monolithic structures which are found scattered over the Pacific islands as far east as Rapanui (Easter Island), and even the works of Ponape (Eastern Carolinas) with cyclopean walls 10 to 18 feet thick, constructed of huge basaltic blocks, some measuring 25 ft. in length by 8 ft. in circumference (F. J. Moss, *Atolls and Islands, pessoun*). There is a trilithon at Maui (Tonga group) which looks like one of those 'Drunken-like shrines' seen by Mr. R. T. Turley in North Korea, where some of the people 'show Caucasian and not Mongolian features' (*Geograph. Jour.,* April 1904, pp. 478, 479). That the two races of Caucasic streams have met and mingled in these North Pacific waters is shown, amongst other indications, by the fact that the Nukoro islanders near Mortlock (Central Carolinas) still speak a pure but archaic form of the Maori language away to the south (New Zealand). In order to distinguish between the Mongolid (Malayan) peoples and these primitive Caucasians who long sojourned in the Eastern Archipelago, and are there still represented, amongst others, by the Mentawi islanders (west coast Sumatra), the term *Indo-Malay* (now but applied to Malay, which is sometimes treated as a colony of the Melanesian), can no longer be seriously questioned, since by the unanimous testimony of all competent observers they are one of the very finest races on the globe, with physical characters connecting them anthropologically with the globe.
the western Caucasians. Of the Tonga, natives Lord George Campbell writes: 'There are no people in the world who strike one at first so much as these friendly Islanders. Their clear light copper-brown colored skins, yellow and curly hair, the tint of their tout ensemble, formed a novel and splendid picture of the great and powerful type. But the physical appearance gave one certainly an impression of being a superior race to ours' (Log Letters from The Challenger; and see also Guille- mard's "Australia, ch. 14). But it was shown above that the whole Oceanic area was first peopled by the Papuans, which explains the constant occurrence of a black strain, very marked in Micronesia, but also met with all over the Pacific. The natives of New Guinea (New Island) have a tradition that, when they occupied the island from Samoa, they found a black population with whom they intermixed. The same statement is made by the Harvey people, and is confirmed by their dark complexion and kinky hair, while in the present the Melanesian features—grizzled hair, dark-brown skin, and full beard—predominate. Even the Tahitians and Mauritians, both in other respects splendid Caucasians, here and there betray the dark element in their protruding lips, very dark-brown skins, curly hair, and slightly developed nose. In Micronesia the above-mentioned Mentawai islanders are the finest of all the surviving Indonesians, and of them Von Rosenberg writes that, 'as regards physical appearance, speech, customs, and usages, they stand almost quite apart. They form a near strain of the Oceanic race that one might far sooner compare them with an inhabitant of the South Sea Islands' (Der malayische Archipel, i. 189). "It is somewhat difficult to say what the original type of the true Polynesian was: but it is probable that the forerunner, the oval-faced, high-brown, lithe, active, light brown, black straight-haired, black or very dark-brown-eyed, cheery, dignified individual so frequently met with, is the nearest to the true original Polynesian" (Perey Smith, Hulaula, p. 14).

As the western Australians moved eastwards to their present homes in the Pacific, their place was taken by the Asiatic Mongols, who are now represented in the Eastern Archipelago by the light- or olive-brown populations commonly called Malay. They form, in fact, the Oceanic section of the Mongol family, and as their right to be regarded as members of this family is no longer contested, the point need not here be laboured. Intermingling with the pre-Malayan dark and fair elements (Papuans and Indonesians) have caused considerable local modifications and given rise to some new types of mankind, especially in the New Guinea, the Bornean Dayaks and Kayans, the Bugis and Min-hassas of Celebes, the Tagalogs and others of the Philippines, and the Formosan aborigines. But the dominant historical Malays, whose original home was in the Menangkaban district of Sumatra, and whose language has become the language of the Archipelago, are a true Mongolid people, distinguished by their 'light yellowish and brownish skins, long lank and black hair, short stature, rather oblique eyes, and prominent cheek-bones' (Dr. Lhü, in Voyage dans le royaume de Siam, etc., Paris, 1868, p. 216). The organic kinship is still especially marked in the many languages of the Oceanic Mongols reached their present domain in remote times, before the Indo-Chinese tongues had become disintegrated—that is, before the development of monosyllabism by phonetic decay. Not only do such untoned languages still survive on the mainland, but they so closely resemble the Oceanic tongues that they may be called proto- or archaic-Malayan. Of the continental Malay mother tongue there are several varieties, such as Kinner (Cambodian), Redai, Balair, Samur, and Charany, which are all tonel and have a great number of words in common with the Oceanic Malay, while 'the grammatical structure of both is absolutely identical' (C. Fontaine, quoted by H. Mouhot, in Voyage dans les royaumes de Siam, etc., Paris, 1868, p. 216). The organic kinship is seen especially in the first or archaic stage, which is everywhere precisely the same, as in the Kinner sauk, 'to corrupt,' saunaw, 'a brieve'; the Malagasy tady, 'twisted,' a 'rope,' tonaday, 'strong'; the Javanese hurab, 'dame,' kunurab, 'to flare up'; the Tagalog kapot, 'brother,' kisap, 'brotherly'; the Malay sipit, 'to graze,' sinipt, 'an anchor,' and so on (the inflex elements always the same, m, n, and s).

A harder problem is the extension of this race group into the continental races (Dr. Hany) not only to the Malayans, the Mongolo-Asiatic aborigines of Malaya, but to the Malaysians, whose black inhabitants speak many more primitive variations of Malayo-Polynesian than either the Polynesians or the Malays, although they are neither Polynesians nor Malays themselves, but a branch of the primordial Oceanic Negroid race. Here Dr. Cordyton gives the leading authority on the subject, vouches for three essential points: (1) the substantial unity and homogeneous character of the Melanesian tongues, under considerable dialectical diversity, and apart from the number of languages, the Tonga, Ongtong, Futuna, Fato, Moe, Tikopia, and Ontong Java; (2) their fundamental kinship with the Malay-Polynesian family; and (3) their archaic character as compared with all the other members of that family. 'As compared with Fiji [a Melanesian tongue], the languages of Tonga and Samoa [Indo- nesian] are late, simplified, and decayed' (Cordyton, Melanesian Languages, Oxf. 1885, p. 26). The question therefore arises, How came these savage head-hunters and cannibals to lose their original forms of speech? Some such as still survive in their kindred black peoples of New Guinea and of Australia, and have but recently become extinct in Tasmania? And then, how did they everywhere, from the Bismarck to the Loyalty groups, acquire Malayo-Polynesian languages of primitive type? Early Indonesians or Malayans conquerors, followed by miscegenation, naturally suggest themselves, but are excluded by the absence of those modified Negroid physical characters which most necessarily have resulted from such postulated intermingleings. The Melanesians are quite as much as the Papuans, and show even more marked Negro features than the somewhat modified Australian aborigines. Cordyton, who gives a few instances of mutual assimilation and interchange of type and speech, especially in Fiji, remarks that—
It is conceivable, on the supposition that the languages now spoken by Melanesians are not originally their own, that their original stock has been lost as in the case of the vocabulary or in grammar, that languages derived from without have entirely taken the place of some earlier [Papuan and New Guinea] special stock, it may be allowed to be no uncommon case. In Malaya, there is the great difficulty that the present Melanesian languages certainly have not been introduced by intruders speaking an Austronesian or Polynesian language. Is there a tentative solution of the problem which would account for the Polynesians having a language allied both to the Malay and to the Melanesian? (p. 31).

It should be added that Malayo-Polynesian has not the remotest connexion either with the heterogeneous tongues of the New Guinea Papuans or with the homogeneous agglutinating languages of the Australian aborigines. As a rule the Negritos both of the Philippines and of Malacca have lost their original tongues, and generally speak those of the surrounding Malayan peoples. On the other hand, the Andamanese may claim to have developed in their long secluded island homes perhaps the most remarkable form of speech known to philology. It has no kinship with any other, and its most striking feature is a superabundance of pronominal prefixes and formative postfixes, so that ‘in adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinating tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well-defined principles of the South African [Bantu] tongue’ (R. C. Temple). Thus it is clear that these principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other’s grammatical functions.’ (R. C. Temple, Anthrop. Journ. 1882, p. 120). Yet, like the Australians, these paradoxical ‘Mincopies,’ as they were formerly called, have an infinitive arithmetical with no words for the numerals beyond two.

In the Oceanic area the various religious systems may be broadly described as consisting of diverse forms of belief and doctrine, the most important of which is animism, leading in some places to the purest, most stringent, in others to nature- and ancestor-worship, above which has been raised a luxuriant growth of myth and legend. With all this are combined some strange aspects of demonology and tabu, wide-spread over the Indo-Pacific domain, besides totemism, ordeals, omens, and fetishism, in forms which throw light on the origin of these practices. Less wide-spread are true idolatry, shamanism, priestcraft, and other merely oriental features, like the florid cult, witchcraft, the evil eye, rain- and weather-doctoring, and the other superstitions usually associated with primitive religions. The ethical standards present enormous differences, although the Oceanic peoples may in a general way be spoken of rather as non-moral than immoral. In fact, the moral sense, as understood by more advanced races, must be regarded as still dormant amongst Polynesians, who indulge openly in unbridled licenoe; Melanesians and Borneans, who glory in the trophies acquired in the shooting expeditions; and Papuan marauders, who treat with fiendish cruelty the captives secured for their cannibal feasts. Nor are these atrocities confined to the lower races, as seen by the unspotted horrors of the cage-prisons in the unprotected Malay States described by H. Clifford (In Court and Kampung, p. 161 ff.).

In Sumatra also the Bats open hostilities by offering to their war-god a boy eight or ten years old, who is buried to his neck in the ground, and covered with a mixture of ginger, red pepper, and salt. When he is nearly raving mad with thirst, he is induced by the offer of a little water to promise to plead the tribal cause in the next world. But, the promise made, molten lead instead of water is poured in his eyes and throat, and his head is cut off and buried in an earthenware pot under a large tree in the village. These Battas are idolatrous cannibals, who, before the fight begins, prepare a rudely carved wooden effigy with a square hole in the place of the navel. The pot is then dug up and the soft parts of the head are thrust into the effigy, which is carried to a leaft plate. The idol thus becomes animated (hat hierdurch seine Seele bekommen), and is at once sent off to the enemy, from whom another is received in exchange, and the pot is put aside for future use (Von Rosenberg, Die wotatjewische Archipel, i. 60).

And thus we seem to get a hint of how crude animism may in some places have passed through the fetish stage of the indwelling soul up to true idolatry or image-worship. The Panguluw-belang, as the Battas call this wooden effigy, has already become a true anthropomorphic entity — has received its soul — and, like the war-gods of Olympus, can now champion its cause in this and the next world.

Amongst the Karo Battas the doctrine of soul receives its utmost development. Here the tendi, like the kro of the Gold Coast negroes (see art. ETHNOLOGY, § 9), is a second ego—a sort of ‘double’ dwelling in the body, which it may occasionally leave — and at death becomes a bogu (spirit, properly ‘shade’) on earth, or a dibatta (god) of the middle spaces. Often there are as many as seven such tendisi, which are continually engaged in eating, drinking, and other activities or properties of man. Two are clearly distinguished, one more specialized which later becomes a bogu, the other representing more generally the vital force, and after death resolved into breath, or becoming wind, and returning to the soul of the world (Weltseele). Not only men, but animals and even plants, are endowed with tendisi, and the Si Dayang, as the rice tendi is called, is represented as a goddess who plays a great part in the creation myth. She is the maker of man, the source of creative and sustaining power of the All-life, the gracious mother of nature, these cosmic notions being no doubt due later Hindu influences (J. H. Neumann, quoted by W. Foy, in Centralblatt f. Anthrop. 1894, v. 299).

In the neighbouring Nias archipelago the Malay nates are both idol- and devil-worshippers, and also head-hunters in the southern districts. Having no idea of a pure soulless spirit, they fabricate numerous stone and wooden statues as tutelar deities, protectors of the chief, of the village, or the war-party, to ward off sickness and other troubles. The chief god, however, is Lulu-langi, who dwells in the wind, which, although it is invisible, can still be felt. This god is conceived as a tree waving in the atmosphere, and shedding fruits which become either spirits or men, forefathers of the present generation, according as they fall in space or on the ground. In fact, Lulu-langi is the origin of everything, and from him comes nothing but good.

Their forefathers dwell in constant association with him, and it is they who are invoked for blessings and against all kinds of evils. Here we have a peculiar form of ancestor-cult, which is paid also to the subordinate chthonic god Batu-beano, while appeal is likewise made to the other deities, amongst them some goddesses, all collectively called Ajii. But more numerous appear to be the demons, of whom the most powerful and most dreaded is Nadaise. Of them no images are made, since they dwell in the woods, the fields, the gardens, the house itself, even in houses when they fall sick. Then they send for the Ere (wizard), who smells out the particular spook that is causing the mischief, and brings him with the heart and blood of a fowl to leave the sick man and go away. If this and stronger measures fail, it is concluded that there are devils about, and these are got rid of by stopping all the
doorsways except one, through which they are driven by cutting and slashing in all directions and making a tremendous uproar with much shouting, tom-tomming, and beating of pots and pans. The Nins people are not clear about an after-life, but say that the body came from and returns to nothing, while the soul joins an ordinary state with the ancestors with Lu-bu-lang, nothing being said about rewards or penalties. Earthquakes, the tides, eclipses, and other natural phenomena are due to sinister influences, even the rainbow being a net cast out by Nadiyaya to ensnare mortals, although the souls of the dead pass through the birds' entrails, exactly as amongst the old Etruscan bau-rupes; and children are specially guarded against the evil eye of passing strangers. Much dancing accompanies all festive gatherings, which would appear to have a sacred character, since they are performed in honour of the victim being obtained by raiding a neighbouring island. The sinatu (fiends) are of course the root of all evil, and when they are appealed to in the woodslands which they infest, they are supposed to reply in the thin sneaking voice of an old man (Von Rosenberg, i. passim).

Most of the other Sumatrans, and all the Javaneese, formerly Buddhists and Brahmins, have been Muhammadans since about the close of the 15th cent.; but the new religion is merely lip service, a three-square clock that ticks over the still flickering glimmer of Hinduism, which itself barely conceals the everlasting vesture of pagan times. Here, therefore, and especially in Java, we have three religious systems intermingled, or rather superimposed one on the other (cf. Art. ABBRIGINES, § 5). Hindu blood still flows in the veins of the Javaneese nobility, such as the 'Emperor' of Solo (Surakarta), and the Prince of Jokjokarta, while the triumphs of Hindu architecture are still everywhere conspicuous, as on the Borobudza and Paling uplands of Sumatra, even in Bali and Sumatera, in the large stone temple of Boro-budur in Central Java. Hence it is not perhaps surprising that the early Indian religions and moral notions still survive and display a more vigorous growth than the arid teachings of Islam. The Qur'anic texts may be daily read in the tasteless mosques, but in serious trouble Allah and his Prophet are forgotten, and resort is had to the ancient shrines, where sacrifices and prayers are still offered to the old Hindu deities. Even the pineal tree-sole is kept alive, the chief object of veneration being one of an odd number of the fig-tree, such as the pidal (Ficus religiosa) and F. benjamina. Beneath the shade of these wide-branching giants the natives often gather to worship the old earth-gods, for whom long-forgotten names those of the Hindu pantheon are substituted. Respect is also paid to the turtle-doves and to the monkeys (Cercopithecus and Simnopithecus) which have their homes in the branches of the sacred pidal-tree, and even to certain strangely shaped blocks and piles carrying the mind back to the stone-cult of prameval times (E. Cautius, in Königliche Zeit., Aug. 26, 1906).

Hinduism still holds its ground in Bali and parts of Lombok, but is here also associated with many old superstitions, so that these islands present the strange spectacle of large Hindu communities professing every form of belief, from the grossest heathendom to pure pantheism. It is everywhere evident enough that 'just as Hinduism has only touched the outer surface of their religion, it has failed to penetrate into their social institutions, which, like this nation, originated from the times when Polyenian [Indonesian] heathendom was all-powerful' (W. Cool, With the Dutch in the East, p. 130).

A local myth relates how these gods established themselves in Bali after their descent from Java by the end of the 15th century. They had first to contend with the wicked salvationists, who fiercely resisted the invasion, but in the struggle were annihilated; but the still worshipped Vena, Dewana. Then new thrones for the Olympians had to be thrown as in Jokjokarta, and being no remains of that time in Bali, the four nearest hills in East Java were brought over and set down in the east, west, north, and south, and assigned to the different gods according to their respective ranks.

Hinduism never made much progress in Borneo; nor has Islam anywhere penetrated much beyond the seaboard, so that the great bulk of the Dayaks, Kayans, and other aborigines are still pagans. Head-hunting, cannibalism, and human sacrifices, attended with shocking atrocities, have been slowly repressed by the British and Dutch authorities; but the Muslim and Christian propagandists appear to make little headway amongst the heathen tribes of the interior. All are still in the wild state, and the whole island has not inaptly been described as a living museum. As in Africa, the human sacrifices, formerly universal, were the direct outcome of the prevalent ancestor-worship, the ostensible motive being to dispatch messages to dead relatives, or to honour them by these sanguinary rites. For this purpose a slave was tied up and bound round with cloths, and then, 'after some preliminary dancing and singing, one after another would stick a spear a little way—an inch or so—into his body, each one sending a message to his deceased friend as he did so' (W. B. Pryer, JAL, 1886, xvi. 234). The wicked, however, cannot receive their messages, since they are doomed, Siyaphus-like, to be everlastingely clawing up the rugged slopes of Kima Bana, the highest peak in Borneo (nearly 14,000 feet). The good, that is, those who have collected most human heads in this world for provision in the next, easily reach the top, whence they are ushered into heaven. But in other places, where the mountains are not so high, even the elect have to overcome many obstacles during their long wanderings up hill and down dale, and to appease the irascible gods of fire and water, until 'at last they are safely landed in the heaven of their tribe' (C. Bock, Headhunters of Borneo, p. 223).

Dr. W. H. Furness describes the Borneans as 'savages of a high order,' without 'any definite forms of religions worship,' although they make 'wooden idols,' regarded apparently as mere scarecrows to frighten off evil spirits (Folklore in Borneo, p. 4). They are 'saturated with superstitions; every pool, every tree, every rock is the haunt of some one of an unnumbered host of the forest, who are constantly whispering. Everywhere are signs and omens to warn man of danger, or direct his course,' and the mountains are so infested with antu (demons) that 'the summits can be gained only at the risk of body, and, still worse, of soul' (ib. p. 6). Head-hunting is part of their religion; no house is blest which is not sanctified by a row of human skulls, and no man can hope to attain to the happy region of Apo Leggon unless he, or some relative of his, has added a head to the household collection (ib. p. 14). The custom is explained by the myth of the great chief Tokong, who when on a raid was told by Kap, the frog, to carry off the heads of the enemy. Having done so, the war party retreated quickly to the river
down which they had come. After they had again embarked, the current of the stream was, for their sakes, reversed, and like a flash they were carried up-stream to their homes. During their short return to the rice crop had ripened, the sick were all well again, and the lame could walk and the dying and so they ever afterwards observed the custom that Kop had taught them (p. 15). In the Kayan cosmogony there was at first nothing but sky and water, when a huge rock fell from the heavens, and rising above the surface was covered with soil by the action of the little halang worms. Then from the sun was dropped the wooden handle of a big sword, which, taking root in the soil, grew to a great tree, with branches spreading over all the new land, and this was followed by a rope-like vine from the moon, which also took root and wound itself round the tree. Now the vine became the husband of the tree, which gave birth to a male and a female, from whose union are sprung the Kayans and all the other Bornean tribes, and lastly Tokong, father of head-hunters. At first they were only half-human, with head, chest, and arms, but no legs, so that they had to crawl along the ground by their arms, an idea perhaps suggested by the octopus, which plays such a large part in the Oceanic mythologies (pp. 7-9). The Kayan Hades is not in the Underworld, the home of Demon Hades, has its Charon and its Styx, a deep wide ditch swarming with worms, and crossed, not by a ferry, but by a fallen tree-trunk which is guarded by the great demon Malagong. By all him come spirits, and if they have no strength to survive, no store of captured heads, the tree-trunk is shaken until they fall into the ditch, to be tortured for ever by the worm that dieth not. But there are 'many mansions,' as for those dying a violent death, or on the battlefield; for mothers dying in childbirth, and to him the request of the king is granted. Logen, one of the chief divisions, dwell those dying of sickness or old age, and these 'have much the same lot as they had in this world; the poor remain poor, and the rich maintain their rich estate' (p. 16).

In Malacca the dominant Malays are all nominal Muhammadans; but here, as elsewhere in the Malay world, the cloak of religion is a very loose garment which covers a multitude of primeval rags and tatters. These were never touched or repaired by Roman Catholic, or planted. Farther than Singapore, the 'Lion City' over against the mainland. Hence Islam is here directly superimposed on the old heathendom, which it has scarcely penetrated a little below the surface. Raja Dja (mysticism) is a Malay belief that the people of Perak are still specially noted for many strange customs and superstitions 'utterly opposed to Muhammadan teaching, and savouring strongly of devil-worship. . . . An enormous belief in the supernatural is possibly a relic of the pre-Islam state' (JAL, 1858, xvi. 227). One is here reminded, however, that even the Arabs, if they do not worship the devil, still pelt him with stones at Muna near Mecca 'in the name of Allah.' Referring to the Malays generally, Miss Bird (Mrs Bishop) wishes that 'it were possible to know to what extent they are a people like people as Musulms. That they are bigots and have successfully resisted all attempts to convert them to Christianity there is no doubt, as well as that they are ignorant and grossly superstitious' (Golden Cherubineer, Lond. 1853, p. 361). Elsewhere (p. 321) she tells us that 'Buffalo Groove is sacrificed on religious occasions, and at the births, circumcisions, marriages, and shaving of the heads of the children of wealthy people. The buffalo sacrificed for religious purposes must be always without blemish. Its bones must not be broken after death, neither must its horns be used for common purposes. It is slain near the mosque with solemn sacrificial ceremonies, and one half is usually cooked and eaten on the spot by the 'parishioners.'"

But the most striking survival from pagan times is the universal belief in the werewolf superstition, which here of course takes the form of the wer-tiger. In Borneo there are wooden idols of tigers with indwelling souls (C. Bock, op. cit. p. 226). But in the Malay lands the tiger himself is worshipped, and the belief that men assume this form at night is inextinguishable. H. Clifford remarks that—

'In the Malay Peninsula we live in the Middle Ages. Magic and evil spirits, witchcraft and sorcery, spells and love-poisons, demons and incantations are as real and as real to these as fighting and everyday life as are the miracle of the growing rice and the mysteries of the reproduction of species. Tales of the marvelous and the supernatural excite interest and fear in the Malay, but they occasion no surprise. Every Malay knows that strange things have happened in the past, and are daily occurring to them and to their fellows. Thus the existence of the Malayan Loup Garenz to the native mind is a fact and not a mere belief. The Malay knows that it is true' (op. cit. p. 60).

Then follows a wer-tiger story which for vividness and intense horror could scarcely be surpassed. For details, see art. Lycanthropy; and for prevalent religious notions in Minahassa and other parts of Celebes, see art. Air.

Even magic, however, has gradually divorced from the religions of more advanced peoples, is still interwoven with the beliefs and practices of the Malayan Muhammadans. In his Malay Magic (p. 60) W. Skeat tells us that one of the ways by which the Malays 'get magic' is to run against the ghost of a murdered man. As this mystic ceremony must be performed at the grave on a Tuesday at full moon, when the person needing help conjures the departed spirit and states his request. After a time an aged man appears, and apparently beside, as if possessed, and is supposed to be ultimately granted. The magic here in question appears to be what is elsewhere called mana (Melanesians), wabanda (Dakotans), orenda (Iroquois), arunyanthk limited in the Malay, and by other names. It colours all primitive beliefs, from which it is inseparable, although to some recent theorists it has been regarded as something apart from religion.

A link between the Malayan and Papuan domains was discovered by Wallace in the island of Jilolo (Sulawesi, formerly called Malhama), where the children is not only said to be a mixture of those of the Papuans; their hair is semi-Papuan, neither straight, smooth and glossy, like all true Malays, nor so frizzly and woolly as the perfect Papuan type, but always crisp, waved, and rough, such as often occurs among the true Papuans, but never among the Malays' (op. cit. p. 310). The term Alfuro applied to these aborigines has no etymological value, being the general Malay designation of the uncultured non-Muslim peoples in the eastern parts of Malaysia.

From them the transition is easy to New Guinea, the home of the true Papuans, on whose religious views much light has been thrown by the works of the late L. H. Bureau. In the western parts, subject to Holland as far as 140° E., prevalent features are pure demonolatry and the worship of ancestors represented by the so-called wooden Kurew effigies of the dead, fashioned by the wizards. In the Sekar district, accidentally visited by Captain Jameson, food, tobacco, and sugar-cane are scattered about wherever goblins are supposed to be lurking. Here the arch-fiends are the so-called Atitti, gigantic monsters of white colour, with an eye in front and another behind, six fingers on each hand and the right index finger furnished with a very
long sharp nail. They dwell in underground caves, and hunt down mortals, whom they eat if the flesh is found to their taste. To test the quality, a piece of the flesh is first scooped out with the long finger-nail, and then the hand is thrust into the cavum but otherwise is allowed to go free. These supernatural beings are vulnerable only in the eyesockets. Here the tabu marks (kere-kere)—leaves, rugs, shells, fast, and the like, with a painted male figure attached to a post sunk in the ground—are very often seen by the villages among the Majore (not Nuyfre) of the North-West Coast, and appear to be real idols, not merely ornaments or emblems, as is often asserted. He calls them Ahnenbilder, ‘ancestral effigies.’

After a burial a block of wood is brought from the west, and first roughly hewn and then furnished with eyes, nose, ears, and mouth, usually by the village magician, all amid much feasting and dancing, which is kept up for several days. When the supplies, mostly sago and palm-wine, run out, more is sent for. Meanwhile the soul of the departed is still fighting about, and every effort is made to entice him back to the life of animal enjoyment. A tremendous uproar is raised with shouting, yelling, and drum-beating in all the houses and neighbouring hamlets, and this is continued for days. Various holidays, a whole day’s holiday, the block in his hands with much contortion of face until he feels that his soul has entered the corpse, and from which it can no longer escape and go about working mischief. Henceforth much homage is paid to the idol, which is carefully kept in another, the best, corner of the house, and hidden from the eyes of any uninitiated guests. It is consulted and invoked on all occasions by the near relatives, its intimation being sought by offerings of tobacco, by adorning it with shreds of bright cloth, and holding it in the hand till it moves, that is, till it answers. It accompanies travellers on long journeys to guard them from harm, until at last, having lost its virtue (its mana), it is thrown aside as so much lumber, or otherwise treated with much contempt. And in consequence there is no doubt that ‘the Moars worship the departed spirits.’ This belief in the immortality of the soul is the main principle of their religion, and with it are associated many tales and images.” (Glider u. Sitten der Papuas, etc., passim.)

In recent times the upper reaches of the Fly River, about the Anglo-Dutch frontiers, have been depopulated by the incessant ravages of the ferocious west coast tribes, especially the Tugare or Tugare cannibals, whose extreme savagery and cruelty may be taken as representing the lowest state of human culture in New Guinea, if not in the whole world. Little is known about their religion, if they have any; but we have now official information regarding the almost incredible horrors accompanying their slave-raiding expeditions. ‘They are a cannibal tribe of pirates,’ writes the Rev. S. MacFarlane, ‘who make periodic raids upon the villages along the eastern coast. They break the arms and legs of the prisoners, so as to prevent their fighting or running away, and then keep them as fresh meat until required, cooking one or two bodies at a time’ (Cannibals of New Guinea, London, 1888, p. 166). Or else the captive is left for some days; or he is taken alive, to be sold or exchanged with the interior tribes. The natives rush with knives in their hands, each slashing a piece of the body, which may be still alive, in the midst of diabolical noise and yells of rejoicing.” (L. Loris, Official Report, 1885, Appendix 1.)

In British New Guinea, witchcraft causes much trouble, and everywhere presents the same general features. A sorcerer, paid for the purpose, prepares a parcel of rubbish containing a hair or something taken from the person to be operated upon. Then the sorcerer takes an individual person and frightens people, who sometimes sicken and die through fear. Thus the sorcerers cause great trouble, and the people generally would gladly see them put down, but fear keeps them from reporting their threats and swindles” (Report for 1892–4, p. 37).

Various forms of tabu are everywhere, but in the British districts it has never been grounded on any deep religious sentiment, consequently has never taken deep root. So far as is known at the present time, the only tabus prevailing are those connected with the taboo food, prohibitions against eating certain foods, usually the cocoa-nut, for a coming feast. It is most frequently applied to cocoa-nut and betel-nut trees. In some places the prohibition is announced by a syren of wood on a string wielded by a fishing-rod. From the Fly River to the far east, branches, usually of sago, are tied on the prohibited trees. Sometimes strings are put round gardens; branches are tied into the door of a house that is not to be entered, or are laid across a road that is not to be traversed” (ib. p. 38). With the statement about storing up food there should be added the tabus connected with the taboo tree (Tucjare, or any tree, for instance) at the other end of Papuasia. Here tapu has no religious significance, and is associated exclusively with the question of food—that is, the question which most interested primitive peoples. It is much the same in the Marshall Islands, where Mr. F. J. Moss tells us that recently the despotic king of Majuro feared a man for picking a green coconut ‘when the tapu had been placed upon them’ (Through Atolls and Islands, p. 120). The reservation and safeguarding of food, particularly in times of scarcity, would thus appear to be the original purpose, the institution of the religious sanction being a later development, as amongst the more advanced Indonesians of New Zealand, where ‘tapu and its observances, in a sense, took the place of religion’ (A. Hamilton, Art Workmanship of N. Z. Moari Race, 1885, p. 370).

Both in British and German New Guinea ancestor-worship is a prominent feature of the religious systems, and here the moral sense is scarcely yet awakened, so that little or no provision is made against immoral sins in the after life. Thus in Murina (Woodlark Island and the east end of New Guinea, ‘all people, whether good or bad, when snatched away by death, go like the wind to the small island of Watum; there they enjoy the full pleasures of life, the women culti

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pected (Bilder aus der Südsee, 1904, passim). Yet the strictly religious views of these undoubted savages may be called 'respectable,' in some instances almost elevated—a phenomenon obviously due, perhaps like their language, to the proximity of the founders, invoking Polynesia, by whom all occasioned by the somewhat costly appeal in the last resort to the supreme god—that is, to the tribal chief. In theory this chief is absolute, but does not receive divine honours until after his death, and, as the souls of all the departed are also supposed to be deified, the number of the auns (spirits, minor gods) would be legion, but for the provision that practically only those are honoured who were distinguished by some special qualities when alive. They do not communicate directly with mortals, but only through the wa-so-ar, a large bird of shaman, whose office is not hereditary, each deity choosing one for himself without monopolizing his services, since he is still free to act on behalf of any other god willing to employ him. Besides the tribal (ancestral) gods there are several others, such as the war-god Arong, honoured in the form of a fish, and Ann-set, the sea-god. Arong represents a famous hero, Rassau, who was slain in the island of Lukunur and buried in the sea; hence all warriors who fall in battle are now also buried in the sea, so that they may join the gods in the mythical garden of the sea. Whether the myth was invented to explain the practice, or is a local tradition coloured by the surroundings, is uncertain, but it shows how 'religion, like all other institutions, has been profoundly influenced by physical environment, and cannot be understood without some appreciation of those aspects of external nature which stamp themselves indelibly on the thoughts, the habits, the whole life of a people' (J. G. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris).

Besides the ancestral and other gods, there is no lack of demoniacal beings—demons, who infest the large trees, but is dangerous only to young girls and children. Apparitions and other supernatural phenomena are much dreaded, and no Micronesian would venture from home alone after nightfall. They also believe in divination, and 'have two ways of foretelling the future, one by means of knotted cocoa leaves, the other more complicated, but known only to the professional soothsayers' (Kulab, Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln, p. 290). Tabu is universal, and there is a 'mourning' for the dead, the chieftain, however, being the only one who, by his exalted position, is burdensome to their bereaved subjects. Other forms are concerned with the food question, as in New Guinea and New Caledonia.

Polynesia (see Table, p. 289, No. IV.) is a region of surprising, almost monotonous, uniformity in the physical and mental characters, the speech, social and religious institutions, and oral literature of its Indonesian inhabitants. The oral literature is partly historical and traditional, but mainly sacred and religious—cosmogonies and theogonies merging into semi-divine grovings; mythology, on the other hand, an underlying system of primitive religious notions, without some knowledge of which it is impossible to understand them. Despite the labours of Sir G. Grey, G. Turner, W. W. Gill, A. Forndamer, Percy Smith, and some other Indonesian students, only a few of these legends have yet been rescued from oblivion, and so great are their volume and variety that Adolph Bastian, their chief interpreter, venture to say that 'the Polynesian range of thought is next to or behind the Buddhist the most extensive in the world, stretching through the length and breadth of the Pacific Ocean, and even farther if Micronesia and Melanesia as far as Malaya be included'; and he adds that the mythologies are meaningless without a knowledge of the religious substratum on which they are
raised (Die heilige Sage der Polynesier, p. ix.).

In this work Bastian himself has published three priceless documents with valuable commentaries: a very old creation myth from New Zealand (Die Schöpfungssage der Maori); from Hawaii a complete theology, beginning, like all Polynesian myths, with Chaos and Night; and The History of Ancient Tonga in the Hawaiian language, by David Malo, a converted native.

Apart from their great variety and the sublime cosmic concepts often embodied in the texts, students are puzzled to understand how such voluminous and written records could be handed down from very remote times, as many of them certainly have been. On this point Mr. Percy Smith remarks that "it is difficult for a civilized people which habitually uses writing in recording events to conceive of the powers and memory possessed by people who have nothing but the memory to trust to. Some few instances of this may be mentioned. A Maori and his wife dictated to Mr. Elsdon Best over 400 songs, and could generally tell the names of the composers and performers. This has been copied by Mr. Best and dictated to the writer 164 songs, and these were so impressed on his memory that the quotation of one line was sufficient to recall the whole of the song at once. Another has written eleven volumes of MS. treating of the traditions, songs, customs, etc., of his tribe, and峨峨 dictation to the writer. All of this matter having been retained in his mind, and including hundreds of proper names (Smith, Hawaiiki, p. 20). It is to be remembered that most of the documents are of a sacred character, hence jealously guarded by the priests, who were mostly hereditary, so that it was the duty of the father, and very often the grandfather, to educate their offspring in the tribal lore. This teaching was accompanied with many ceremonies and karakins, or incantations, invocations, etc., in order to impress the pupil with the importance of the matter. There was a special sanctity attached to many things taught: deviation from the accepted doctrines was supposed to bring on the offender the wrath of the gods" (ib. p. 19).

The statement may thus be accepted that the Maori cosmogony is of immense antiquity, having been transmitted ex-batin from priest to priest for thousands of years. In this as in many other such records the distinction is not always clearly drawn between the divine and the human elements. Sometimes gods become human in the narrative, and men are called genealogies, and often merge imperceptibly in the human genealogies, as if the "inspired singers," after deriving the deities from mortals, had reified the balance by reversing the process. Thus Moana, who looms so largely in Polynesian romance, appears to be at first human, and then through his exploits becomes clothed by later generations with divine attributes, and in another place we are told that one Maui (for there are several) is the son of Tangaroa, and becomes man, Tangaroa becoming the sky. The renowned chief Tu-tarangi also, who in Rarotonga is only an eponymous hero, or at most a demigod, is known to the Niue islanders as a deified ancestor. Now Turner, a great authority, tells us that "the Savage [Niue] islanders worshipped the spirits of their ancestors" (Samoanism: A Hundred Years Ago, p. 306). Here perhaps we have an explanation of the apparent confusion. The all-pervading ancestor-cult evidently underlies the whole mythology: it is the superstructure, and from this source were derived many of the gods of Polynesia and Olympus. But the living chiefs are the direct heirs of these Olympians, consequently their genealogies are mere continuations of the theogonies, and to the native mind there is no real confusion at all. Thus it is that, as above remarked (by Bastian), everything becomes clear when we grasp the root ideas out of which flourish these wonderful efflorescences of Indonesian thought.

At times the Polynesian singers appear to soar into the ethereal spaces and to realize the concept of a Supreme Power in the transformed body of Tangaroa (Taaroa). In one variant the lesser gods, the demiurges, fabricate the universe, and Taaroa himself is spoken of as Toiti, the 'Eternal,' or else, like the Hindu Brahma, or the Dusonian Zeus that "was, is, and shall be," is described in the loftiest language as dwelling 'in the limitless void of space, when the World was not yet, nor the Heavens, nor the Sea, nor Man; from on high he calleth, changing to fresh forms, root of the earth, under-prop of the sky, Taaroa as the Sea-sands in the broad expanse, bursts into Light, cometh down as Wisdom, born the Hawaiian land, Hawaii the Great, the Holy.' Similar elevated language pervades the Mangarian cosmogony, which begins with Te-aka-i-Roa, the "Root of all Being," and is logically developed in harmony with the other island systems (Gill, Myths and Songs, passim). Here, too, the genealogies of the gods pass gradually, as in Hawaii, and with scarcely a break, to those of mortals, all in the interest of the living rulers of the land. Such sublime conceptions, such subtle theologies, are in many cases the vehicles of the dimmest, gloomiest, quaintest, and other purer abstractions, in these children of nature, excite wonder and remain inexplicable in their present fragmentary state. Everywhere we find Heaven, Earth, the Universe, the After-World, recurring under diverse names and forms, personified by language, emblazoned in theocratic and anthropomorphous philosophies—echoes, as it were, of the Vedic hymns reverberating from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters. The question arises, Have there been Vedic or Sets? It is a chronological question which cannot be answered until the date is approximately determined of the eastward migration of the Indonesians from Malaysia. Did the migration precede or follow the arrival of the Hindustani missionaries in that region? This vital point has engaged the attention of Mr. R. Studholme Thomson, whose 'Origin of the Maori' appeared in The Maori Record for 1906-1907.

Some light is thrown on the origin of a whole class of bird-omens by what Dr. Turner tells us of a superstition in the Marquesas Islands. It is said that where 'Sepo Molosi' ("Sepo the Strong") was worshipped as a war-god, and incarnate in the large bat, or flying-fox. While the bat flew before the warriors all was right, but if it turned round and shut up the way it was a sign of defeat and a warning to go back (op. cit. p. 51). And again: 'The bat was also an incarnation of Taisuanulie, "Tide gently Rising"). One flying ahead of the troops was always a good omen' (p. 57). We are at once reminded of the flights of the eagles seen by Romulus and Remus at the fountain of the Tiber, although at that time the Western Aryans may have ceased to believe in any spirits incorporated in the birds. We also learn something about the origin of ordeals from the statement that in the time of Taroona the sons of Tahiti were kept on the island, shells, and other such objects of superstitions veneration, which were used as aids in the administration of justice. In the presence of such ordeals 'the truth was rarely concealed. They firmly believed that it would be death to touch the cup [these shells] and tell a lie, and when these things became discredited, as having lost their hidden virtue—their mana, so to say—they were replaced by more efficacious processes: the poison-cup, hot iron bars, stones to be fishes out
of boiling water, duel-ling and the like. But the people who hold the same or a similar belief in a supernatural power regulating the application of the tests in the interests of justice. For other Indonesian beliefs and religious observances, see art. POLYNESIA.

Owing perhaps to the difficulty of distinguishing between the legally social and the religious institutions of primitive peoples, a great diversity of opinion prevails even amongst the best observers regarding the religious views of the Australian aborigines. Some hold with Ernest Giles that they have no beliefs on the subject of gods or spirits at all, and yet others whose works are replete with such notions 'have been imposed upon, and that until they had learned something of Christianity from missionaries and others, the blacks had no beliefs or practices of the sort' (Australian Travels Troveed, Lond. 1, 1889, 45). This may be taken as the extreme view on the negative side, and with it Carl Lumholtz so far agrees as to assert that 'at all events it is certain that neither idolatry nor sacrifices are to be found in Australia. Nor have the natives, so far as I know, ever been seen to practice fire-stick, and the belief in a certain supernatural principle has been generally condemned by the local inhabitants, who, while they do not repel the fire, have no special notion of it. Yet perhaps the belief still survives, and totems are even assigned to the mysterious Iruterinina entities, vague and invisible incarnations of the ghosts of ancestors who lived in the Achroringa (q.v.) time, the dim remote past, and who, perhaps, as the beginning of things, were more powerful than living men, because their spirit part is associated with the so-called churinga, stones, stones, or any other object which is deemed sacred as possessing a kind of mana which makes the yams and grass to grow, enables a man to capture game, and so forth. That the churinga are simply objects endowed with mana is the happy suggestion of Sidney Hartland, whose explanation has dispelled the dense fog of mystification hitherto enveloping the strange beliefs and observances of these Central and Northern tribes.

'They are mysterious objects in the closest association with the tribal ancestors, the outward and visible sign, if not the embodiment, of the ancestral souls or invisible portions, and as such regarded with veneration. They are endowed with mana, emanating from the ancestors whom they represent—mana, which not merely heals wounds, but when the churinga are brought ceremonially to an approaching patient produces their physical, mental, and even moral effects... The churinga is equivalent to a sacred sign, which, at the same time, as just as human beings have, which can be soothed by the rubbing in the same way in which those of living men can be' (Address at Arts Assoc., 1891).

Hence a man, as he sings and rubs it with his hand, 'gradually comes to feel that there is some special association between him and the sacred object—that a virtue of some kind passes from it to him, and also from him to it' (Spencer-Gillen, Northern Tribes, ch. viii. p. 278). By whatever name it be called, this is obviously aruaugultha, the Australian mana, and it is equally obvious that the primitive Australian religions are still interwoven with magic (see above).

About the religious and ethical views of the extinct Tasmanians, it is only fair to state that a great deal of information has been gathered from various sources by Brough Smyth (Aborigines of Victoria), J. Bonwick (Daily Life, etc., of the Tasmanians), and Tylor (JAI xxxii. 141, Nov. 1883). Socially they appear 'to have remained to our day living representatives of the early Stone Age, left behind in industrial development even by the ancient tribes of the Somme and the Ouse. . . . The life of these savages proves to be of undeveloped type alike in arts and institutions, so much so that the distinction of being the lowest of all nations of mankind is properly to be claimed for them' (Tylor, loc. cit. 148, 152). Yet the religions sense had certainly been awakened. They feared to move about after dark, believing that their deceased relatives might be hovering about, and
there was a god who presided over the day and an evil spirit or demon over the night, and to the god the women addressed songs or prayers to secure the safe return of their absent husbands (Smyth, ii. 390). Bonwick, however, doubts this, while admitting that the Tasmanians had some dim apprehension of a supernatural being (p. 172), and refers to the case of a native who put a spear in a tree beside a dead body, 'to fight with when he sleep' (p. 174). The evidence is altogether very conflicting, although on the whole rather against the belief in a beneficent deity, and Dr. Nixon, first bishop of Tasmania, states that in the Aborigines, 'not a trace of the existence of any religious usages, or even sentiment, amongst them, unless, indeed, we may call by that name the dread of a malignant and destructive spirit, which seems to have been their predominant, if not their only, feeling on the subject.' (p. 172). And there the matter must rest, since the last of the race died about 1890.


AUSTRALIA.—1. Introduction.—Linguistic research shows that Australia is occupied by three distinct groups of languages, of which two are related to each other, while the third is independent. The groups shows little internal cohesion. The last group, named 'northern' by Schmidt, occupies the north of Australia and descends beyond 20° S. only in the centre, where it is found as far as 27° S. (the Aruntas). The other two groups, 'old' and 'new' Australian, distinguished by the way in which they form the genitive, occupy the remainder of the continent. By far the greater area falls to the 'new' group, split into nine sub-groups. The main 'old' Australian area is in Victoria with traces along the coast; it corresponds to the Australian languages. The 'new' Australian groups are related to each other in syntax and vocabulary, but less intimately than are the component parts of each group among themselves (Menz, 1908). The grouping of tribes arrived at on this philological basis does not correspond very closely to those given by any other mode of classification, for material culture, social organization, initiation ceremonies, and burial customs give somewhat conflicting results; but on the whole the nuclei of the different groups which may be harmonized with the linguistic group, if we allow for a certain amount of lateral transmission. Thus, the eight-class tribes are wholly within the 'northern' area; they reckon descent in the male line, and though there are other districts in Aus-

tralia—notably parts of Victoria and the coast of Queensland—where there is patrilineal descent of the classes or phratries, both these and the no-class areas belong to the old Australian speech-groups or are contiguous to them.

The same holds good with regard to the initiation ceremonies. The rites of circumcision and sub-incision are unknown in Victoria, New South Wales, the greater part of Queensland, and the coastal portions of West Australia; but we may readily explain their penetration into the Neo-Australian area as a result of transmission, though, of course, some amount of infusion of foreign blood may have contributed to the result. Simple burial is, as a rule, characteristic of both the Australian groups, and in the old group it is accompanied by the practice of building a hut upon the grave—a custom which they shared with their neighbours, the Tasmanians. The grave seems to be looked upon as the abode of the soul, though we find sporadically the belief that the spirits of the dead travel to the west, or, where a belief in a heaven exists, to the east in the strictest part of Australia. In the 'northern' area, on the other hand, and certain adjacent districts, the body is submitted to various processes, and the essential funerary rites seem to be the disposal of the bones, which marks the time at which the spirit of the dead is believed to have left the body. It is supposed that special treatment of the bones is a well-marked feature of funeral rites in parts of New Guinea.

When we come to deal with the more intangible sphere of beliefs, we are on more uncertain ground; it is indisputable that belief in a trivial All-Father prevails in Victoria, New South Wales, and parts of South Australia; that it has been recorded but rarely outside this area does not necessarily mean more than that the recorder has not penetrated very far into the ideas of the natives with whom he was familiar. When we look farther afield, it seems that the All-Father belief is pre-eminent in the norther area, and that it is found among important tribes of the Neo-Australian group, such as the Wiradjuri and the Kamilaroi, but there is no record of it among the Darling tribes and in the greatest part of Queensland. So far as we have evidence for it, the tonotum of the northern area seems to differ widely from that which is found elsewhere in Australia, and save among the Dieri and other contiguous tribes, there is little or no evidence of the complex ceremonies except in this part of the continent.

2. Religion.—There has been a good deal of controversy as to the genuine aboriginal character, and, being conceded, the real status of the Australian All-Father. There is, however, satisfactory evidence that Baine, about whom the controversy has turned in the main, was recognized in the Wellington valley before the advent of the Church of England Mission in 1832 (Moore, 1905, No. 28); and, though a Wesleyan mission existed there the Hervey Bay Mission, there is no reason to suppose that it could have exerted any great influence, certainly not enough to introduce such a figure as Baine into the initiation rites of the aborigines, as it must have done if the theory of the missionary origin of these anthropomorphic beings is to be maintained.

There is naturally more doubt as to the precise position occupied in the aboriginal view of the universe by Baine and his congeners; some authors have denied that the term 'god' can properly be applied to them (Flood, p. 190); while others have maintained that they are eternal, omniscient, all-powerful creators. Probably the truth lies nearer the latter than the former view. At the initiation ceremonies of the Emilyi tribe, according to Mrs. Langlois Parker, an excellent
authority, Baiame is proclaimed as 'Father of All, whose laws the tribes are now obeying.' He established the link between the ocean and the land, and the ground should keep peace; he gives rain to the orphan who cries for it; he is prayed to at the bora (‘initiation ceremonies’) and at funerals, and his name means ‘great’; his figure is made in earth on the bora ground (Parker, Ewahlayi Tribe, 71). Some of the difficulties which surround the question of the status of the Australian All-Father have arisen, however, because the disputants have overlooked the fact that the beliefs of the various tribes show not only different degrees of development, but also different patterns. Schmidt has pointed out (Anthropos, 1908) that the Australians seem to have three strata: (1) the belief in an All-Father pure and simple; (2) the belief in an All-Father who has taken over features of a tribal ancestor; (3) the belief in a being of this kind who is also the creator, has wives and children, and (in the case of Baiame) is sometimes depicted as ruling the world through a subordinate. As examples of these three classes of belief may be cited: (1) the Kurnai view of Mungan-ngana; (2) the Theddora, Wiradjuri, and Narrinyeri view of Daramulun; and (3) the Wiradjuri, Kamilaroi, and some Ewahlayi tribes view of Baiame. Bunjil also, the All-Father of the Central Victorian tribes, belongs to the third category. This theory depends on complicated considerations connected with the distribution (a) of personal names, for instance, for which Schmidt has produced evidence in favour of a primary dark race, represented by the crow, upon which two successive waves of migration, represented by the eaglehawk and the emu, have descended. He argues that both Daramulun and Baiame were not indigenous, but originally tribal heroes of the invaders, the former of the eaglehawk race, the latter of the emu race; or, at any rate, that Baiame, if he were the All-Father of the indigenous tribes, combined therewith the character of tribal ancestor of the invading tribes. On this point there is not much evidence on either side, but, such as it is, it tells in favour of the view that Baiame was introduced by the invaders; for it is reported (Australian Anthropological Journal, 1, 14) that the Mininna, on the Lower Lichardt, south of the Murray River, have in a god Gooree who lives in Wannoo; Baianai came from Warderah and taught them initiation ceremonies. So, too, the Mikadoons in the same neighbourhood believe in Gumbo, and say that Baiame, or Mungan-ngana, came from an island beyond Australia. Howitt has already called attention (Native Tribes, p. 498) to the fact that the evil spirit, Coen, at Sydney, had a namesake Kulin on the Herbert River; and if, as it seems, we are entitled to regard these as identical, there is no reason for mistrusting the evidence for a belief in Baiame just south of the Gulf on the score of its distance from the seat of the Baianai-cult in N. S. Wales. In this connexion it may be noted that precisely at this point south of the Gulf the Neo-Australian languages stretch northwards into the territory of the northern group. In this account Baiame figures as tribal hero, not as creator or All-Father, precisely as Schmidt's theory requires.

The following tribes are mentioned by Howitt (op. cit. 488ff.) as having the All-Father belief: Narrinyeri (Nurrandere or Martummere); Wiimitalo (Nurelli); S. W. Victoria (Firmmechal); Wojobaluk, Kulin, and Wooworung(Bunjil, Munic-nungga; or Municollis); Kamilaroi (Mungan-ngana); Wathitawhi (Tha-tha-thal); Tatulrah (Talurah); Theddora, Ngarego, and Yun (Daramulun, Papung, or Biamban); Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri (Baiame); Port Stephens and Herbert River (Coen); S. Queensland (Mamauh and Birral). About some of these, however, e.g. Birral, we have no information, and it is more likely that they are not among the All-Fathers. Birral may well be identical with Bedal (Thorne, Queen of the Colonies, 317), who is said to have made the world long ago, when he floated on the water, in form like a huge turtle two miles across the back. In this being we see few or none of the traits of the All-Father. In the Moreton Bay district, however, Buddai seems to have been the equivalent of Baiame (Lang, Cooksland, 1847, 459).

There is therefore good prima facie evidence for the existence of an All-Father in the south-eastern corner of the line from the mouth of the Murray to Moreton Bay. Beyond this area we have certain evidence only from the west coast between Geraldton and Albany, where Mamma Gnaa, Father of All, is reverenced (Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Aust. xvi. 488). Captain Bradshaw has informed the present writer that on the Victoria River a being is recognized who watches over the morals of the tribes, and the same is reported of Kolin on the Herbert River; but in neither case is the epithet 'Father of All' reported, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that this moral influence is the part of the beings reported from the Lurraia of Port Darwin by Foelsche (Curr, Australian Race, i, 233). The Cape River tribes are said (ib. iii. 146) to believe in a being in the sky, to whom good men go when they die.

In the central district, the supposed being is unlike Baiame; but the evidence as to the beliefs of these peoples is hardly satisfactory. Spencer and Gillen (Northern Tribes, 502 f.) say that Twanyirika of the Aruntas and Unmatjeras, and Kajatijima of the Binkins and Naughtons, pure and simple, whose function is to keep the women and children in subjection; Tumana of the Kaitish and Murtu-murtu of the Warrananggas are simply Alcheringa (v.e.) ancestors. Atnatau of the Kaitish stands by himself; he made the Alcheringa and stands in a real relation to the initiation ceremonies; for he is pleased when the operators sound the bull-roarer, and angry when they do not; but he does not trouble himself about morality.

In this account, however, there is no mention of the being known as Aljira (Alcheringa), as known to the Nurrandere (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Völker-Museum Frankfurt, i, 1), and who seems to have been mentioned by Gillen in the Report of the Horn Expedition (1896) under the name of Uthnaa (‘spirit’). It is therefore open to question how far the assertions of Howitt and Spencer, as appearing in Northern Tribes, can be regarded as exhaustive.

For the Dieri our evidence is equally uncertain. Gonso reported that they believed in a good spirit Mura-mura; but subsequently the Mura-mura were ascertained to be mythical ancestors, like the Mak-Kurnai and the Alcheringa ancestors generally (Howitt, op. cit. 487). Recently, however, it has been asserted that the Dieri believe in Mura, a good spirit, distinct from the Mura-mura.

Associated with the All-Father of the south-eastern area is often an evil being, sometimes described as his son, sometimes independent. Thus Henderson (Notes, 147) says:

'Mudgeong is an evil spirit, who, after having derived his existence from Pame (=Baiame), declared war upon him and now endeavours with all his power to frustrate his undertakings. The offspring of Pame were numerous, but the whole with the exception of two, as described by Spencer, were converted into different wild animals... The evil spirit seemed to be described under the name of Coen, or the principal of his dramatic representations appears to be performed; the principal one is emblematic of the destruction of the explorers.'

Another account (Macarthur, N. S. Wales, 1837, ii. 301) makes Coen a bird, mentioned by Henderson—the author of evil; and a third makes Daramulun himself the opponent (on these myths and their explanation see Schmidt,
in *Anthropos*, iii.). The same antithesis is made between Bunjil and Pulpan, Coen and Poyfan, etc. Schindler's view is that these myths date from the racial conflicts where the crow race gained the day, Bunjil ('eaglehawk') is the defeated; else where Mudgegong ('eaglehawk') is also defeated, but not by the crow.

It should be noted that there is a certain amount of confusion in the various reports; thus Coen, whom Howitt regards as equivalent to Daramunil, is depicted as an evil being (see Howitt, op. cit. 486). Other evil beings are Brewin among the Kurnai (J.M. xii. 191, xiv. 321, note 2), Von and South Australia Kooriie among the Djiir, Jingi in West Australia.

It has, however, frequently happened that an evil being has been reported, who, on examination, turns out to be simply the spirit of a dead man. Thus among the Wiradjuri buggoes is not a proper name; in Western Victoria Niabet (Colonial Tramp, 1891, 99) reports an evil deity Murnop, who comes in the lightning to destroy them, eats children, etc.; the owl is his messenger; he lives under ground and commands the evil spirits. But we learn from Howitt that the soul is the same contrasted evil, hence the name can hardly be of any specific deity, but must apply to the dead in general, who are especially feared in the south of Australia.

Female deities are unknown in Australia, but in a certain number of cases there is evidence that there is believed to be a feminine dead man; thus Kurriwibbin, wife of Kogorowen, is described as an enemy of mankind (Threlkeld, *Aust. Language*, 1892, 48).

3. Burial.—From the point of view of burial customs, the Australian tribes fall into two groups.

(1) In New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and the coastal portions of West Australia, simple burial without alternative rites, such as cremation, is the rule, save in an enclave near the mouth of the Murray River. (2) In Northern Territory and Queensland, simple burial without alternative rites is also found, though how far the absence of alternative rites means that our information is defective is an open question; but, as a rule, the body is exposed on a platform, or the flesh is eaten, or the body is buried and the bones subsequently exhumed. The bodies are disposed of with due regard for the disposal of the bones. This rite, however, is often reserved, as is cannibalism, for specially favoured individuals, such as warriors, magicians, etc. Alternative rites are used where the subject was unimportant, owing to old age or youth.

One of these two types of simple burial and complex rites—there seem to be different views as to the destiny of the soul. In the south the grave seems to be regarded in many cases as its abode; in the north it remains with the body or the bones until the latter are finally disposed of, and then goes to its own place. Fear of the dead seems to be more prominent in the south.

In Victoria and the south of N. S. Wales a hut was frequently built upon the grave, in which the widow or another relative sat during the time of mourning. This is also a Tasmanian custom, and strengthens the evidence for the intimate connexion of the Victorian tribes with the Tasmanian (see Folklore, vol. xix. [1908] p. 388).

4. Future life.—Australian beliefs as to a future life are curiously vague, and our information is defective. At Port Lincoln (Trans. Philosophical Institute of Victoria, v. 188) it was believed that the soul was so small as to be able to pass through a chink; after death it went to an island, and could dispense with further nourishment; a redoubt account is that the spirit is eaten by the aboriginals, however (Gerstäcker, *Reisen*, 1854, iv. 364), it was held that the soul lived in trees during the day, and came down at night to eat caterpillars, frogs, etc.; concurrently with this (3), it was believed that the soul went west to an abyss at death. The Enahlayi believe that the spirit of a dead man goes with the spirits of dead relatives to Oohi Oobii, a sacred mountain, from which he is hoisted to Bullimah, Baliane's residence, by certain spirits called *Mooreddysundali* (Parker, *Enahlayi Tribe*, 99 f.).

According to Spencer-Gillen (145, 174), re-incarnation is everywhere the creed. This has been questioned by Strelohv (Globus, xci. 285, xci. 123; *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Völker-Museum zu Berlin*, 1890). The facts are not yet ascertained, Strelohv, however, reports two Aranda beliefs. According to one, there is an island of the dead, from which a spirit returns for temporary re-incarnation, lasting for a year or two, and is finally annihilated; the other affirms that the good dead live with Altjirn, the sky-being. In the place of the re-incarnation doctrine, Strelohv finds the belief that the germ (*ratopa*) of a child issues from the body of a totemic ancestor, or that an ancestor throws a small bull-roarer at a woman, in whose breast the changes to the germ take place.

5. Cult of the dead.—Although totemic ancestors figure largely in myth in some parts, there is nothing in the nature of a cult of ancestors. The dead are feared; certain powers are ascribed to them, such as raising storms, sending rain, procuring a good harvest; in a few cases, various sorts are made to them (Collins, Eng. Colony in N. S. Wales, 1798-1802, i. 601; J. S. Lang, *Aboriginals*, 31; Lanhotlz, Among Cannibals, 1889, 282; Ogle, Colony of West Aust., 1833, 58; Salvado, *Mémoires historiques*, 1854, 276; Stephens, *Hist. of S. Aust.*, 1838, 78, etc.), but not specially as ancestors.

Near Adelaide the spirits of enemies were kept quiet by magic spells (Vorb. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde, i. 194). Sleeping on the grave of a dead man was one of the methods of becoming a magician (Manse, *Pouvoir*, 17, etc.). There is a wide-spread belief that natives, when they die, return as white men (Roth, *Bull.*, 5, p. 16). There are also traces of a belief in transmigration (*Man*, 1905, No. 28).

6. Soul.—All natives of Australia seem to have held an animistic view of man, though the sky-beings are generally independent of the view of the soul, etc., we have only scanty information. Mrs. K. L. Parker records that the Enahlayi attributed to each person three spirits: Yowee, the soul which leaves the body only at death; Dowee, a dream spirit called *Bullawoll*, a spirit protecting the common, sometimes, Yunbeai, or tutelary animal spirit (*Enahlayi Tribe*, 35).

On the Tully R., Qu., the soul is associated with the shadow and the breath; the *koi* goes away during sleep; after death it goes into the bush. On the Bloomfield R. the *wan-wan* is associated with the breath, but is independent of the ghost. At Cape Bedford it is part and parcel of a man's spiritual part. On the Pennefather R. the *ngai* and the *chok* are distinguished; the latter leaves the corpse at death and wanders in the world of spirits; of a son, daughter, or sister. Both are associated with the heart and afterbirth (Roth, *Bull.*, 5. 17-19).

7. Magic.—With regard to magical practices, there are well-marked differences between the northern group and the remainder of Australia. Among the central tribes magic is practised by both men and women without special initiation, save in the Anula tribe, where the magician is the producer of evil, not the doctor. The initiated medicine-man has the duty of guarding the medicine against the magic of others. Among the south-eastern tribes, however, the medicine-man is both worker of magic and doctor indifferently; and, so far as can be seen,
the practice of magic is usually confined to initiated
men, though Mrs. Parker mentions a witch-woman
among the Ewahlayi.

The magician is so by birth; among
the Anulas only one kin performs these functions; among the Tongaranka a boy inherits his powers from his father (Mauss, op. cit. 10; Howitt, 404). More often, however, initiation is by revelation from the dead, from spirits, or from the All-Father, or else knowledge is communicated by other magicians. Occasionally a man who has escaped miraculously from a violent death is reputed a magician.

It is commonly believed that at their initiation ceremonies they have introduced into their bodies certain stones, usually fragments of quartz, upon which their magic powers depend, and which may be caused to leave their bodies if they partake of alcohol, hot drinks, etc., or are bitten by ants. The Ewahlayi believe that all magicians have a nagnal ('individual totem'), which is forbidden food to them, which they cannot cause to appear to others, and whose shape they can themselves assume.

The commonest form of magic, practised all over Australia, was the pecking of stones, etc., by children, south and east; spells are common; in Queensland a man's lifeblood is said to be withdrawn by the mangani; and magic may be worked by an effigy of the victim (Roth, 5, 28; Howitt, 334; Spencer-Gillen, 453; Mauss, Pouvoirs, passim, etc.).

In connexion with magic, mention must be made of the art of rain-making. The office of rain-maker was often distinct from that of medicine-man, especially among the Dieri, where all participated in the rites; the ceremonies may therefore be termed religious. The same remark applies to the totemic ceremonies of the centre and north.

8. Totemism.—The nagnal, associated with the magician among the Ewahlayi and elsewhere, is probably rare in most parts of Australia (for possible cases see Aust. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science Reports, iii. 515, v. 688; Science of Man, vii. 91; cf. Men, 1904, No. 53). Of kin totemism in the S. and E. we know little beyond the names of the animals. In some cases the killing of the animal is forbidden, but among the Ewahlayi there is no restriction. It is the nagnal that is sacro-
scand and it is on account of this that it is forbidden. The totem also helps the human being (Howitt, 400; Parker, 21).

The totemism of the north and central appears to be generically different from that on the south and eastern coast; it is somewhere to be found in the Arunta of central Australia, and among the Anulas, such totemism is connected with Intiwichma ceremonies, and are all important differentia. Still more important perhaps is the fact that in the south-east totemism is among animals; in the south, centre, and in South Queensland, animals and plants, the latter, fewer than the former; among the Arunta both are fairly equal numbers; and in North Australia, as in New Guinea, the plant totems outnumber the animals (see Schmidt, in Anthropos, iii.).

A progressive change is also noticeable with regard to the eating of the totem, which is per-
mitted among the Arandas alone; in both the Aranda and the Kuitish tribes the totem must be eaten at the Intiwichma ceremonies. Among the Warramungas it is offered to men of the totem by others, but not eaten. Finally, in the Binbuga and other tribes it is neither eaten nor offered. It has been mentioned above that the yunbeai ('nagnal') may be regarded as a fourth soul. There are traces of a similar animistic view of ordinary totemism. Among both the Ewahlayi and the Warramungas ordinary divinatory ceremonies to determine whether a murderer consists in observing the tracks near the body; the track of a snake indicates that a man of

the snake totem is the culprit (Spencer-Gillen, 519, 520; K. L. Parker, op. cit. 89).

So-called 'sex-totemism' is found in South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales, mainly on the coast. Each sex has a 'brother' or 'sister,' whom they respect and regard as the creator of their sex. The sacrosanct animals are usually small birds (wren, nightjar, etc.) or the bat.

9. Initiation ceremonies.—The initiation cere-
monies fall into two main groups: (1) the central tribes west of a line from near Adelaide to the south end of the Gulf of Carpentaria, practise circumcision, and, with the exception of a small area near Adelaide, sub-mission also; knocking out two of teeth is known and practised in central Australia, but has no special significance; and (2) along the west coast and in Victoria and New South Wales the initiation ceremony consists in the knocking out of the boy's tooth. North of the Queensland border even this feature is wanting, and the sex of individuals is indicated, as amongst the economy, by the wearing of changes, and the direction of dress, which is in one direction for the male, in another for the female.

In connexion with the initiation ceremonies, mention must be made of the system of food prohibi-
tions, which perhaps attains a greater development in Australia than in any other part of the world. Eyre (Journal, 1845, ii. 233) records particulars of South Australian customs. Up to the age of nine or ten, boys were forbidden to eat any food; then they attained riper years (Howitt, 505-577; Curr, op. cit., passim; Spencer-Gillen, passim).

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AUTHORITY.—Definition and scope.—The word "authority," as used in ordinary language, always implies a certain amount of coerciveness. The most common meaning is that of a power to enforce obedience. But the sense varies according to the sphere in which the authoritative power is exercised. As regards authority in the home, obedience obviates no coercion. Authority and obedience are correlative terms, supremacy being implied on the part of authority, and dependence on the part of those who have to obey. Authority has the right and the power to say the last word, and to give a decision from which there is no appeal. Its jurisdiction is final. But there is also a use of the word which reveals it as operative in the sphere of opinion, belief, and action. The final test of belief and of opinion is action, and authority in this regard is the power which is held to have the right to influence opinion, to induce belief, and so to lead to action. That is to say, this view really is a phase of the view which looks on authority as the power that enforces obedience, for it shows authority at work in that sphere which ultimately involves action. It reveals the process by which obedience is won. The right to influence opinion, to induce belief, to persuade a man to take a certain course of conduct, which belongs to authority, is thus the way to command obedience. Yet there is a shade of difference in the two aspects of authority which we have already alluded to. A view which regards authority as the power that commands obedience, we abstract from the way and means by which it persuades the man to obey, and fix our attention on the categorical command which might be given by the other authority, which is presented as rational, as proving its right to command, as presenting itself in an attitude of persuasion, as leading the object of authority to lend his own assent to the demand made on him. The power to create opinion, to influence belief, and to constrain to action is exercised with a view to enforce obedience. This power may be exercised in many ways, varying according to the sphere of operation, the means available, and the end in view. In the intellectual sphere it may take the form of authoritative opinion, the view of a man who has the expert knowledge which few others have at command. It may take the form of testimony as to matters of fact of which he is or has been the only witness. In short, it may take a thousand forms; but the outcome in every case is to make present, to constrain belief, and to influence action.

The common element in all forms of authority is ultimately to enforce opinion, and to constrain belief. Without this element of coerciveness, authority has no real meaning. All authority which is in itself coercive, or tends to be so, has its very nature to act. But, on the other hand, authority must be prepared to justify itself, and to show that it has the right to command, and the power to enforce its behests. It is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. The end may be it is not necessary here to determine. It may be that Höfling is correct when he says:

"Authority can never be anything but a means, and the principle of authority is subordinate to the principle of personality, as mediate value must always be subordinate to immediate value. The burden of proof must always lie with those who would attract authority, or claim to be entitled to it, to oblige them to provide the necessary justification that it is the necessary condition for the complete carrying out of the principle of personality." (The Philosophy of Religion, p. 279.)

To Höfling the principle of authority, while it has its own place and function, is subordinate to the principle of personality. This is a different concept from that made out of the analysis of authority and reason, with which literature is so well acquainted. Höfling is concerned with the principle of the Conservation of Values, and for the right estimate of values the principle of Personality, he holds, is of supreme worth. It is not necessary to enter into his theory, or to discuss it. The main thing is that for him the principle of authority is not ultimate. It must justify itself. There is another view which we may take from Mr. Arthur Balfour.

"Authority, as I have been using the term, is in all cases contrasted with Reason, and stands for that group of non-rational causes referred to, and of which its results by psychic processes other than reasoning" (The Foundations of Belief, p. 219). "It is not that we are to judge with equity between these two kinds of demands, we must... forget that we are... Authority rather than Reason to which, in the main, we owe not religion only, but ethics and politics; that it is Authority which supplies the essential element of all science; that it is Authority rather than Reason which lays down the foundation of social life,—more than than Reason which cements its superstructure. And though it may seem to savour of paradox, it is yet no exaggeration to say that, we would find the quality in which we must insist not its evil; the brute creation, we should look for it so much in our faculty of convincing and being convinced by the exercise of reasoning, as in our capacity for influencing and being influenced through the action of Authority" (Ch. 229 f.).

In drawing out the contrast between authority and reason, Mr. Balfour dwells with delight on customary opinion, habit, and on that group of non-rational causes—moral, economic, educational—which produces its results by psychic processes other than reasoning. He has forgotten to observe that in all these processes reason is, at all events, implicit. For the customs, traditions, and institutions, which, in the social, moral, and educational field, are the means by which we have been led to adopt, not the principles which are contrasted with it, and, we may add, are not even hypothetical—considered as the elements of the system of society that have been the result of the acts of human beings, is, in every case, a result of the exercise of authority. It is no exaggeration to say that, we would find the quality in which we must insist not its evil, but the brute creation, we should look for it so much in our faculty of convincing and being convinced by the exercise of reasoning, as in our capacity for influencing and being influenced through the action of Authority." (Ch. 229 f.)

It may be broadly stated that in every sphere of human activity, and in every sphere of human thought, there is something which may rightly be called authority. The sanctions by which authority vindicates its attitude may vary with each sphere, but in all of them there is authority with its appropriate sanctions. It is not our purpose to make an exhaustive enumeration of the spheres in which authority has its appropriate place and function. To do so would be to enumerate all the sanctions from the intellect to emotion, and, in short, all the achievements of the human mind which are embodied in the literature of the world. But we may ask—

1. Is there an authority in science? And if so, what are its functions, and what are its sanctions? Waiving the question as to the abstract nature of science, and as to the depradation of it on that account, may we not say that it is through the achievements of science that we have won control over the external world, and subordinated to the uses of man? It may be the satisfaction of reason is more subtle than our sciences, and that, while we speak of heat, light, electricity, gravitation, and dwell on these in our abstract fashion, every particle of matter is at the same
time in some state of temperature, in some electric condition, and so on. Yet so far science has read the language written by Nature, and has learned the authority of nature. The external world has been controlled by man, and subdued to his uses only because he has submitted himself to its authority. It is possible for a man to strive to ignore the law of gravitation, but, if he does so, he will never build a house. Practical work in the external world is possible only if a man submits to the authority placed on him by the nature of that world. We do not mean only that he must recognize those great and universal characteristics of nature that make us esteem such generalizations as the law of gravitation, the law of the conservation of energy, and such like,—he must have regard to the particular nature of every natural object with which he has to do. He must deal with stones according to the qualities of stones, with timber according to the qualities of timber, and with other things after their kind. These dictate to science and to men generally the conditions under which work must be done. In building his bridges man must make allowance for the expansion of iron under cold and for its expansion under heat. The nature of his material and the laws of physics speak to him with an authoritative voice, and if he ventures to disregard that authority, he must pay the price.

He will find it sanctioned by tumbling houses, falling bridges, and shipwrecks. Nature will do anything for one who knows how to make her work, but she will do nothing for one who does not know her way and her limitations. We take from the sciences our first example of authority, and we have begun here because we find that the authority of nature can be justified, and that reason quite recognizes the validity of the claim which nature presents to man in the system in which he lives.

Reason can recognize the processes and methods of nature. Indeed, the possibility of science depends on the presupposition of the rationality of nature. Acting on that supposition, science has questioned nature, has experimented with her, has come to know her, has summed up its knowledge of nature in the special sciences, and has succeeded in making nature obey the laws and speak the language which reason has recognized the order of nature as real, objective, authoritative. The value of the generalizations of science lies in the fact that they represent nature, and that they may be verified in the judgment of the observer. If we were unable to know that the order of nature is recognized by man as authoritative, and science has taken it as such. No doubt, there is a correspondence between the order of nature and the constitution of the human mind. The correspondence exists, whatever the explanation of it may be. It would lead us too far afield to inquire into the origin and character of the correspondence. Nor is it necessary; for, whether we hold that mind gives laws to nature or the converse, the correspondence stands. Mind and nature are related the one to the other. So, whether we inquire into the order of nature or into the constitution of mind, we are led to something common to both.

For nature is rational, is a system, and mind finds that the rationality in nature is akin to the rationality of which it is conscious in itself.

2. Authority of the laws of reason.—When we inquire, therefore, into the constitution of mind, we start with the presupposition that we shall find it rational, just as we have found nature to be rational. One of the chief characteristics of mind is that it has the power of transcribing particular experiences, and of making universal and necessary propositions, which it believes to be true always and everywhere. These judgments are disclosed to it on reflection, but from their very nature they lie in the foundation of experience, and without them experience would not be possible. They are of such a kind that the mind recognizes their truth and validity as soon as it understands them. They bear on the face of them their own irresistible evidence. It is impossible for us to think of an event happening without a cause. The law of causation rules the thinking, and of an unrelated event we are unable to conceive. Axions are axiomatic. We cannot think without them. It makes no difference whether we call them 'axioms' or designate them 'postulates'; in either case they are there as the foundation of all our thinking. Without them we should fall into contradiction, and lapse into confusion. Thought must be consistent with itself, that is, it must not be self-contradictory, and thought must be consistent with reality. On the other hand, these universal and necessary judgments must be prepared to vindicate their validity. They must submit to criticism, and show themselves in their universal and necessary character. They must show themselves as all the glory of their evidence; they must be prepared to prove that the opposite of them is inconceivable; and they must prove that, unless we accept them, our thinking will be self-contradictory. It is not necessary to enumerate these axioms. Two and two make four and four is not at another time—on such axioms as these all are agreed, whatever the explanation of their validity may be. All thinking must assume the law of non-contradiction, as all fruitful thinking must recognize the validity of the laws of reason. These axioms are authoritative, and are authoritative in the ordinary meaning of the term. They enforce obedience to them under the sanction that, if they are disregarded, thinking will be inept, unfruitful, nonsensical. In this sphere the authority between authority and freedom, between authority and reason, between the principle of authority and the principle of personality, does not emerge. For the principle of authority here is the very principle of reason itself, and these necessary and universal judgments are those which make freedom, personality, and universality possible. Freedom can be exercised only on the basis of universality and necessity. Because there is a fixed order of nature, and necessary laws of reason, freedom is possible, and ideals may be conceived and realized. If there were no necessary, no universal and necessary judgments, no fixed properties of things, it would not be possible for mind to conceive ends and adopt means for their realization. Nor would it be possible for man to maintain a rational relation to a random world. The main thing, however, to insist on here is that these universal and necessary judgments speak to us with authority, coerce our opinions and beliefs, and constrain us to action consistent with them. They have thus the note of authority, and enforce themselves on us with very drastic sanctions. Our thinking, our action, and even our feeling must be consistent with them, and must proceed with a due regard to their supremacy.

3. Authority in the sphere of civil life.—We have seen that authority is rightly exercised over us by the external order of the world, and by the laws of mind itself, and that the sanctions are of the most real and emphatic order. Can we find a legitimate sphere for authority, with appropriate sanctions, in the sphere of civil life, in the sphere of morals, and in the sphere of religion? It is impossible to say that in these spheres a denial of authority involves self-contradiction. Disloyalty,
disobedience, and anomaly are possible, as history abundantly shows. Take the case of government, and ask, What is the place of authority in it? Historically it is the instrument of the will of the community, a consideration which were not needed in relation to the authoritative nature of laws of nature and laws of mind. With his usual insight and sagacity, Bishop Butler sets forth the essential note of government thus:—

"The annexing pleasure to some actions, and pain to others, in our power to do or forbear, and giving notice of this appointment beforehand to those whom it concerns, is the proper form of government. ... if civil magistrates could make the sanctions of their laws take place, without intercepting at all the sense of happiness, or the reproach of the trial and execution of the formalities of an execution; if they were able to make their laws execute themselves, or every offender to execute them upon himself—we should be just in the same sense under their government then as we are now; but in a much higher degree, and more perfect manner" (Anatomy, pt. 1, ch. ii.)

Attaching pleasure to some actions and pains to others, and giving notice of the appointment beforehand, is the proper notion of government. Let us take this conception with us, as we seek to investigate the function of authority in civil government. The State is the source of authority, or rather the source of laws in its judicial function it is the administrator, and in its executive function it is the active agency in enforcing obedience. All local authorities are derived from the State. These may be administrative, like town and county authorities, authorities dealing with health, etc.; they may be judicial; or they may be commercial; yet each delegated authority derives its power from the State, and is responsible to the State for its exercise. The authority of each independent State is supreme in its own domain. It might be asked, What is the authority of the State, or from what source is its authority derived? That is too large a question to be discussed here (see art. GOVERNMENT). But it may be well to learn from competent authority what is meant by law, by sovereignty, and by subjection and obedience. Austin tells us that—

"Laws set by God to men, laws established by political superiors, and laws set by men to men (though not by political superiors) are distinguished by numerous and important differences, but agree in this, that all of them are set by rational and intelligent beings to intelligent and rational beings (Austin: A Dictionary of the Law, vol. ed. 1831). Again, 'Of the laws set by men to men, some are established by authority, that is to say, a sovereign power or person setting up a sovereign power, or a sovereign body of persons setting up a sovereign and subordinate government, in independent nations, or independent political societies' (p. 2). As to the sovereignty itself, 'Every sovereign law, or every political law simply and strictly so called, is set by a sovereign person, or a sovereign body of persons, to a member or members of the individual society, and by the persons acting in a public capacity, to a sovereign or supreme. Or, changing the expression, it is set by a monarch or sovereign person to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author' (p. 180). Again, 'The notions of sovereignty and independent political society may be expressed concisely thus: it a determinate human power, not in a habit of obedience to a like superior, receive habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society, and the society (including the superior) is a society political and independent' (p. 170).

It may be well to refer in this connexion to Maine's The Early History of Institutions, p. 349 f., for an independent contribution to Austin's theory of authority and subjection. As to the theory itself, it is very abstract, and the great political facts are reduced and attenuated to abstractions, in which the fact of sovereign service and the loyalty of subjects have disappeared. It is a theory of the idea of sovereignty, and the abstract and obsolete tradition of our idea of authority. Yet, after all, it does not help us much in our inquiry. It may be desirable for the student to read more modern contributions to the theory of the State, especially those which have been influenced by the philosophies of Jurisprudence and by Hegel. Reference may be made to Green's 'Principles of Political Obligation' (Collected Works, vol. ii. p. 445):

"It is a state of opinion that the State as an aggregation of individuals under a sovereignty—equally so whether we suppose the individuals as such, or apart from what they derive from society, to be the only fund of natural rights, or the only fund under the sovereign for the possession of rights. A State supposes other forms of community, with the rights which arise out of the union exist only as the mere forms of those rights and completing them. In order to make a State, there must have been families which the members recognized rights in each other (recognized in each other two powers capable of direction by reference to a common Good); there must further have been a larger scale of authority than that of the family, or between growth out of families, of which each in the same sense recognized rights in the other. The recognition of a right being very far short of the full recognition of authority, which is the recognition by two parties, whether individuals, families, or tribes, being very different from agreement as to what the right consists in, it is clear that recognition require definition and reconciliation in a general law. When such a general law has been arrived at, regulating the position of members of a family towards each other and the dealings of families or tribes with each other; when it is voluntarily recognized by a community of families or tribes, and maintained by a power strong enough at once to enforce it within the community and to defend the integrity of the community against attacks from without, then the elementary State has been formed.'

For the vindication of the exercise of authority in a State, it is not sufficient to dwell on the abstraction of sovereignty, and the independence of a State; the authority must be vindicated on other grounds. Green has shown that a State is not an assemblage of mere individuals under a common government. Individuals are already united by moral bonds; they are in families, and in families, and as such, are united by recognition of rights and duties. Those in authority must do service, and must justify their action on the ground of recognized worth or good achieved; or even on the lower ground of utility. Authority must justify its existence. Aristotle has well recognized and insisted on the obligation to service which attaches to those who exercise authority. He shows that a State is not an association formed exclusively for the acquisition of wealth, or for military strength, or for the encouragement of commerce. The object of the State is the promotion of the higher life. When men are associated together in a State, 'the object of their association is to live well—not merely to live.'

Virtues are not to be wholly attuned to all whose hearts are set upon good and orderly government. And from this fact it is evident that a State which is not merely nominally, but in its true essence, a community of persons united in a higher and more serious purpose, is a community of persons united on account of their virtue. To neglect virtue is to convert the political association into an alliance differing in nothing except in the local community. But the law is, or should be, the law of equal persons. As such, it is a practice of a State which is not a function of the people, but a function of the citizen, and is therefore essentially different from that of the political society itself. It is true, the sovereign power is within question. But the arbitrary exercise of authority is the exercise of power, even if vested in the people. Hence it is the duty of the Good (Aristotle's) to maintain that the exercise of authority is not the exercise of power, but a function of the citizen, and it is the duty of the community of persons united in a higher purpose to exercise authority. But it is clear that this is the true view of the State, i.e. that it promotes the virtue of its citizens' (Aristotle's Politics, bk. iii. ch. 9, Wellen's tr. p. 124 f.).

The authority of a State is not justified by the mere fact of sovereignty; the sovereignty must, of a certain character. According to Aristotle, it must be an institution in which goodness, virtue, and justice are produced in the citizens. The State, in more modern phraseology, must be an institution in which a man can find himself, realize himself, and by its means be able to live a rich, full, and gracious life. It must be the home in which his ideals are so far realized, which in the history of the past and in the situation of the present affords ideals worthy of imitation to the average man in the society in which he lives. The authority of a State cannot be justified by its maintaining a political society. The authority of a nation over its citizens is thus justified by the tradition of the nation, by its achievement in former ages, by the ideal it sets before them at the present hour, and by its promise for the future. The authority of a State is neither rational nor justified by the material force which it has at its command to enforce obedience. Force is no remedy, nor can it win
authority of the governed. Without loyalty the exercise of authority is hindered, confined, rendered ineffective. It makes no difference in the final issue whether power is exercised by a king or by the citizens themselves; for, if it is exercised unworthily, it is exerted against the interests of loyalty, which is essential to the full exercise of authority. Briefly, it may be said that the State is an ethical institution, and while material force is needed, yet the exercise of that force is conditioned by the fact that it must always be exercised for the good of the community, and the interests of the higher values. Authority and loyalty must go hand in hand in every State which is worthy of the name. Of the manifold relations of governor and governed, of the claims which the State has a right to make on its citizens, of the freedom of the individual over against the State, and of the limits of civil obedience it is not possible to speak here. Nor is it necessary, for the due exercise of authority in this sphere must always be in such ways as to carry with it the good of the community, and to deepen his sense of obligation to the State, and to quicken him to do the State enthusiastic service. In this sphere, too, authority has to justify itself by its fruits.

4. Authority in morals.—We have passed in sensibly to the exercise of authority in the sphere of moral life. Is there a Categorical Imperative? Is there an Ought, a law binding on us, which we must obey unconditionally, and cannot disobey except at our direst peril? To these questions it is not possible to give an exhaustive answer within our limits. The facts of the moral life are so various, the explanations of them so numerous, and the theories of ethics so manifold, that it is difficult to isolate the voice of authority, and to render it audible. Nevertheless, the ordinary moral consciousness speaks of virtue and vice, of good and evil, and of right and wrong, and it has definite meanings when it uses these ethical contrasts. It has a notion that virtue and vice relate to character, that good and evil relate to the end of life, and that right and wrong refer to a standard. It is conscious, also, that they all relate somehow to an ideal of conduct. When it speaks of right and wrong, it sets up a standard of conduct; when it speaks of good and evil, it sets up the end of life. Now, when it speaks of virtue and vice, it recognizes an ideal of character which it feels ought to be realized in practical life.

Students of ethics will remember Kant's treatment of the ordinary moral consciousness, which in his Metaphysic of Ethic he analyzes, on the way towards his theoretical exposition of ethical. Kant lays stress on the Good Will as the absolute example of Good. He insists that the aim of the practical reason is to produce an action that is not merely good, but which is good as a means to happiness. A good will is the supreme good, though it may not have attained to completeness. Nonetheless, as a perfectly good will is not attainable in its fullness here, Kant proceeds to set forth the notion of duty. He assumes that the good will in its completeness is wholly rational, and obeys without question or hesitation the law of reason. But in a being like man, who has passions and desires as well as reason, the mot will is not wholly good. Hence the need of the conception of Duty. Kant insists that duty excludes not only all direct violation of morality but all acts of the motive of which is inclination, even when these are not in themselves opposed to duty. In the second place, he shows that an action is determined by the maxim or subjective principle of will which it manifests, not in relation to the object which acts upon desire. And he concludes, in the third place, that duty may be defined as the obligation to act from reverence for law (cf. J. Watson, The Philosophy of Kant Explained [1901], to which the present writer is indebted). Kant's view is, however, that the supreme good which is the motive of duty is not necessarily in harmony with reason. But a good will cannot be determined by natural inclination; it must be determined solely by the principle of duty for duty's sake. There is thus a dualism in human nature, there are wants and desires which demand satisfaction, and there is reason, which prescribes conformity to duty. What is the relation of duty to desire? In answering this question, Kant passes from the analysis of the moral consciousnessness to the philosophy of moral law. And among other questions he asks this one, What is the nature of the supreme good? He derives it from the idea of moral perfection, which reason forms a priori and connects inseparably with the conception of a free will. The principle of moral authority is, and must be, dependent on experience, and derives its authority solely from reason. As Dr. Watson says:

"We learn three things: firstly, that all moral conceptions proceed from reason essentially a priori; secondly, that it is of supreme importance to set the conceptions of morality before the mind in their purity, and not merely in the interest of a certain theory of morality, its origin and its aim in life; and thirdly, that the principles of pure practical reason, unlike those of theoretical reason, depend and are based upon the peculiar nature of man, but are derived from the very notion of the rational being, and therefore apply to all rational beings" (op. cit. p. 217).

Following out these assumptions, Kant proceeds to set forth the metaphysics of morality. The Categorical Imperative is expounded, and in pursuance of it he sets forth the laws of the universal imperative of duty. 'Act as if the maxim of your will were to become through your will a universal law of nature.' Another law reached by him after a prolonged discussion, into which we cannot enter, is, 'Act so as to use humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of another, always as an end, never as merely a means.' And a third law arises to complete the series: 'Act in conformity with the idea of the will of every rational being as a will which lays down universal laws of action.' (We use the translation of Dr. Watson.) Enthusiastic Kantians have endeavored to derive these three laws of motion. There need be no hesitation in recognizing their abiding worth. Nor need there be any hesitation in acknowledging the indebtedness of mankind to Kant for his lofty teaching regarding the conception of Duty. It is a permanent gain that he has shown the possibility of deriving the Categorical Imperative from what he calls the Hypothetical Imperative. It is the practice in some schools of thought to derive the binding character of obligation from the fact that, if we are to gain an end, we must use the appropriate means. This is quite true. If I am to become a teacher, I must qualify myself for the office. And so with regard to the use of any other means by which an end is gained. I may decline to be a teacher, and so be discharged from the training needed for a teacher. But I may not decline to be moral. The demand of morality on me is absolute. For this demonstration the world is indebted to Kant.

The severely abstract nature of Kant's ethics has given rise to difficulties. It is hard for the student of his ethic to find a point of contact with this working-day world. It is also severely intellectual, and seems to disregard the real nature of man. A common prayer of religious men, both in the congregation and in private, is, 'In heart to keep Thy law.' If this prayer is answered,
and the heart is inclined to keep the law, immediately the act is removed from the sphere of duty, for inclination has nothing to do with duty. This tendency goes on, and the emotion is so strong as to destroy its characteristic. Yet on some occasions Kant seems himself to be filled with emotion. This is specially the case in his commanding and striking address to Duty, and when he contemplates the majesty of the starry heavens above and the moral law within. Are we to say that in these moments Kant is lifted out of the sphere of morality? The truth seems to be that Kant in his analysis of the moral consciousness has forgotten the feelings and emotions and desires. Or, when he remembers these, he feels the power of them only as disturbing elements, as hindrances to the working of the Categorical Imperative. He has not apparently contemplated the possibility of a man doing his duty because he likes to do it. If statutes may become songs, if a man may learn to love the law, how does it stand with him? Is he moral or is he outside of morality? Apparently in his analysis Kant has left out this possibility. It is curious to reflect that Herbert Spencer also comes to a similar conclusion, for he thinks that in a perfectly evolved State obligations are of a secondary nature, as duty will become pleasure, and the strain will no longer be needed (Data of Ethics, § 47). In his exposition Dr. Watson says:

"A perfectly good will agrees with the rational will of man in conformity with the moral laws, but there is no obligation in not being under an obligation to conform to them. An imperative has no meaning as applied to the Divine will or any other holy will, such a will being by its very nature in harmony with the law of reason. Imperatives are therefore limited to beings whose will is not in harmony with the moral law, expressing the way in which they do the relation of objective law to an impermanent will" (op. cit., p. 335).

This has a somewhat curious outcome. Is an Imperative less imperative when I consent to its rationality, and consent with my whole nature so completely that all its impulses, desires, and longings are constrained so thoroughly that all opposition to it passes away? Is the imperativeness of the Imperative less than before? Does an Imperative ever become real and operative until I lay it on myself, and make it binding on myself? Does it cease when I am able to make it wholly operative? It would seem, therefore, that there is something lacking in the moral consciousness instituted by Kant. It neglects feeling. It forgets that the moral appeal is directed not to the intellect alone; to the will alone. It commands that the inclinations, the passions, and the desires shall be yoked to duty, and that man as a whole shall live in the moral consciousness established by Kant. It neglects feeling. It forgets that the moral appeal is directed not to the intellect alone; to the will alone. It commands that the inclinations, the passions, and the desires shall be yoked to duty, and that man as a whole shall live in the moral consciousness established by Kant.

Moral authority does not cease when the will of man becomes wholly the good will, nor does obligation cease when man is wholly moralized. The statute does not cease to be a statute when it becomes a song, nor does the law vanish when the heart of man is inclined to keep it. We may not inquire further, in this place, into the nature of moral obligation, nor need we discuss the various views of it which have appeared in the history of ethics. It is sufficient for us to have indicated that morality has authority, from whatsoever source it may be conceived to flow. Man feels that he is bound to attain a certain character, to live up to a certain standard, and to attain to that ideal of life which can be described as good. The impulse of moral feeling must agree with an objective reality, and his judgment of values must be rooted in reality. The objective work must be realized in the inward life. Here, however, we pass beyond the bounds of ethics, and enter into the sphere of religion.

5. Authority in religion. In the sphere of religion, authority takes on a new form, speaks to us with a new voice, and passes from the sphere of the impersonal into that of the personal life. As Haeckel finely says:

"All the religious people feel that it is in the religious consciousness that they possess truth, and they have always regarded religion as constituting their true dignity and the foundation of their life. They are actuated by it in all their actions, as a rule, all care, . . . we leave behind on the shores of time; and as from the highest peak of a mountain, far away from all definite view of what is really the case, with all the limitations of the landscape and of the world, so with the spiritual eye man, the individual who contemplates the cosmos, contemplates it as something having only the semblance of existence, which, seen from this pure region, bathed in the beams of its own sun, i.e., surrounded by a sea of colour, its varied tints and lights, softened away into eternal rest" (Philosophy of Religion, Eng. tr., vol. 1, p. 3).

It is in the sphere of religion that all the authoritative characters of a system, really mean the unity, the moralized, unified, and made effective in a grander manner. For it is here that we can gather them into a unity, and see them to be one, for they reflect the absolute, central unity of the universe. When we speak of the unity of nature and the authoritative character of its system, we really mean the unity which is given to the universe by the mind which informs it, and by the presence ensnared in it. It is the primary revelation of God, and speaks to us with a Divine meaning; and when we read its meaning as the result of the application of an authority, we see the world, the universe, and the machinery of it at once. So, also, when we read and decipher the laws of nature, think out the first principles of reason, and act on its axioms, we are dealing with reason which is not merely ours, but is also objective and authoritative. So, also, when we read history, we read history, and not the history of man organized into communities, and realize what in this sphere authority and subjection mean, here too we are in a Divine presence, and the powers which be have been ordained of God. All authority is thus ultimately Divine authority, and it is true of the world from the theistic or from the pantheistic point of view. In the latter case authority comes from the perfect whole, in the former case it comes from the living God who has made, sustains, and rules the world. So, too, the binding power of morality flows from God. It is for this reason mainly that we are dissatisfied with the analysis of Kant, and regard it as imperfect. For religion comes to ethics and seeks to deliver it from the dry abstractions on which it delights to dwell, and strives to make it live, to give it a moral raison d'etre. It would seek to derive the Divine authority from a Divine nature, and for to religion the Divine will is only the expression of the Divine character.

As to the authority of nature, of truth, of civil society, of moral law, religion regards it as valid in its own place and way. They are expressions of the Divine nature, and express it as far as they can. But nature is an imperfect expression of the Divine nature. It may show forth certain aspects of the Divine nature, but the full meaning of God cannot be expressed in nature, or in human reason, or even in man as yet. God has really put a meaning into His works, and that meaning we are bound to read. Science is our interpretation of that meaning so far as we have been able to make it. It is impossible to admit all the limitations of human reason, and in the nature of the man, for here we deal with a world of persons, each of whom has or may have a meaning in himself. But even here the language of human life and the instinct of our nature has had to express that meaning is not adequate to its work. For man is imperfect, man has been so far non-rational and
non-moral, and the meaning of an absolutely moral and rational Personality cannot be expressed by these imperfect means. Yet nature and history do in some measure reveal God, and their value for religion consists in the fact that they reveal the idea of this authority is transformed from the old mode of coercion, and has become something new. No longer is man impelled by the fear of consequences, or by the dread of an external penalty somehow connected with disobedience. The strongest sanction is that he dreads an unspeakable terror the possibility of estrangement from God, and of losing that fellowship which is his very life.

This, then, is the nature of authority in religion. And it sums up in itself all other authorities. It is the guarantee of law to this authority and sanctions, and in so doing makes them more than ever coercive. It is also to be observed that this authority is wielded by God Himself and by Him alone. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and in the exercise of power by the other authority is at best ministerial, and is authoritative only in so far as it can produce and substantiate its credentials from Him. Laws of nature, laws of reason, laws of civil authority, laws of morals, are binding on men so far as they are laws of God, and no further. This seems to be what authority is from the religious point of view.

Again, from the religious point of view all things and agencies have their value in this, that the most high is named that name which is so far as they are able to express that meaning. Thus they have to be supplemented and added to by those other ways of Divine expression which are to be found in the history of man and in the fullest revelations of God. This is not the place for a lengthy discussion of revelation, or of that form of it which Christians believe to be the highest and fullest, viz. the revelation of God given to man in Christ. Nor can we even indicate how in the revelation of God in Christ there is a complete rearrangement of all the other authorities, and manifests or a manifestation of authority binding on all. Truth for the intelligence, life for the heart, and energy for the will are summed up in Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

Leaving these topics for adequate treatment in their proper places, we may note here that the authority of God vindicates itself on every ground on which it could be vindicated. We instinctively bow down in obedience to the highest and the best, to the wisest and the most pure, to the mightiest and the greatest. We bow down to this authority, regard its behests as binding, not merely because we recognize its right to command, but because we find also that its service is perfect freedom, because we are persuaded that it can guide, strengthen, comfort, and console. Here also authority appears finally in its strongest and most persuasive form. Perhaps the most picturesque, as it is the strongest form of authority, is that exerted by a person upon persons. Think of the loyalty of soldiers to the general in whom they trust, think of the devotion of disciples to a master, think of the loyalty of men to a great political leader; they will work for him, serve him, live for him, die for him; his word will send them forth to fulfill his will or die. This element of personal devotion is religion in its highest flights. From this point of view natural laws, laws of reason, laws of morals, come become ways by which we acquiesce ourselves with God; but these do not satisfy, they simply impel us on to acquaint ourselves with God and be at peace.

From this point of view certain discussions regarding the ways by which God makes Himself known simply become irrelevant. There is no need to inquire into infallibility, or inerrancy, or any other categories of the same kind. These are categories which men cannot use. Nor are they needed. For the ways by which men by themselves known are simply means to an end, and we need not spend time on their characteristics. We only ask, Do they lead to God? However good and sure the ways may be, their ultimate value lies in this—that they lead to God. Yet men may linger in them, admire them, speculate about them, their beauty, inerrancy, and so on, till they place them in a position which belongs to God alone. It is time that men should use them as they are meant to be used, and cease to attribute to them qualities which belong to God alone.

Authority then is real, is ever present with men, is indispensable for the training and education of the next generation. It is exercised in many ways and in many degrees. It has to justify itself not merely by force, and by the use of penalty; it has to meet the demands of human reason, to satisfy the requirements of the human conscience, and to prove itself the guide, the counsellor, the friend of man. The will must find in it purpose, guidance, and energy; the heart must find in it something to stir the emotions, to win the affections, and to arouse the higher passions of love and desire. And the intelligence must find in it truth, principle, and reality. When we trace all authority up to God, we have reached that which is the highest and most sublime, that demands that men have a right to make on the authority which confronts them with an absolute claim to loyalty and obedience.


JAMES IVERACH.

AUTOMATISM.—Originally the ‘automatic’ meant that which happens of itself and without any visible external cause, and the sense of the word in the various sciences may all be traced back to this etymological signification.

1. The first of these is the physiological. When motions are observed in an organism which are not apparently initiated by any external stimulation, the action is described as automatic. Thus automatisms are one of the chief marks of a living body. Physiologists, however, generally hold that this spontaneity is only apparent, being really a secondary rearrangement and interaction of the chemical and physical forces which have been taken into the organism. All physiological activity is thus taken as continuous with and included in the general scheme of physical interactions.

2. When this point of view is extended to the psychological plane and confronted with the fact of consciousness, it may engender that form of parenthesis it is customary to insert before discussing the physical automatism, or the Automaton Theory. As the various physical energies are taken to form a closed system with a fixed amount of energy and incapable of being affected by anything alien or extraneous (such as consciousness), it must on this theory be deemed that consciousness has any efficacy, i.e. that its presence in any way alters the course of physical change. Why it should exist at all becomes a problem; but it may be regarded as an epi-phenomenon, a sort of unobjec-
tional residuum, the production of which is logically in some unexplained way produced by, the flux of physical changes, or as a series of changes running parallel to, and somehow corresponding with, the physical changes, but of a fundamentally different order. The scientific aim of the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism is to distinguish sharply between psychical and physical process, and it has the methodological advantage of freeing the consideration of the latter from the perplexing influence of the former. It may assume a double form, according as the automatism is supposed to be the result of consciousness or unconsciousness. The motions of the organism merely simulate the phenomena of feeling and consciousness. According to Descartes, animals are unconscious automata of this kind. But inasmuch as the only consciousness of which any one has direct experience is his own, this argument may, and indeed must, be extended also to human actions. Another's consciousness is always an inference by analogy drawn from his actions. We assume our fellow-men to be conscious, because they behave as we do, because we are conscious and we have no direct experience of the existence of consciousness, we have not even here direct experience of its efficacy, if (with, e.g., Hume) we choose to set aside the testimony of the direct experience of agency as a proof of causation. The theory of psycho-physical automatism, then, fits in well enough with the assumptions of physics; but it comes into conflict with the biological presumption of the survival-value of any characteristic of life which has been progressively developed. For, unlike the automatism in the form of the animal, the conscious agent has the capacity to receive, act on, and interpret the experience of the surroundings, to be affected by the passage of time, to be subject to advantage and disadvantage, success and failure, in the course of physical change, it is hard to see how it could have had survival-value. A complete refutation of psycho-physical automatism, however, can be achieved only by displaying the methodological nature of its fundamental assumption.

3. In psychology proper, action is said to be automatic wherever the organism functions without the voluntary control (and in extreme cases even without the knowledge) of consciousness. Thus functions which are 'automatic', i.e., in the first sense may or may not be 'automatic' also in this; while, if the second sense of 'automatism' is adopted, it follows that all bodily motions are 'automatic' also, in this third sense. In practice, however, psychologists do not work with this theory of psycho-physical parallelism, but with voluntary and automatic psychic processes. Automatism in this sense is closely related to the phenomena of Volition (q.v.) and Habit (q.v.). Fully conscious volition occupies an extreme position in the scale of volitional forms which is steeped in complete automatism. Such volition appears to be the condition of organic response only to relatively new situations, and, as involving effort, strain, thought, and time, is too expensive to be economized as much as possible. Accordingly, the volitional character of an action recedes more and more into the background as a function becomes established. As actions become familiar and habitual by repetition, volition and consciousness both tend to fade from the picture of the physical change which accompanies the action, though for a long time the continuance of these factors as powers kept in reserve is suggested by their reappearance in emergencies. In this way what was originally a highly conscious, difficult, and volitional act (e.g., walking or reading) may become degraded into almost any degree of facile automatism, though it should always be remembered that this psychological declension means a biological gain. Hence it may even be maintained that the distinction between the voluntary and automatism has disappeared, and the primary automatism of all the organic functions which are not (normally) under the control of the will or within the cognizance of consciousness, may ultimately be abolished. The difference between them may be reduced to one between acquisitions of a newer and of an older date. Primary automatism may be regarded as that part of vital functioning which has become so regular and certain as no longer to require conscious supervision. This interpretation is evidently attractive from an evolutionary standpoint, but as evidently it needs to be combined with some hypothesis of an acceptable theory of the transmission (or apparent transmission) of habits.

The philosophical importance of this secondary automatism is considerable. For it enables the moralist to regard the economy of mental experience many acts and processes which are experienced are no longer voluntary or even conscious, and so facilitates the evolutionary treatment of ethical data. It plainly suggests, moreover, a definite theory of the origin, function, and future of consciousness, which is a law of function to tend from the conscious and volitional towards the habitual, involuntary, and unconscious, it would seem that any perfectly adjusted functioning must be unconscious, that consciousness itself was essentially a contingent of a disturbance of habit, and that unconscious functioning was both the beginning and the end of conscious life. Thus consciousness would be essentially evanescent and transitory. This inference can be avoided only by denying that the growth of automatism is a law of evolution. In that case, the course of the course of physical change, it is hard to see how it could have had survival-value. A complete refutation of psycho-physical automatism, however, can be achieved only by displaying the methodological nature of its fundamental assumption.

4. In addition, however, to the actions which are removed from conscious control after having once been conscious, other automatisms are found to occur which seem never to have formed part of the conscious life of the organism. They are to be initiated outside the normal course of experience, and to intrude upon it as aliens. They may assist it, or more frequently disturb it, whence they are usually regarded as pathological. Such automatisms may become conscious, but may attain to a considerable degree of coherence and persistence in cases of 'multiple' and 'alternating' personality (q.v.). They have been classified as sensory (e.g., dreams (q.v.) and visual and auditory hallucinations (q.v.) and as voluntary (automatic speaking and writing), and their interpretation raises the important question of sub-
consciences mental life (see subconsciously) and its relation to consciousness. It is also thought by some that in such automatism traces of superconscious life (prthajana) and powers have been found and these have been claimed as evidence of the possibility of communications from the departed. Their biological value for the guidance of conduct is not as a rule great, and this is precisely the reason why they are usually treated as pathological. What might be called the ascetic element of Kant's ethics. In all love, of whatever kind it is, he perceives only motives that are governed by the passions and self. (2) We must desire the universal, for only the universal is presented to us as an element of pure reason; all that is empirical is contingent. Here we find the influence of the rational and social element of Kant's ethics. These two arguments, which in Kant are blended in one, are in reality of very different kinds. The submission of the empirical will to the pure will is not connected with the idea of the universal, which Kant identifies elsewhere with the social; on the other hand, this notion of the universal affects the will only when it becomes the object of an attraction, the contents of a feeling. Kant's ideal is a will which is identical with reason, but experience does not bear out the inference, and it is conclusively proved, that the man whose will has become 'pure,' in the sense implied by Kant, is the moral man par excellence. It seems, indeed, that he would lack what constitutes the soul of all complete and profound morality. The concept of autonomy is an abstract idea stripped of all psychological basis. It expresses an idea of liberty indeed, but Kant was quite unable to deduce from it practical rules for human conduct.

Of present-day philosophers, the chief to revive the idea of autonomy is Cohen ('Die Ethik des reifen Willens,' System der Philosophie, 1907, pt. ii.). But, inspired by Fichte's ideas, Cohen conceives autonomy, not as the faculty of practical reason, producing laws freely for human conduct, but as the faculty of man, making the human individual the supreme end of all his actions. Under this conception, autonomy becomes, in a direct and positive manner, a social principle, which it is in Kant only indirectly or rather negatively.

Eugène EHREHARDT.

AVALOKITEŚVARA.—1. The name.—(a) Īśvara, which, among nauyugikas (philosophers) and bhaktas (devotees) alike, refers to the personal and supreme god, means etymologically 'king,' 'monarch.' It is an epithet common to the Bodhisattvas, or at least—for that name includes every individual who seeks to attain the Bodhi, even although he is still a 'natural man' (prathyugita)—to all the Bodhisattvas who are in complete possession of the qualifications of Bodhisattvas, viz., those who are 'great Bodhisattvas' (Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva), 'masters of the ten stages of Bodhisattva-ship' (dakṣaḥkāleśvara) (see Maheśvatī, 22, 15). But, when speaking of Avalokiteśvara, who is not only a 'great god' (deva) but also, as 'providence,' we cannot forget that Siva is called the 'great lord' (Maheśvara) or simply, the 'lord' (Īśvara).

(b) The meaning of the compound 'Avalokiteśvara' is not at all clear: it does not attach itself to its signification. It may mean either 'the lord of what we see,' i.e., 'of the present world,' or of...

* See Kern, Gench. I. 324, Jauer, in Itthimandala, 76, Burnouf, Introduction, 228, Friedelin, Commentaire, 139, "Narayana, une divinité de la grêle et du tonnerre"; Gradwael, Lamenœ, p. 150; Rays Davids, Bodhisattva (1899), p. 500; Waddell, Lamenœ, p. 40; and Judd, 1892; Watier, Praté-Chougr, I. 344; 'the beholding lord.'
Avalokitesvara is the sun; and, in fact, Padmapani, Lotus-bearer, which is a name of Avalokita, is also a name of Sun (sūna). Avalokita is the Viṣṇu of the Buddhists.

2. If Avalokitesvara signified originally 'the lord who is seen', 'de geemonbaarhe Herr', 'the revealed god', it looks as if we ought to trace back this signification on the one hand, and the conception of the Deity on the other, from a high. This meaning is not quite satisfactory, for Avalokita, like all Bodhisattvas, looks both at the Buddha ('Bhagavanadhāvakaśākara-pa') and at the creatures with a look of compassion ('karunakāmitāvakaśana').

The use of spyan-ras-kyis (see also Darmasāra) is strikingly reminiscent of the title of some Bodhisattvas, as for instance, &c., a name of Avalokita is a most present participle, which, as M. Kern remarks, is bad grammar; but Burnouf failed to see in this inaccuracy a decisive argument against the current interpretation, and we may agree with him. Further, from the grammatical point of view, spyan-ras-kyis, 'lord of compassionate glance', = Avalokana, 'lord of special mercies', = 'lord with compassionate glance'. Avalokita is the god whose face is turned in every direction in order to see everything and to save everybody; he is called the "dispeller of fear", the "all-sided protecter".

(c) One of the most notable names of Avalokita, and certainly the one which gives us the best idea of the character which had been ascribed to him for a very long time, is Lokakṣema, Lokanātha, 'Lord, Protector of the world.' M. Kern expresses this, without doubt, very well when he says: 'Avalokita represents here the god of the present,' 'the one who bears the world,' 'son of a Buddha (Amītābha), as the present is the son of the past,' the concrete counterpart of the 'Body of Law' (Dharmakīrti), the present form of the Lord, 'the pure one, the Lord of the dwelling-place, Amitābha, who dwells in the setting sun, is the god of Paradise.'. The texts clearly show that

*See Kern, J.C., "Buddhism," p. 126, note. Parijita (Mahāyāna Sūtra, 126, 83) seems quite clearly to mean parijitaratna, and it is possible that there are other examples.*

*See Böhtlingk-Roth, s.v. lok aitana (2). Further, Avalokita means 'a person to whom good-luck has been said,' one who has been seen for the last time (depends on Dīrghāṇa and Mahāāskara). Avalokitēsvara is indeed the lord of the departed and the help of the god of new-born. The present writer owes these valuable observations to Mr. W. F. Thomas.

*Lotus, ch. xxiv.; Kern, ii., 171; Beal, Catena, 388. Like spyan-ras, the lotus flower is the characteristic emblem of the Buddha, and establishes a constant contact between Avalokita and Siva. But the prefix aitana has no such precise meaning. The spyan-ras, 'glance,' like the smile (sūla) and the beam (rasā), is a mode of communication.*

*Burnouf, Introd. p. 226, note. Parijita (Mahāyāna Sūtra, 126, 83) seems quite clearly to mean parijitaratna, and it is possible that there are other examples.*

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*Burnouf, Introd. p. 226, note. Parijita (Mahāyāna Sūtra, 126, 83) seems quite clearly to mean parijitaratna, and it is possible that there are other examples.*
placed in you.* Avalokita is a Great Bodhisattva, but he is not the only one, nor is he unquestionably the most important.

It is probably this stage in the history of Avalokita that is represented in the very old relics, where a 'Lotus-bearer' Padmapani (afterwards the equivalent of Avalokita) appears with four or seven other Bodhisattvas, surrounding a Buddha or below a Buddha.

There is reason to believe that Maitreya (the future Buddha), for example, whose doctrinal position is better established, must originally have taken precedence of him; and there are many highly authentic and well-authenticated writings, such as the Sanskrit-Tibetan Lexicon (Mahādeyapratīti) and the Chinese records, which lead us to believe that Maitreya was able to maintain his position. In any case, it must be noticed that the role of 'Good Bodhisattva,' helpful and divine, very noble (paramārtha), the giver of security (sukhayānusāda), etc., was divided among Kṣitigarbha and his companions, before it became the more or less exclusive designation of Avalokita. Now it must be borne in mind that the preceding remarks are not intended as a polemic against the generally current view from the dawn of the Christian era, in certain circles at least, Avalokita became an important personage and a jealous god.

5. *Lotus of the True Law, Sukhāvatīvyūha, Avatārayāpyakṣamāna.* (a) Avalokita is the principal Bodhisattva, but there is a whole chapter on his āparaṇa, his 'gesta,' in the Skṛt, *saivāthaṃya.* He is far superior to the other Great Bodhisattvas (Aśvāksayatama, etc.), who along with him listen to Sūkyānunī, with the single exception of the Bodhisattvas of the *Lotus* (Lotus of the *true* Dharma) who is the 'saviour': it is better to think of him than to do honour to thousands of Buddhas. He assumes the form of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Mahāsāvara, Kuvera, Vajrayāna, as the case may be, the more easily to fulfil his task of mercy. Aśvāksayatā (understanding intelligence) presents him with flowers; he divides them between Sākyā and the stāpa of an 'extinct' Buddha. According to the versified text, he real dwelling-place is in the *Sukhāvatī,* the paradise of Avalokita, where he sits sometimes on the right and sometimes on the left of Buddha.

* * See *Śūkyā, p. 260; Bodhisahyaprāṇa, p. 314. *

* See Grünwedel, *Buddh. Art in India,* pp. 196, 210 ff. *

* Maitreya is the only Bodhisattva acknowledged in the *Lotus*; the second in *Mahāyāna-pratīti,* the first in the *Dharmarāṣṭrapāra,* etc., and plays the chief part in the *Lotus.*

* The *Avatārayāpyakṣamāna* (Skṛt. *Kṣitiputra*; Mahāyāna) has some hesitation in recognising Avalokita in the Guatāra sculptures, and is certain only of the identification of Maitreya (Buddh. *Art in India,* p. 152 fn.). Nevertheless, the view which, following his example, we express on the chronological and dogmatic priority of Maitreya is supported not only by the fact that Maitreya alone is recognized by the Little Vehicl (Deal, *Buddhist Records,* ii. 61), but also by certain statements of the Chinese pilgrims, who were more interested in the heaven of Maitreya than in that of Avalokita, more interested in the coming of Maitreya than in the present living Avalokita (see especially ib. lii. 225, l. 227). *

* More or less exclusive, according to Wassilieff, as is proved by the collections of the hundred and eight names of divinities in *Kṣitiputra,* *Rṣya,* xiv.: Avalokita, Maitreya, Aśvāksayatā, etc., and six Bodhisattvas in the *Dharmarāṣṭrapāra,* the addition of Avalokita and the collection of the Chinese pilgrims, who were more interested in the heaven of Maitreya than in that of Avalokita, more interested in the coming of Maitreya than in the present living Avalokita (see especially ib. lii. 225, l. 227). *

* See the translations of Burrow and Kern. The *Māhāyāna* forms ch. xxv. of the Chinese edition. In China it is one of the *Lotus,* the *Sūkhyāna,* the *Tathāgata-samādhisāra,* the *Sarvavarnavānvidhakāla* and Kṣitigarbha (Wassilieff, *ib.*), the eight Bodhisattvas of the *Dharmarāṣṭrapāra,* with the addition of Avalokita and the collection of the Chinese pilgrims, who were more interested in the heaven of Maitreya than in that of Avalokita, more interested in the coming of Maitreya than in the present living Avalokita (see especially ib. lii. 225, l. 227). *

* The *Nīkāya* ascribes to every Bodhisattva this power of transformation. Even the wish of all the Bodhisattvas to become food and drink (pānābhijāna) in times of famine is taken literally.

* The association of Vajraṭīḍi with divinities who are worthy but not the most important. In the hundred and eight names of the *Sūkhyāna,* Vajraṭīḍi begins by mystical recipes from Avalokita. See E. Senart, *Congrés d'Alger,* *Vajrayāna.* and below, p. 230 and n. 7.

* The *Sukhāvatī* and the *Amitābhyāyakhyānamātra,* supplied with a very fine theology of *Amitābha* and Avalokita. It is possible to distinguish the *Sukhāvatī* from the *Lotus,* now ten ages (kalpa) since he became Buddha, and it will be a very long time before he is extinct.

In principle all the Buddhas are equal; they possess the same intrinsic perfections, the same knowledge. But it is very probable that they are differentiated in the exercise of the various roles because of the vow that they have made. Now Dharmākara, the future Amitābha, the under the Buddha Lokesvarārīja, § vowed that, when he reached Buddha- hood, he would have a 'Buddha field,' wonderfully blessed, the Happy (Sukhaṅdhatu), and that is why there flock to him from all the Buddha fields the beings appointed to nirvāṇa, either as future arhats or as Buddhas.* It is with Amitābha that those who are guilty but possess the promise and potency of deliverance spend their period of probation in the different Bodhisattvas become prepared for their last birth, by having good opportunities of going to visit, to honour, and to listen to the Buddhas of all the worlds.** After this period these Bodhisattvas will become Buddhas and their spheres will become the inner spheres of their own. As regards Avalokita, it is at the end of our age that he will appear as the thonanist and last Buddha of the age.†

The Bodhisattvas are not equal among themselves. In the heaven of Amitābha there are two, Avalokita and Mahāsthamaprapta,** almost as great and luminous as Buddhas, who sit on thrones equal to his. Avalokita is the more majestic; this is due to his vow to bring all beings, without exception, into the 'happy land.' And while his glorious body illumines a great many worlds, he traverses them all in different forms, sometimes real and sometimes magical; like Amitābha himself, he has parts of himself incarnated here and there; he never forgets for a moment his rôle as provider of the Sukhāvatī. And it is he, rather than Mahābuddha, who is the centre of the religious life of the whole Buddhist world, in the same way that the world of the modern Catholic is centred on the Pope. *

* *Sukhāvatīvyūha (Chinese tr. 147-186), in two reductions, edited by Max Muller, Anecd. Ovovintensi, and also in fac-simile Musse Guimet, a, translated in *SBE* xix., with the *Amitābha,* the Skr. original, of which there is no edition inferior to that of Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids (in 424). On this text cf. also *JETS,* 1894, 2, 1. *

† On the human descendants of Amiita and Avalokita, cf. also Rémusat, *Poëe-khot.*

* There are two things which have no limit, the brilliance of Amitābha and the Bodhisattva. But the light of Amitābha illumines all the fields of Buddha, owing to the 'special vow' of this Buddha to lighten his own field and an infinite number of other fields. Although Amitābha is praised, glorified, and preached by all the Buddhas, he cannot lay claim to any kind of monopoly. A fairly just idea of the system may be formed by regarding the Buddhas as saints (in the Roman Catholic sense of the word), who are all saints for the same reason, but among whom priests distinguishes more or less powerful saints. Cf. *Mahānyasa,* iii. 350. 15.

† A name of Avalokita.

* More refined in charity is the wish expressed in *Karmayānuparipāka* 'to have a Buddha field' inhabited by inferior beings overwhelmed by calamities, in order to have a more worthy object of play.

* In the kingdom of Amitābha all the Bodhisattvas are in their last birth, but they are not Buddhas; according to their special wish (pranidhānavacra) to save others. It is noteworthy that our text admits the existence of arhats, saints and angels who are not all Buddhas, according to the Little Vehicle, i.e. beings appointed to attain to nirvāṇa without passing through the stage of Buddhahood. The Great Vehicle believes that all beings will become Buddhas, and this was not the case in the Little Vehicle (ib. 142).

* They do not even have to move in order to worship and listen to the Buddha, who is everywhere in the world.

† Schmidt, *Über die tanzende Buddhas* (p. 106); and Rémusat, *Counompe, Melanges Pothier.*

* In modern Chinese versions of the Sukhāvatī, Vajraṭīḍi takes the place of Mahāsthamaprapta (Foucher, *Catalogue,* p. 53). The Japanese representation of the Sukhāvatī is nearer the original text of Maitreya, Avalokita, and Mahāsthamaprapta often have stūpas on their heads (Grünwedel, *Buddh. Kunst,* pp. 139 and fig 53).
than Amitābha himself, who is the lord of the Sukhāvati.*

This ostentations and short-sighted glorification of Amitābha has given rise in our opinion to a doctrine of salvation, very different from the ordinary doctrine of the Great Vehicle. According to the Little Vehicle, the Buddhists were only instructors; in the ‘rationalist’ Great Vehicle they have become models, and the Bodhisattvas appear as friends, counselors, protectors;‡ their presence does not in any way lessen the necessity for personal effort. In the Sukhāvati, Amitābha and Avalokita save the faithful almost in spite of themselves, as the cat saves her young by taking them in her mouth (a Kraṇāvatāra miracle). There is, however, a reservation: those beings guilty of ‘mortal sins’ are excluded from the Sukhāvati.

The Amitāyurdhyāna does away with this restriction: the paradigm is saved if he pronounces the name of Amitābha. In a word, our theologians, as well as those of the Vajgrāmya, have to distinguish between ordinary people who are liable to hell, etc., and devotees who are naturally exempt.

(c) It is to this period that the iconographic monuments seem to belong, about which the Chinese pilgrims had given us their testimony, between 65 and 185. Another point that we are quite justifiéd in referring to them here, as the Amitāyurdhyāna speaks of statues in which the characteristics of the god are reproduced. We find isolated statues of Avalokita, among which the great statues described by Burnouf, and groups in which he is facing Maitreya, Tārā, and Mahājñāpi, and probably also Mahāsthāna—wonderful statues, recurring throughout the whole Buddhist world from the extreme North-West to Ceylon.‡ They give us a sculptured representation of the texts, which describe in detail the attitude, colour, and qualities of the gods. The Amitāyurdhyānasūtra places a ‘magical’ Buddha, twenty-five leagues high, on the head of the glorious body of Avalokita, seated on the left of Amitābha; this is clearly represented in the icons (to which attention has already been drawn by Huien Ts’ang), where Avalokita wears in his head-dress a seated statue of a Buddha, who, at a very early date, if not from the very beginning, was identified with Amitābha.‡

The Amitāyurdhyānasūtra recognizes a characteristic of the Great Vehicle in the fact that worship was bestowed on the Bodhisattvas, Mahājñāpi and Avalokita, and on the Prajñā. Huen Ts’ang mentions that a statue of Maitreya was worshipped in a district which is quite hima-
yāstik (cf. A. and V. Beal, Buddhist texts, ii. 384, 1873). His name is not mentioned; the text is taken from the Sūtra of the Great Exposition of Pāramitā (A. 427); see Grünwedel, Myth., 451, 247. On the Māyā-ku-hun (the ‘hundred thousand precious con-
notations’), a formidable list of Avalokita’s names, supposed to belong to this time, see Rockhill, 232, and Schlagen-

6. Avalokita rises still higher in the Kāraṇa-
vyūha* and in the Sarvāraṇyena;‡ but here the

textology seems to be extremely involved; we have to deal with a sūtra, but with Parānic

literature. On the other hand, the formula and the mantras on incantation demonstrate that,
on account of the above-described notion of the pro-
vidential polymorphism of Avalokita, that god is

identified with all the Hindu deities, both mild and cruel. Avalokita is a Buddhist Siva, an ascetic and a magician.

(a) In some of its features the Kāraṇa-vyūha‡
recalls the Lotus and the Amantrāyūnasūtra:

Avalokita learns the law from Amitābha, he comes to worship Sakyamuni, and brings him flowers and leaves. But, in the other great sūtras and the mantras on incantation demonstrate that Avalokita is a Buddhist Siva, an ascetic and a magician.

There is no need for astonishment at this extra-
ordinary mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism. Avalokita is the great yogin, the great magician (vīdāyak-
pati, anekamuntrātattavikara); he is in possession of the formula (in which he glories in the Aman-
trāyūnasūtra); but, above all, he possesses the

only, the true, formula āhā mārgī putrīnān,²

* See the Calcula edition, 1873; Conze-Feer, p. 246; Hodg-

son, Extracts; the summary of Rajendralāl (Buddh. Lit., pp. 35, 109), the mastersly exposition of Burnouf (Introd., p. 251). The Tibetan translation probably belongs to A.D. 610 (Schlag-

weit, p. 81; Rockhill, p. 212), but the original is supposed to have been in existence some 200 years before from the times of the Vajrā-ṃa-śāstra. A. N., 427; see Grünwedel, Myth., 451, 247. On the Māyā-ku-hun (the ‘hundred thousand precious con-

notations’), a formidable list of Avalokita’s names, supposed to belong to this time, see Rockhill, 232, and Schla-


Ch. vi. See Beal, Caten., 39, 284; Nanjo, 399 (tr. A.D. 854-857); Warder, 191; see, 249; and the quotations from the Sūktānāmanabhakta. Enumerating the innumerable, we dis-

tinguish 32 manifestations of the god, 14 cases in which he provides safety, etc. For the worship of Avalokita and Amitā-

bha the reader is referred also to the Chinese sources.

² Sukyamuni speaks to Maitreya, Sarvanavaravajikkhambha and Batumipati Avalokita receives 41 designations. Are the lists of 186 names later?

² Sūkīpadalokanāra (see Foucher, loc. cit.); cf. the name Avalokita.

² Vajraśīrāvīraśākara. In the Bodhisattvadīpikā, Vaj-

ratāpa is par eva prajñāprāpya rāja, demonstrating the power of the visitor of halls; but from most ancient times Avalokita too has been engaged in the salvation of infernal beings.

* It is this famous formula that is in view in the Dīgāvāna (foot of p. 613) which makes no mention of Avalokita. Sākya-
numi imparts it to Ananda: it was preached by the six Buddhas, it is known to the Rākṣasa, and to the gods. It is placed in the first rank (see Burnouf, Introd., p. 511; Kern, Gesch. J. 400). The Tibetans claim that it fell down to them from heaven about a. d. 400. They place it in their great list of the 14 Bodhisattvas, and it is mentioned nor contemplated in Nanjo, No. 326 (tr. A.D. 450), which contains various Sākyamuni’s early sayings, and it has been written about the ‘formula of six syllables.’ We may mention Kātyāyana, J.A. March 1831; Rémusat, Melanges, p. 99; Pachouki, t. p. 75; Schlagwetit, p. 49; but these are of course mere Lamasiticism.

There is no doubt that the tantric literature gives it an

obscene interpretation. ‘Putrīnān and putrīnān in this jargon have

a very distinct value. On the other hand, Rémusat’s esca-

Is there a Buddha who possesses this 'hexasyllabic (padgakari) knowledge (vidyā)?' No. Is there a being who possesses it? No. It belongs to Avalokita alone, and he reveals it to whomsoever he pleases. The questioner: Is there anyone else: whoever knows the formula does away with the god, whose 'heart,' i.e. 'mystery,' the formula is, and in his way is another Avalokita.

Further, the single word 'Adored one' (vandita) is a sufficient description of him. He is the refuge, Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, all in one. Whosoever pronounces or traces on his body the magical syllables receives a body which participates in the body of the thunderbolt (vajra-kājādāra), the apex of knowledge of the Buddhas (Tathāgata-śākata), and becomes like a dhātuddhātā, a stūpa with relics.

(b) Iconography and the manuals of incantation, which illustrate and supplement each other in a marvellous way, prove that this delineation of Avalokita is not merely verbal, but that it is in close connection with worship and daily idolatry. All the Tibetan forms of Avalokita are replicas of the Hindu cults, which are attested as early as the 10th and 11th centuries, but are undoubtedly much more ancient. In fact, our literary evidences (avatāra, stūpa, etc.) show a visible influence on the mother-country, for there are representations of Avalokita, as well as of other gods, after the fashion of Udyāna, of China and other places.

It would be impossible to describe the whole iconography of Avalokita; that task has quite recently been performed extremely well. We shall merely notice a few characteristic features. Avalokita is polymorphous; but, in many cases and until the more degenerate times, he retains the hands of the Buddha, and his feet are always human, and sometimes on his head a small figure of the Jina Amītābha.

In one hand he bears the lotus (padma),** with the other he makes the gesture of the 'bestower of favour,' and a ghost (preta) is represented holding up thin lips towards the ambara which flows from his fingers. As satellites Avalokita has Tārā (sometimes in two forms, calm and angry), Hayagriva ('horse-necked'), the guardian of the 30,500,000 magical formulae, and Sudhana, who is also a friend of Maitreya. When Avalokita has four arms, two of them are joined in añjali (the hands forming a cup) as a sign of respect; the other two hold the lotus and the rosary. But the asetic attributes are the antelope's skin and the water-pot. And then, whenever he represents a Bodhisattva, of Siva, Amoghapāsa, Hālāhala, Nilaṅkātha, Padunārtesvara, etc., his arms, his faces, and his eyes become multiplied, and he carries tridents encircled with serpents, skulls filled with flowers, bows, arrows, etc.

Among the curious figures, besides those which clearly show the identification with Siva, the following are noteworthy: (1) the figure of Śiṅhānātha ('Lion's cry'). This was the name given to the solemn declarations of Śakyamuni; Mahājūri, who in Buddhist is the personification of wisdom, is mounted on a lion. Avalokita becomes confused with Mahājūri, is seated on the lion, carries the book and the sword of Mahājūri, but all the time retains his own attributes as well. (2) The figure with the thousand arms, in which the arms, arranged in the form of a peacock's tail, give a graphic representation of the universality of the god. (3) The figure with eleven heads (antarāra, three, two), is a representation of the head of Amītābha and a thousand arms is the translation, as it were, of his former name Saman-tamukha.† It corresponds to a legend which shows very clearly the character of Avalokita: 'May my head split asunder,' the god had said, 'if I fail in my vow to save beings!'-an old Buddhist expression. As a matter of fact, he did give way for an instant to discouragement, on seeing the inefficacy of his efforts; his head split into a thousand pieces, and Amītābha put it together again. There are several forms of this story, in which the old is mixed with the new.

We shall also quote a modern Nepalese inscription which gives a good account of the dignity and the physiognomy of our hero: 'The chiefs of the Yogins call him the King of the Fishes (Matyendr), the devotees of the female deities (ādikās) call him Sakti, the Buddhists call him Lokāvarā. All honour to this being, whose true form is Brahman.'‡ This identification of Avalokita with the Sakti par excellence, i.e. with the personification of the cosmic female power, is shown in a more striking way than the coupling of the god with the twenty-one Tārās,§ that the Chinese transformation of Avalokita into a woman had probably been already effected in India.

7. We need not say very much about the Tibetan doctrine of incarnations, according to which all

* With an eye in the palm of each hand (Sandberg, Colloquial Tibetan, p. 197). Sometimes only sixty-six arms are represented (Foucher, Catil. 15).

† See Schlagintweit, p. 24; Schmidt, Forschungen, p. 202 (the head is broken into ten pieces). This number eleven recalls the eleven Endras, and shows us Avalokita as a disguise Siva. Being Viśvarupa, he is none less than Brahma who becomes Siva. It may be useful to mention that the Avalokita-shankalakavakshastra (Saranā, p. 729, 20th century) mentions in Chinese in 587-581. Among the other Samantab (Mahanirptattī, 23, 31, 36, 38, 63) the most famous is Samantabhadrā (Lotus, xxviii.; Kern, p. 427, note), a double of Siva, and the only one of the 'Dhyānibhidhātivas' who is not a pāpi (vyat, ratsa, padma, visiipā)."
The monastic dignitaries are sāmaṇeras (saprul-pa-khonbogten) of the highest degree, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to the article LAMĀISM and to the sources. We shall merely say that Ava-
kotivāsara, the patron of the Tibetan Church, is incarnated in the person of the Great Lama (rgyal-
ba rgya-mtsho), while Amāthita, described in the ritual of the royal monastery of Waddell, though without adequately setting forth his proofs, maintains that the theory is a recent invention (1640). There is no doubt that Lāmaic hierarchy is peculiarly Tibetan; but it is quite as certain that many Hindūs and Muslims have been successively in identifying them-

selves with gods.

LITERATURE.—Detailed bibliography in Burgess, Arch. Sur-
vey of Western India, No. 5 (1853), p. 14, and Grünwedel, Mythologie, 1850, notes 29.

ORIGINA.L SOURCES.—Lecons: Mahārṣyupati, Dharmaśa-
grahana, Trikāvāda, Suddhārthaprakāśa, Sakhavādīya, Amāthaprahāṣita, Bodhiśhāvatāra, Kārāpārśaya. TīrthaṇḍT SOURCES.—Coomer-Fer, J.R.A.S. 1901; 220; Sarat Chandra Das, Dietonary p. 808. JAP. 1859, No. 227f.; Beal, Catena, 1873 (Sāraṅgāra); the Buddhist pilgrimage. Among the general works, see the texts of Waddell, Kern, Köppen, Schlagintweit, Pander, Waddell, and Grün-

wedel, the reader is referred to Wilhelms, W. H. (1846), i. 220; and Kern, Indisches, 1842; 1842; Kern, Inscript. u. Alterthümer, Amsterdam, 1859, Verhongen van Nieuweme, 1858; Pacher, J. G. (1823), 1845; Bionaz, Diction. 2 vols., 1855; Grünwedel-Burgess, Buddhist, Art in India, 5, 1901; Waddell, 'The Indian Cult of Avalokites,' JRAS, 1873; Aulularia, 1873, devoted to Sīkṣa. The science of eschatology, as well as of iconography, Burgess, Arch. Surv. Rep. of Western India, No. 9, Bombay, 1874, and No. 5, 1883; Pander, Parthelen des Thangchhang Huik, 1890.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSIN.

AVARICE.—Avarice may be defined as an ab-
sorbing passion for earthly possessions and a selfish

gratification in their retention. It includes both the

getting and the keeping, respectively. In the

closing days of man is tempted to put aside all considerations that stand between him and his object, and in the retention he looks less to the bene-
calf to which any possession can be put than to his own luxury in possessing it. It is a

language, avarice is largely restricted to this second feature, while the passionate desire that

begets the avaricious character is described as covetousness (wh. see). Avarice is thus applied more frequently to parsimony in the storing of wealth, and to greediness in seeking after wealth. Covetousness stirs up the discontented to clutch at what other people have; avarice

begets the miser who hoards greedily all that he has.

The avaricious mind seems almost to make money or possessions ends in themselves, and yet it may be doubted whether money is not always thought of as a means of gratifying the love of pleasure or the love of power in some of their many forms. The miser glots over his gold, but even in his most debased state he probably sees in it the possibility of making a fortune in the world, and he may probably in his imagination the splendour with which he might surround himself, the security he has against poverty, or the greatness of the one who will inherit all as his heir. Certainly, at first, avarice leads men to amass money because of the command it gives over it, and the luxury and luxuries of life, and because of its efficacy as an instrument of ambition (cf. Martineau, Types of Ethical Theory, 1856, ii. 172).

Avarice springs, therefore, from two of the strongest human passions, the love of power and the love of pleasure; although it may continue even when pleasure and power seem no longer likely to be gratified. In its last stage it becomes repellent to all, as its selfish absorption reveals the degrada-
tion and folly of the mammon-worship prisoner.

The degradation of avarice is graphically described by Dante, who represents the miser as cleaving to the dust, in Purgatory (Longfellow's tr. xix. 120f.—).
AVERROÈS, AVERROISM. — 1. Life.

AVERROÈS, a corruption of the Arabic name Ibn Rushd. Abu'l-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd was born at Cordova in his year A.H. 529 (A.D. 1136), of a family of standing. His grandfather, who was kadi of Cordova, wrote some important works on law. His father also, and afterwards Averroës himself, held the post of kadi. He studied law in his native town, and may also have studied at the university of Abu Ja'far Harun of Traxillo. He enjoyed the friendship of Ibn Zuhr, a famous physician, and the acquaintance of the celebrated theosophist Ibn Arabi. In 548 we find him at Marrakesh (Morocco), being presented by Ibn Tufail to the Amir of the country, Al Ahmad Abû Ya'qûb Yusuf. His account of this introduction has been communicated as follows:

'When I came into the presence of the Amir of the Faithful, he says, 'I found him along with Ibn Tufail, who began to elucidate me. After asking my own, my father's, and my family name, the Amir opened the conversation with the question: 'What is the opinion of philosophers on the sky? Is it an eternal substance, or did it have a beginning?' A sudden fear seized me, and rendered me speechless. The Amir, however, was pacified by himself translated: 'A knowledge is unlooked for in a prince, and sent him away laden with presents.

It was Ibn Tufail too who advised Averroës to write a commentary on Aristotle. He told him that the Amir often complained about the obscurity of the Greek philosophers, and of the translations then existing, and said that he ought to undertake the explaining and arranging of them. There is a passage in Ibn Tufail's philosophical romance, Hay bu-Ad-Din, where he tells Averroës how to write a commentary; and this was the opening advice of Averroës, who was just then beginning to write.

In A.H. 555 Averroës was appointed a kadi at Sevilla, and, about 567, was installed at Cordova. From this time onwards he devoted himself to the composition of his greatest works. During the greater part of the time he was burdened all the time with public duties. He travelled a great deal. In 574 he was at Marrakesh, in 575 at Sevilla, and in 578 back again at Marrakesh, where Yusuf appointed him his chief physician, a post that had been held by Ibn Tufail. When Yusuf sent him back to Cordova, he bore the title of 'Grand Kadi.'

Averroës continued in favour during the beginning of the reign of Ya'qûb al-Mansur. Yusuf's successor, then he fell into disgrace. This was the result of the opposition which his writings encountered from the theologians, and it bears witness to the influence that his philosophy was beginning to exercise. They accused him of various heresies (see below, § 3); and even went the length of trying to make him pass for a Jew. After undergoing an examination on matters of his orthodoxy, he was banished to Lucena, near Cordova. The Amir also ordered (c. 1103 A.D.) all the works of the philosophers to be burned except treatises on Medicine, Arithmetic, and chemic.

These decrees were afterwards reversed, and Averroës was recalled to Marrakesh; but he did not long enjoy his return to favour, dying on the 9th of Safar, A.H. 595 (11th Dec. A.D. 1198). His tomb is at Marrakesh, outside the Tagazet gate.

2. Works. — Averroës' great claim to glory lies in his being pre-eminently Aristotle's commentator. To this he owes his renown and popularity in the West in the Middle Ages. His philosophy proper has been fiercely attacked, and, in the present writer's opinion, often misunderstood. But the care with which he handled the Schools, the compass of their abundance, and their ingenuity, have caused them to be used as a basis for the study of philosophy in schools.

In accordance with a custom which still prevails in Muslim teaching, these commentaries are of three kinds: the immediate, the medium, and the far-reaching. These three degrees correspond to the three years or three periods into which philosophical instruction was divided. It is in this way too that the Qur'an or the 'ɑqā'id ('articles of faith') is commented on in the universities of Islam, recourses being had to more and more comprehensive glosses, according to the progress of the pupils.

In Latin and Hebrew we have the three kinds of Averroistic commentaries for the Second Analytics, the Physics, the treatises on the Sky and the Soul, and the Metaphysics, but not for the other works, and none at all for the History of Animals, and the Politics. In Arabic we have the medium commentaries on Politics and Rhetoric, a treatise on four books of Aristotle on Logic, and a translation of fragments of commentary on Metaphysics. H. Derencbourg has brought into evidence the existence of an Arabic collection of short commentaries or compendiums ('awārīm') in the library of the Escurial. This work has almost exactly the same contents as that mentioned by the author of the History of the Almohads (Vagnan's tr. p. 211).

Besides this great work, his commentaries, we have a somewhat important work on Polémics, the Tahafut al-Tahafut ('Vanity of Vanities'), which was levelled against the theologians. It is in the Arabic text. There are also a few fragments in Arabic which are not so important. Among the works that Renan mentions as having been written by Averroës besides his commentaries, but which are perhaps not all clearly distinct from them, are: commentary on Plato's Republic, opinions on Al-Farabi's Logic, and on his manner of comprehending Aristotle, discussions on a few of Avicenna's theories, commentary on Nicolau's Metaphysics, treatises on the abstract intellect and its relation to the subject, and on the Doctrine of Faith ('Aqidah) of the Mahdi Ibn Tumart. Averroës was the author also of works on Jurisprudence, Astronomy, and Medicine. Of the last named, we possess the text of a treatise which, in the Middle Ages, enjoyed a somewhat wide-spread reputation, the Kulliyat (i.e. 'Generalities').

3. Doctrine. — It is by no means certain that the Western writings which we possess on Averroës give us a very true idea of his doctrine. His philosophy was fiercely attacked by the theologians, who regarded it as not useful for their own ends. With the intention of pointing out the dangers that it presented to the faith, they forced assertions out of it, they drew overstrained inferences from it, they told whiter, according to them, this doctrine led rather than what it really was. We know this method of procedure well from the work of al-Ghazâli entitled Tahafut (' Destruction,' or ' Vanity of Philosophers'), where he applies it to al-Farabi and Avicenna. This work has now been carefully studied. It is not the method of the philosophers, not so much for explicitly professing anti-religious doctrines, as for holding opinions and hypotheses which are not likely to be useful for proving religious truth, but from which conclusions contrary to the faith would rather be
inferred. This does not mean that al-Fārābī and Avicenna did not seek sincerely to establish a philosophy compatible with dogma.

Now the same thing happened in the case of Averroes. He was opposed by theologians, not only by Muslims, but by Christians also; and we see his system not from his own point of view, but through the distorting criticism of these theologians. Some of these authors are, indeed, more accessible than Averroes, whose ideas have to be sought either in the rare Arabic texts or in the Latin translations. His style is very obscure and difficult.

It seems that even Renan, in spite of all his intelligence, his facility, and his perspicacity, has not absolutely guarded against this fundamental injustice; and too often, in his slightly wavering explanation of Averroes' philosophy, he presents not so much the authentic doctrine of Averroes as that which has been attributed to him. The following is, very briefly, Averroes' doctrine according to Renan:

He had a very evolutionary character. Eternal matter, the evolution of the form by its latent power, an indetermined God, the impersonality of the intelligence, the emanation and re-absorption of the intellect, constitute cardinal points. He further represents Averroes as a downright determinist, whose God does not recognize individuals, but can recognize only the generic nature of the universe. He adds, in several places that Averroes denies resurrection. Not firmly enough impressed with the great influence of Neo-Platonism in Islam— an influence which to some extent evidence by Maimonides, he tries to trace the ideas of the Arabic philosopher to Aristotle, which he sometimes finds rather difficult, and is surprised that the theologians ever gave them precisely the same form that appear in Aristotle only in an obscure and secondary manner.

We cannot quite agree with these different ways of looking at Averroes. We believe that he must be studied as belonging to the school called al-Falasifa ('Philosophers'), of which we shall hear more in connection with al-Fārābī and Avicenna. Their doctrine is not as Neo-Platonism than Peripatetic; that Averroes' doctrine is precisely the same in principle, differing from it only in essentials; and this is exactly what appears from a perusal of the work entitled Tahafat al-Falasifa ('Vanity of Vanities') which Averroes wrote in reply to al-Ghazali's Tahafat.

Now it frequently happens that Averroes finds al-Ghazali's criticism justified, and he reproaches his predecessors for giving him this advantage. These have, at the same time, in these modifications dealt only with details, or with the manner of exhibiting the doctrines; they are not really essential.

Is there any need, as has been suggested, to regard these modifications of Averroes on the doctrines of the school of 'Philosophers' as an approximation to the system of the Peripatetics? This, again, is by no means certain. It is doubtful whether there is much less Neo-Platonism in Averroes than in his predecessors. His opponents in the middle ages accused him of having often misunderstood Aristotle, and sometimes their criticism seems well founded.

Let us now exhibit some of the chief points in Averroes' philosophy by comparing them with the corresponding points in Avicenna's philosophy. This is not a very easy task; for Averroes himself seems, more than Avicenna, to feel the difficulties of the philosophical problems. He is less confident, less systematic, more analytic; he disputes more, is more troubled about the opinions of others, and seems to have less firmness about his own conclusions.

(1) Eternity of the world.—The doctrine of the eternity of the world had early partisans in Islam in the Mu'tazilites, such as Abu'l-Hudail and Tusânî. The former considered the creation as simply the act of putting the universe in motion. We have a fragment of Averroes, published by Dr. Worms, which is very clear on this question. He recognizes that there is a creation, and that the world needs a motive power; but he interprets these two ideas in a different manner from the theologians. Averroes believes in a creation that is renewed every instant in a constantly changing world, always taking its new form from the preceding; but he does not admit creation ex nihilo. According to him, this continuous and incessant creation is simply the act of production of that which is accomplished once for all. Averroes claims that fundamentally this idea does not differ from that of the theologians. The fact remains, however, that in his system infinity can be reached in time—a point which the orthodox doctrine does not admit. But for him, as well as for the theologians, creation does not take place in time; it is produced for all eternity; and time is produced and created at the same moment as the world, according to the doctrine of the orthodox school. Time, and all these Muslim thinkers, is the result of the existence of the world, and is manifested in the movement of the spheres.

The world then, although it is eternal, has a 'mover' or 'agent.' On this point Averroes rectifies a proof of Avicenna's which does not seem conclusive to him. He maintains that the mover of the universe, eternal, like it, which produces it each instant and moves it. Celestial bodies, indeed, do not have a perfect existence except through movement; that which gives them this movement is their 'agent.' In this way Averroes distinguishes between eternity with cause and eternity without cause (eternitas secundum temporis, eternitas secundae essentiae). God alone is eternal without cause and without mover or agent. The world is eternal, but has an agent.

(2) Origin of the world is a problem.—Renan remarks that the problem which engrossed Averroes most was that of the origin of beings; we might say, with more precision, the origin of multiplicity. Indeed, it engrossed the whole Arabic school. God being one, how does multiplicity emerge from Him? Avicenna recognized the principle that 'out of one only one can spring'; consequently, he thought that first of all there came from God a primary being, one alone, called the 'first cause,' from whom then evolved the multiplicity of beings. Averroes further, does not entertain this principle. The opinion he professes is neither so clear nor so absolute, although he meant it to be more supple and synthetic.

He admits, like all his school, the succession of the celestial spheres, considered as incorruptible, animated, and moved by intelligences. He makes a few changes in the details of their procession. He holds that multiplicity exists, not only in the different aspects of knowledge that they have of another, but also in their mutual distances and in the 'dispositions' that they have in them. Averroes further, does not entertain the idea that celestial bodies are composed of matter and form, as Avicenna admitted—an opinion which leads to the conclusion that the existence of these bodies is not necessary, for matter and form depend on one another for subsistence. By rejecting this opinion, Averroes continues to diminish the importance of the rôle of creator.

A single power, he holds, comes from the first principle. The whole world results from it, and all its parts are ordered and combined that the whole, now created by this single energy, acts in concert. Thus, in animals, the different faculties, the members, and the actions, are united in a single body; and each animal is judged a single being, having at its disposal a single power. It is because of this diffusion of power, intellect, and soul, in the
heavens and in the sublunary sphere, that it can be said that God created, maintains, and preserves the world, as we read in the Qur'an. It does not necessarily follow that, because this power penetrates into matter, it is itself manifold. There flows then from the unit, i.e. from the first principle, a power, single itself, which becomes manifold in the beings that participate in it.

This system certainly shows how the lives of the different beings that compose the world harmonize. But Averroës seems to have avoided explaining the origin of these beings.

(3) Knowledge in God.—Averroës gives us his idea of the philosophical argument that 'the first principle comprehends only its own essence.' He does not agree with the theologians that have been driven to the conclusion that God is ignorant of the whole world, and does not know His own creation. The meaning of this assertion is that God comprehends in His essence beings in their most exalted state of existence; and when the philosophers say that He does not comprehend the beings that are below Him, it signifies that He does not know them in the way in which we know them, but in a certain manner that is peculiar to Him. For: if any other being existed who possessed the same knowledge as God, He would have an 'associate' in His knowledge, and He would no longer be unique. This is why it is impossible to say that Divine knowledge is general, or that it is particular; these are modes of human knowledge, and they refer to beings, who are the causes of human knowledge, but who cannot be the cause of God's knowledge.

To sum up: we cannot, according to Averroës, admit that the knowledge of God depends on beings, for then the less perfect would be necessarily comprehended in the essence of God, and comprehended in His essence beings and their order, for then He would not be intelligent. It stands to reason, therefore, that He conceives things in a higher order of existence than that in which we know them.

This theory of the different orders of existence is, nevertheless, a little obscure. Averroës tries to explain it by comparing it to colour, which is one in its essence but has different degrees of existence, according as it is in bodies, or in our sight, or in a concept. There would be an infinite number of individuals, each with its own order. In view of this explanation it would be unjust to claim that Averroës' system denies Providence.

(4) The soul and the intellect.—We may take it for granted that Averroës' psychology is, as a whole, constructed like that of Avicenna. But there is one point in this system which we must not forget, the distinction between the soul and the intellect.

This distinction is especially important in its bearing on the question of the survival of the soul and its 'unity.' It has often been said that Averroës taught the 'unity of the soul' and the unity of the intellect in the universe, and that he denied the immortality of the individual soul. The present writer does not believe that this latter assertion is correct; the former, about the universal unity of the soul or of the intellect, undoubtedly is. But still we must try to discover the exact meaning of this expression.

According to the school of 'Philosophers,' the intellect and the soul are not merely distinct in degree; they say, the intellect is not merely the most elevated kind of soul. We feel that every man's mind is individual, and the same is felt in other faculties in ideas, a real difference in their nature. The intellect alone seems absolutely free from all matter; it is essentially that which, as the basic principle, is immutable; it represents the higher domain of general or abstract; it is pure thought. The same can by no means be said of the soul. The idea of each isolated human soul is a person, and the person is an aggregate of the ideas of power and energy. The soul is the energy that animates matter; and as such, far from being absolutely opposed to matter, it is, on the contrary, profoundly mixed up with and involved in it. At times we are inclined to believe that the Arabic philosophers have an idea of this power similar to that of the modern mechanical school, and that they believe that it depends on some subtle matter, which is more delicate than ordinary matter, and is not usually apprehended by the senses. That is the reason given by figures who use the following:—

There are some who say that the soul resides in a subtle thing called celestial heat, in which are the souls that form the bodies. No philosopher will deny that there is a celestial heat in the elementary particles which serve as support for the animals and plants. Some call this the "natural celestial faculty." Galen calls it the "informing faculty." These souls exist on bodies; this is because the soul is separate from the body; for if it depended on it, it would not create it. The soul is something that is added to the innate celestial heat. Each soul has its soul, individual to the souls of those of the celestial bodies and the souls that are here below in the visible bodies. And therefore, when the soul returns to the body, the souls return to their spiritual condition and to those subtle bodies which alone can see them." (Tahāfut, p. 135).

It follows, then, that if the intellect exists perfectly and actually only when general and freed from the conditions of individuality, the soul, on the contrary, though belonging to the universal power that circulates in the world, may be individual and remain so. That is what Averroës points out after a passage in which he has been speaking of the unity of the intelligence: 'This argument,' he says, 'is of value for the intelligence, for there is nothing in the intelligence of the nature of individuality, but only a general form of the soul; for even if it is despoiled of the accidents by which individuals are multiplied, the most celebrated of the sages say: 'It is not exempt from the condition of individuality.'": (op. cit. p. 137).

The soul, therefore, according to this doctrine, may remain individualized after the death of the body. It may do so. Arguments of a purely philosophical order do not force us to believe that this individuality really exists, but they show that it is possible. Such seems to be Averroës' point of view on the question of the immortality of the soul. In the end, he leaves it to revelation to settle this question. 'It is a very difficult problem,' he says. The philosophical introduction to the problem is pointed to the point that no one has ever seen—the knowledge that the soul forms the body, and that, since it forms it, it cannot depend upon it. We cannot therefore deduce the destruction of the soul from that of the body. This agrees with what we find in Avicenna.

Belief in the survival of the soul is one of the principal ideas of individualism, combined with belief in the eternity of the world, brings up a difficulty with regard to infinite number. Since the number of souls produced at the beginning of the world is without end, there would be an infinite number of individual souls living at one and the same time. Now, most of the Arabic philosophers, Avicenna excepted, refused to admit infinite number. Averroës agrees with the majority. He seems to solve the difficulty by counting only a single soul as a principle; he does not apply number to the particular souls that are bound to it. There is but one soul, just as there is but one light; its multiplication to infinity in individuals is only a secondary matter. In short, Averroës refuses to admit infinite number in the case of objects that are quite detached from one another; but he does admit it, in a secondary manner, in the case of objects previously bound to a general unity.

Such is, as nearly as we can judge, the real import of Averroës' position on the problem of the unity and the survival of the soul. It is also evident that it is quite impossible to admit the contrary opinion, which is that Averroës denied the survival of the soul. For there is no doubt that Averroës claimed to remain one of the faithful. Now, if he had abandoned the idea of a single soul, he could believe himself a Musulman and at the same time deny the immortality of the soul. His thought must have been, like that of the whole school of Philosophers, that the former philosopher was true in the main, while the latter, although his faith was also true; that consequently there should be no essential point of contradiction between them,
Averroës interpreted this doctrine thus: the body which we shall have in the other life will not be the same as that of this life; 'that which will be resuscitated will be a representation of what is seen in this world; it will not be that very thing in essentia.' For what has perished cannot be reconstituted in the same individual; and existence can be bestowed only on the semblance of what has perished, not on the object that has perished in its identity.' To strengthen his argument, he uses the words of Ilm 'Abbas, a traditionist who had great authority in all the other world not as names in this world.' 'That proves,' says Averroës, 'that the future existence has a kind of generation more elevated than that of actual existence, and constitutes a more excellent order than the order of this world' (op. cit. p. 149).

Here again it is clearly a question of interpretation, not a denial of the doctrine. In the same way, we must not understand in a dogmatical sense passages such as Renan quotes (pp. 156, 157), in which Averroës disapproves of the use of myths in the West. According to him, it is not that the intellec is not in the order for that virtue may have nobler motives than fear of punishment, but there is no promise of reward.

(6) Truth and law.—In politics, Averroës, like al-Farābī, follows in the footsteps of Plato, whose Republic he commented on; and, according to the custom of Oriental thinkers of his school, he does not criticize the text he comments on. He accepts it as truth, almost as religious truth. He accepts, therefore, that political ideal, half socialist, half mystic, which on many points, such as the status of woman, does not at all agree with the customs of Islam.

We must not lose sight of the part played by syncretism, which dominated the whole philosophy of the Oriental Middle Ages. Ancient philosophy was considered true as a whole; and all its documents, even the most diverse, could be brought into accord, the commentator having the settled conviction that they could neither contradict one another nor contradict religious truth. There are two important treatises of Averroës in which he tries to point out this conformity between religious truth and philosophical truth. This work required some 'squeezing' of the text in order to change its meaning. We get used to efforts of this kind in the study of the philosophers previous to Averroës, and certain more or less heterodox sects in Islam, like those of the Faithful Brothers of Basra or the Brothers of Purity. We find, too, in Averroës the extreme form of this conception, which, admitting a priori the two truths, philosophical and prophetic, ends in assimilating the philosopher and the prophet. Just as there must always be prophets here on earth, or at least some who have a human world into relation with the world beyond, so also must there be philosophers. And here the idea takes a distinct turn that makes it still more unusual. As the human intelligence exists in actuality only by its union with the active intellect, there must always be in the human race, if this intelligence is really to exist and subsist, a few men of great intellectual gifts, a few great philosophers whose spirit participates in eternal truth.

In this passage, Averroës is no longer Peripatetic; but neither is he a syncretist; he is combining mysticism with a system that, from many points of view, is somewhat antagonistic to it. He is placing a kind of illuminative
Averroes encountered the same opposition from the theologians in the Christian world as it had met with from the Muslims. In its unusual form, it was opposed by the Humanists, who loved to philosophize in a freer manner and a more elegant style. The Hellenistic scholars criticized Averroes' interpretation of Aristotle, and the Patologists, having Marsilio Ficino in their mind, placed the doctrine of the Academy in all the freshness of its renaissance in opposition to Aristotle and his commentator.

In the Middle Ages, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Giles of Rome wrote against Averroism. Raynald Lully attacked it fiercely. Petrarch declared, in his dislike toward it, and intended to rectify it. Formal condemnations of Averroes were passed at different periods; by the provincial council of Paris in 1299; by Robert de Courson in 1315; by William, bishop of Paris, in 1240; by Etienne Tempier, also bishop of Paris, in 1270 and 1277. Shortly after, these censures were ratified by the theologians of Oxford, over whom Robert of Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided.

Averroes, which, through the Jews, had held sway in the centre of France until the 14th cent., continued in vogue in the schools of Northern Italy until the 16th century. In the school of Padua it raised the famous disputes in which Achillini and Pompomuzo took part. Its reign extended down to the 18th cent. and is the last manifestation of the philosophical science, that is, to the time of Galileo.

**LITERATURE.**—1. Editions of Averroës' Works.—The two most important Latin editions of Averroes are those of Nihius, 1490-97, and of Junta, 1553. Arabic or Hebrew texts: Tuhfat al-Tuhfah, Cairo, A.D. 1269; I. Müller, Philosophy and Theology of Averroës, Munich, 1859 (Germ. tr. 1875); In commentum del Averroës de Poeticae Aristotelicæ, edited in Arabic and in Hebrew, by Ma'arouf, at the instigation of Averroës, by the same editor; Freudenthal and Frankel, "Die durch Averroës erhaltenen Fragmente Alexandri der Metaphysik des Aristoteles," with translation into German, in NEAW, 1884; M. Worms, "Die Lehre von der Anfangslage der Welt bei den mittelalterlichen arabischen Philosophen," in Beuneker and von Hertling's Beiträge, Münster, 1900.


**BON CAREA DE VAUX.**

**AVESTA.**—The Avesta, the sacred book of ancient Iran, contains the teachings of the prophet Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, and serves at the present day as the holy scriptures of the Parsis of India and the so-called Gumbas of Persia (see art. GABAI, PARIS).

Although fragmentary in its present form, the Avesta is one of the greatest religious monuments of antiquity, and preserves the records of a faith that was once among the greatest of the world, and that spread through Europe in early ages, but for the triumphs of the Greeks over the Persians at Marathon, Plataea, and Salamis, and for the triumphal incursion of Alexander into the East.

1. Name.—The designation 'Avesta' is derived from the Pzand arastu, Pahlavi apastāk, or avistāk, a word of uncertain meaning and derivation. Possibly this term, like the Sanskrit veda, may signify 'wisdom,' 'knowledge'; more probably, however, it is derived from a presumed Avesta form auṣaisti, a term denoting a 'scripture,' a 'manuscript,' as opposed to the term zand (cf. Av. azainti), 'commentary,' 'explanation.' In the exegetical and religious works of the Middle
Persian period these two words occur together constantly in the phrase apavastikavand, which refers to the sacred body of the Avesta and its Palavi paraphrase and commentary, and it is the erroneous inversion of these words that gave rise to the name Zend-Avesta, which was used by Hyde (1700) and by Anquetil du Perron (1771), and was adopted from the latter by the earliest succeeding translators.

2. Original form.—The Avesta in its present form is only a small remnant of a sacred literature of considerable extent. Palavi tradition tells of scriptures in 1200 chapters, the Arab historians Palavi (Abü Makkadh 1, 675) and Masudi (ed. Sale, ii, 123) refer to a copy inscribed on 12,000 cowhides, various Syriac writers allude to an extensive sacred book, and Pliny the Elder (HN xxx. 1. 2) mentions 2,000,000 verses composed by Zoroaster. Such direct references to the extent and nature of the Palavi literature, however, are removed by the Palavi Dinkart and the later Persian Rivayats, which give a detailed account of the early scriptures and a summary of their contents.

According to these works, there were originally 21 Nasks (collections of which each was divided to correspond with) of the 21 Nasks (collections of which each was divided to correspond with) of the Ahuna-Vairya (p. 7) prayer, and comprised both the Avesta text and the Palavi commentary. These 21 Nasks were divided into three groups, each consisting of seven books each, the first (called yasna, or Gatha group, and consisted of Nasks 1-7); the second (called dhdtih, or legal group, and consisting of Nasks 8-13, 11, 20); and the third (called hutaekasman, or Hathaekasman group, and consisting of Nasks 4-10) containing matters belonging partly to the first and partly to the second group. The first group in each Naske (1 to 7) made up of these nine sections were no longer extant at the time of the composition of the Dinkart. Of Nasks 8, 9, and 10, for example, each of which had originally 60 sections, only 12, 15, and 10 sections respectively are said to have existed after Alexander.

The two subjects treated in the Nasks may be briefly summed up as follows: Nask 1, virtue and plecy; 2, religious observances; 3, exegetical—the three chief prayers of the religion being explained in it; 4, cosmogony; 5, astronomy and astrology; 6, performance of the ritual, and the benefit to be derived therefrom, 7, qualifications and duties of the priesthood; 8, ethical conduct; 9, duties connected with the priestly and moral teachings, the second (called dathih, or legal group, and consisting of Nasks 13-15, 12, 11) containing laws and pre-
scriptions, and the third (called hutaekasman, or Hathaekasman group, and consisting of Nasks 4-10) containing matters belonging partly to the first and partly to the second group. The number of sections in each Nask varied from 22 to 65. The number of these sections were not longer extant at the time of the composition of the Dinkart. Of Nasks 8, 9, and 10, for example, each of which had originally 60 sections, only 12, 15, and 10 sections respectively are said to have existed after Alexander.

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History.—According to traditions, the substance of which there is no good reason to doubt, the Zoroastrian scriptures were preserved with great care in the early centuries of the faith, especially in the later Achaemenian Palavi. According to the various accounts of how the Palavi language was preserved, King Vahvaksha, who is generally identified with Volo-
geses 1., ordered that all sacred writings should be searched for, and that such portions as were preserved only in oral tradition should again be written down. This work was eagerly continued by the later Zoroastrian scholars, and it was finally completed by Pâpakîn (A.D. 225-240), who commissioned the high priest Tansar to collect the scattered frag-
ments, and by his son, Shâhîhpîr I. (A.D. 241-275). In the reign of Shâhîhpîr II. (A.D. 309-380) a final revision of the Avestan text was made. The Palavi manuscripts were collected, divided into groups, and a palimpsest was made of these manuscripts, which were later destroyed by the invasions of the Avestan faith, and the Seljuk and Turkish rule in the fifth and sixth centuries now consist of the Zend-Avesta which dates from the 12th century.

Further more serious even than the ravages of Alexan-
der and the centuries of neglect, were the results of the Muhammadan conquest of Persia and the introduction of Islam. Through political and civic disabilities the worshippers of Ormazd were compelled to abandon their faith or go into exile, and many Zoroastrian books as could be found were ordered to be burned. The small body of texts that escaped destruction was preserved by the few Zoroastrians who remained in Persia and by the Parsis, their co-
religionists who had taken refuge in India; and the books contained in these manuscripts, recopied from time to time, constitute the Avesta as we now have it. The oldest Indian manuscripts date from the 13th and 14th centuries; the Persian Avesta are not older than the 17th. No single manuscript contains all the extant texts.

Present contents.—The Avesta in its present form consists of the following divisions: (a) Gathas, (b) Gathas, (c) Minor Texts, such as Nâyâsâs, Gâhâs, etc., (d) Vendidad, (e) Fragments. These divisions fall naturally into two groups. (1) The first group comprises the Vendidad, Visperad, and Yasna, which are classed together for liturgical purposes. In the ritual these are not recited as separate books, but are intermingled with one another, and the manuscripts often present them in the order in which they are to be used in the service. In this case the Palavi translation is usually followed by the collection of Perzian, Vendidad Sâbuk, 'Vendidad Pure,' that is, without commentary. On the other hand, these books also appear in some manuscripts

* See art. ARDASHIR I. vol. III. p. 774.
as separate entities, and in that case each part is usually accompanied by a rendering in Pahlavi.

(2) The second group comprises the Minor Prayers (ṣūnas, 'prayers') often inserted in the recensions of the Avesta, and are called Khordah Avesta, 'Abridged Avesta,' or 'Small Avesta.' This forms a species of prayer-book for the laity.

(a) Yasna.—The Yasna is the chief liturgical work of the canon. It is recited in its entirety in the Yasna ceremony, which, apart from a number of subordinate rites, is devoted chiefly to the preparation and offering of the pārtahm (the juice of the Haoma plant, mingled with milk and aromatic ingredients). Parts of the book, however, are dealt with individually in the ritual. The Yasna is composed of 72 chapters, called Hātī or Hā, which are symbolized in the girdle of the Parsis (kwst), woven of 72 strands. Several of these chapters are mere repetitions to swell the apparent number. Chapters xvi. and xxvii. are substantially identical with chapters xxvii. and xlvii., and chapters lxiii., lxiv., lxvii., lxviii., and lxviiii., are composed of texts occurring elsewhere. The book falls into three nearly equal divisions (i.—xxvii., xxvii.—lvi.—lxvi.), the first part beginning with the invocation to the various deities in order of rank (i.—ii.), and the dedication of the oblation (myzado) and other offerings with similar formulas (iii. I.—v. iv.). After a short prayer (vii. 8—10) there follows the Hom Yosht (ix.—xi.), in which Haoma, the branch from whom twigs, like the Soma of the Hindus, a sacred drink was prepared, is personified and worshipped both as plant and as divinity. This section is in turn succeeded by the Zoroastrian creed (xii.) and by other formulas (xiii.). With chapter xiv. begin the so-called SteOTA Yasna, chapters of the Stōṭ-Yasht, or twenty-first Nask, of the earlier Avesta, which continue, with intermissions, as far as chapter lxviii. In the early chapters of the SteOTA Yasna are found invocations of the spirits of the day (xvi.), of the periods of day and year, and of the various forms of fire (xvii.). Chapters xix.—xxi. contain commentaries on the three most sacred prayers, the Ahuna Vairya, Ashem Vohā, and Yenghe Hātām, and represent part of the third original Nask, called the Bak Nask. The succeeding chapters (xxii.—xxxv.) are a further liturgical series called Hīndast Yasht, which accompanies the second preparation of the Haoma juice in the ceremony. The five Gathas, which together with the Yasna Haptanghātī form chapters xxvii.—lxi. (excepting lli.), stand out in terms of the sacred prayers or fire formulas, and are described in the next paragraph below.

Chapter llii. is a brief interpolation between the fourth and fifth Gathas. Chapter lvii. consists of but a single verse, aside from the introductory formulas, and forms the Aityraman Iskha prayer, with which the Sānashtyans are to restore the dead to life at the day of resurrection. After a brief poetical summary of the Gathas (lv.), comes the Srosh Yasht (lvii.), a long and detailed glorification of the angel Srosha, preceded by a briefer chapter in the same vein (lviii.) by way of introduction. Chapter lixii. is in praise of prayer in general, and especially of the prayer to be recited at the Last Judgment. The following chapter (lixiii.), with its renewed invocations, leads over to a formula of invocation, chiefly in verse, in which the angels of the yazatas and the heroes of ancient Iran are praised and glorified. The order in which the deities are worshipped corresponds largely with the sequence in which they are used to name the days of the week in the Yasna. The style of the Gathas is noticeably different from that of other parts, being almost free from the tiresome uniformity and barren reiteration of some of the later portions, and although there is a constant recurrence of the cardinal tenets, these do not become monotonous, because of their varying expression. Ceremonies and ritual observances are but little referred to, and the Haoma-cult, the Brazwahs, and the whole naturalistic pantheon do not appear in these hymns, either because they were considered too crude and loftier form, or, more probably, because they are concerned chiefly with the prophet's teaching regarding the conflict between Ormazd and Ahriman, the relation of the human individual to that conflict, its ultimate outcome in the routting of the forces of evil and the final victory of Ormazd, the last judgment, and the longed-for kingdom of Ormazd. The detached character of the verses, which nevertheless are a logical sequence, has led to the supposition that, like the verse portions of many Buddhist works, they were the text of discourses of the prophet and a summary of his teachings in a form available for oral tradition (cf. Pischel and Geldner, Veddiche Studien, Stuttgart, 1889, i. 287).

In the midst of the Gathas is inserted the so-called 'Yasna of the Seven Chapters' (Youna Haptanghātī), which is written in prose, but in the same dialect as the Gathas. It consists of a number of prayers and ascriptions of praise to Ormazd, the Amesha Spentas, or archangels, the souls of the righteous, the fire, the waters, and the earth. By some it is held to be representative of the later and more developed form of the religion than appears in the Gathas. Its language, in fact, shows certain departures from the Gāthic dialect. Under the Gathas are also included four specially sacred prayers or fire formulas, which are prefixed, and are described in the next paragraph below.

Chapter lxiii.—lxviii. contain invocations and offerings of homage to 'all the lords,' whence its name. In the ritual its chapters are inserted among those of the Yasna.

(d) Yashts.—The Yashts (Av. yastī, 'worship by praise') form a poetical book of 21 hymns, of which the names of the authors (yazatas) and the heroes of ancient Iran are praised and glorified. The order in which the deities are worshipped corresponds largely with the sequence in which they are used to name the days of the week in the Yasna. The style of the Yashts is characterized by their identical introduction and conclusion, but they differ greatly in length, age, and character. The first four are largely composed of
late and ungrammatical material, and the last two contain chanted Yasht formulas with a number of quotations from other passages. On the other hand, the intervening longer Yashts are almost entirely in verse, and have considerable poetic merit. Of chief importance among these are: Yast v., in praise of Arvâd Sûrâ Anâhita, the form of Yast which extols the star Tishtrya, and recounts his victory over the demon of drought; Yast x., dedicated to Mîthra, who, as the god of light and of truth, rides out in lordly array to wreak vengeance on the demons who belied their oath or broken their pledge; Yast xii., devoted to glorifying and propitiating the guardian spirits (fravâshîs) of the righteous; Yast xiv., in honour of Verethraghna, the incarnation of victory; and Yast xix., which sings the praises of the Kingly Glory (kaveya kaveâvah), a sort of halo or radiance said to have been possessed by kings and heroes of Iran in olden times as a sign of their rulership by divine right. Much of the material in the Yashts is evidently drawn from pre-Zoroastrian sages; there is a mythological and legendary allusion here and there to the Sûrâ Khvâr Xvâr, which serves to throw light on many of the events which they portray, and on allusions that would otherwise be obscure.

(c) Minor Texts.—Chief among the Minor Texts and Nyaishes, or Zoroastrian Litanies, a collection of five short prayers or ascriptions of praise addressed to the Sun, Moon, Water, and Fire, and to the angels Khurshêd, Mîhr (Mîthra), Mâh, Arvâdîr (Arvâd Sûrâ Anâhita), and Aâsh, who preside over these elements. These litanies form an important part of the Khordâ Avesta. They are composed of fragments from the Yasna and Yashts, and contain invocations, supplications, deprecatations, and odes employed daily by the laity as well as by the priesthood. Under the heading of Minor Texts come also the five Gâhas, addressed to the spirits of the five periods of the day; the two Sirozâhs, the greater and the lesser, which in their 30 paragraphs invoke in turn the divinities of each day of the month, and which are recited especially on the thirtieth day after the death of a person, or on special occasions. There are the four in number, used for various purposes with an accompanying offering: the Afrîn-gân-i Dâhman, repeated in honour of those who have died in the faith; the Afrîn-gân-i Gâthâ, recited on the five consecutive days after a Zoroastrian’s death; the Afrîn-gân-i Gâhanbar, composed chiefly of instructions to worshippers concerning participation in the celebration of the six special festivals of the year; and the Afrîn-gân-i Rapbâkhav, recited at the beginning and end of summer. All of these belong to the Khordâ Avesta.

(f) Vendidad.—The Vendidad (Av. viâcêr-ôdâta, ‘the law against the demons’), although inserted for liturgical purposes among the Gâhas in the Avesta, is not a liturgical work but a priestly code prescribing the various purifications, penalties, and expiations. It originally formed the nineteenth Nask of the Avesta handed down to Sassanian times, but its parts vary greatly both in point of style and in time of composition. Much of it must be of pre-Zoroastrian origin.

In its present form it contains 22 chapters, called fargarjas. Chapter i. is a didactic account of creation that attributes all the disagreeable features of the otherwise delightful regions of the earth to the activity of Ahriman. Chapter ii. tells the legend of Yima, of the Golden Age, and of the coming of a terrible winter and destructive floods, to preserve man and beast from which princely Yima is rescued by Ormazd by his son to build an enclosure (zorna). The following chapter (iii.) treats of the divine origins of the Avestan text; whereas the text as prescribed for bearers of corpses (a special class of men), praise of agriculture, and the defilement of the earth by corpses.

Chapter iv. concerns legal matters—breaches of contract, assault, punishments. Chapters v.—xvi. relate mainly to impurity incurred through contact with the dead and to the methods of purification. Outlining the previous chapters, the Vendidad gives an elaborate illustration for nine nights, the so-called Barashnâm (ix.). Chapters xii.—xv. are devoted chiefly to the treatment of incipient and remedial impurities, an animal defilement, and regard by the early pastoral Zoroastrians. In chapters xvi.—xxiv., instructions are given for purification from several sorts of impurity, and to purify the ritual vessels. The peculiar aspect of the pre-Zoroastrian Avesta are the superhuman accents of the Yasnâs and the litaniess, often accompanied by the of the Ahriman. The into the fire and earth on their way to the heaven. Chapters xxi.—xxxiv. are devoted to the nature of, and ceremony for, the a-sâma, the ritual of the holy day, to the incantation of the pertainings to the miracle of the human soul after death. Chapters xx.—xxii. are chiefly of a medical character.

(g) Fragments.—In addition to the preceding books there are also a considerable number of fragments. There survive, for example, three chapters from the original Hâdûkht Nask, the last two of which are eschatological in character, and deal with the destiny of the soul after death. Of special interest is a similar metrical fragment (Pr. V. 4), which refers to the efficacy of the seven prayers of the Sirvînîkshayas against the torments of the last day, and which is chanted by the Messianic Saoshyânts at the day of judgment, to confound Ahriman and his hellish crew and to raise up the dead (cf. Haas, ‘An Avestan Fragment on the Resurrection,’ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XVII, No. 2, p. 119). Among the longer fragmentary texts may be mentioned also the Afrin-i Paighambar Zartosht in honour of Zoroaster, a blessing invoked upon kings, and the so-called Vâstzâp Yast, an enigmatic compilation, disconnected and ungrammatical, which is in no wise related to the regular Yashts. Many fragments are found as quotations in the Pahlavi ancillary literature. Most important of these is the Nirangistan, a work in three fargarjas, or chapters, collecting and commenting upon a number of Avestan Nirangs, or ritual prescriptions. The commentary cites additional directions of the same kind from another source. This work is of value for our knowledge of the ritual and for Avestan lexicography, but unfortunately the manuscript material is poor and the text consequently corrupt. Many of the chapters that contain Avestan passages are the Afrin-i Dahan, also called Aqemendaç, after the first quoted Avestan word. The Pahlavi commentaries on the Vendidad and the Yaena, and other Pahlavi works, are collected in volume II of the Khordâ Avesta. The carti Dishâr, and the Purushnhid, contain a large number of Avestan quotations, many of them from the lost Nasks, and brief formulas and prayers are found here and there in manuscripts of the Khordâ Avesta. Mention should likewise be made of the additions to Avestan lexicography in the Fahang-i-Oim, an Avesta-Pahlavi glossary (ed. Hoshangji Jamaspji and Haug, Bombay, 1867; cf. Reichelt, in WZKM xiv. 172-213, xv. 117-186). For a complete list of fragments and their editions see Bartholomae, ‘Die den Avesta entsprechenden Beiträge der traditionellen 21 Nasks in arrangement or in extenso. Only two of these original 21 books are now represented with any degree of completeness. The Vendidâd, or nineteenth Nask, has
survived in approximately its full form; yet even this shows evidence of having been patched up and pieced together. Many of the chapters of the Sōt-Yash, or twenty-first Nask, are contained in the Vedas and later extend, with interruptions, from chapter xiv. to chapter lviii. (cf. Geldner, 'Avesta-litteratur', in GérP ii. 23-26). There exist also, in addition to these two remnants, an important part of the Bākan Yashit, or fourteenth Nask (most of the Yashits being referred back to another lost book), and portions or fragments of others are extant. Altogether there are preserved specimens of about 15 of the original 21 Nasks. This material is supplemented, however, by various passages that have been translated from the Avesta into Pahlavi, and have one or two reasons for being in that form. The Pahlavi Bāndādahēske, for example, is largely based on the old Avestan Dāndāt Nask, and serves in a measure to replace its loss.

5. Age and growth. — The present form of the Avesta dates, as has been mentioned above, from the Sasanian period, but the various portions differ considerably from one another in age. The relative age of the component parts can be approximately determined by a study of their metre, grammar, and style. Although it is impossible to say with any general representation of the later texts as a rule are written in prose, show lack of grammatical knowledge on the part of their authors or compilers, and consist to a great extent of formulative material. The application of this to the different periods and languages of the texts is somewhat as follows: (1) the Gāthās (Yas. xxxviii.-liii.), including (2) the Yasna Haptanghaiti (Yas. xxxv.-xxvi.) and some other compositions in the Gāthā dialect (Yas. xii., xvii., and the four most sacred prayers, or formulas, ascribed to Zoroaster, (3) the later portions (Yas. ix.-xi., xvi., xiv., xv., xvi., xvi., xiv., xvi., xvi., xiv., xvi., xvi., xvi., xvi.), portions of Vendidad ii.-xvi., xiv., xvi., and scattered verses in the Visparad, Nyaishes, Afrangins, etc., and (4) the remaining prose portions of the Avesta.

The determination of the actual date of composition of the different parts of the Avesta is a matter of speculation. According to the generally accepted view, the Gāthās, the oldest part in substance as well as in form, date back to an early period, probably to the time of Zoroaster himself, whereas certain minor portions of the scriptures may have been written or compiled as late as the time of Shahpur II. of the Sasanian dynasty. The extreme limits of the date of composition thus be about B.C. 550 and A.D. 375. In his latest works ('Le Zend-Avesta', iii. Introd.; see also Zend-Avesta, SBE iv.), the brilliant French scholar, Darmesteter, put forth a radical theory in regard to the composition of the Avesta as we now have it. In his opinion all sacred writings that may have existed under the Achemenians were lost after the invasion of Alexander, and not a page of any earlier work has come down intact. The pre-Alexandrian spirit may be recognized, however, in the Vendidad, which, although later than the Gāthās in composition, is older in material and Achemenian in tone. According to this theory, the Gāthās, though the oldest part of the Avesta in form, represent the latest growth of the Persian spirit and show the influence of Gnosticism, the school of Philo Justinus, which in the Pahlavi literatures assigns their origin to the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. This radical hypothesis concerning the age and growth of the Avesta met at once with spirited opposition on the part of scholars like Bühler, which would not have any acceptance to-day. Avestan specialists are at present agreed that there is no adequate reason for making so strong a claim that the tradition was lost. It is known that the latest Parthian monarchs were filled with the true Zoroastrian spirit, and it can be proved from Greek, Latin, and other writings that the traditions of the wisdom of Zoroaster lived on during the long period between Alexander and the rise of the house of Sāsān in the 3rd cent. A.D.

6. Language. — The language in which the Avesta is written is named Avestan. It belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Germanic family of tongues, and is most closely allied to the Sanskrit, though individually quite distinct from the latter. This relation to the Sanskrit was one of the means of establishing the authenticity of the Avesta, and is still of the greatest importance in its interpretation. In its phonology Avestan agrees with Sanskrit in its vowels in general, but shows a greater variety in its e and o sounds. Final vowels, except o, are, as a rule, short. A striking peculiarity is the insertion of transitional and epenthetic vowels, the latter giving rise to improper diphthongs. Some of the consonants are identical with those of Sanskrit, others correspond uniformly with certain Sanskrit sounds. The Sanskrit voiceless stops, t, d, p, for example, are in Avestan represented by bh, dh, ph, when followed by consonants; Sanskrit initial 2 a appears in Avestan as h. Because of this close correspondence, many Avestan words and phrases may be changed at once into their Sanskrit equivalents by the mere application of certain phonetic laws. In inflexion the language shows nearly the richness of Vedic Sanskrit, and it possesses almost equal facility of word-formation. In syntax it differs from the Sanskrit in certain points, showing marked individuality, especially in the later portions of the text.

Two dialects may be recognized in the Avesta: one the Gāthā dialect, the language of the oldest parts, often called Gāthā Avestan (GAv.); the other, the language of the great body of the Avesta, called Younger Avestan (YAv.). The Gāthā dialect is more archaic, bearing to the Younger Avestan somewhat the relation of the Vedic to the classical Sanskrit. Possibly this older dialect may owe some of its peculiarities also to an original difference of locality. Its chief characteristic is the use of final vowels and the frequent use of parasitic vowels. Its grammatical structure is remarkably pure. The same cannot be said of all the texts written in Younger Avestan, as the late compositions in this dialect, owing to linguistic decay, show many corruptions and confusion. All that is old or written in metre, however, is correct, and occasional inaccuracies in such parts must be attributed to faulty transmission.

7. Metres. — The metres of the Avesta deserve considerable attention, because they assist in determining the relative age of the various parts. Almost all the oldest portions of the texts are found to be metrical; the later, or inserted portions, are, as a rule, though not always, written in prose. The Gāthās are composed in metres that have analogies in the Vedas. These were the only metrical parts known to the later Zoroastrians until Western scholars discovered the rhythmical structure of many passages in the later texts. Almost all of these versified portions, especially frequent in the Yashits, are written in eight-syllable lines (cf. Geldner, 'Die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta', Tübingen, 1877).

8. Alphabet. — The Avesta is written in an alphabet far younger than the language it preserves. The characters are derived from the Sasanian Pahlavi, which was in use when the texts were collected and edited in Sasanian times. The writing is read from right
to left. Nothing is known about the original Avestan script.

9. Pahlavi version.—The Pahlavi version of the Avesta was made in Persia in Sassanian times, when the great Zoroastrian sacred texts became more and more imperfect. Some of the exegetical portions and works of interpretation belong even to Muhammadan times, and may be assigned to the period between 700 and 900 A.D. Of the Pahlavi version there are now extant the entire Ysang, the Yasna, and Vedicid, with some portions of other texts. The rendering is a word for word translation of the original, with the addition of occasional independent explanatory glosses. The original Avestan construction is usually adhered to verbatim, and the glossator has scrupulously adhered to every peculiarity of the language in his day by the use of particles. These determinatives, however, are often omitted, and the loss of the sole means of indicating syntactical relation adds greatly to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi paraphrase. This version, with the accompanying glosses, presents the traditional Zoroastrian interpretation from an early time, and is of the greatest value for an understanding of obscure ideas and an insight into native thought. It is also of material assistance in determining the meaning of the original phrases and sentences and in checking the results of purely linguistic analysis. It must be conceded, nevertheless, that it abounds in errors and inaccuracies, and that its explanations are often fanciful. Furthermore, the more abstract or obscure the original, the less the commentator attempts to explain it. The Gathas, for example, have in general very few glosses, whereas some other parts of the Avesta are accompanied by an elaborate commentary. The chief defect of the version lies in its disregard of the principles of grammar on which it is based, and which its authors seem to have had scarcely any knowledge. As a result of the slavish adherence to the original, the style of the Pahlavi version is very clumsy in comparison with the Pahlavi of independent treatises.

About the year 1200 a large part of the Pahlavi version was translated into Sanskrit by Nervosangh, son of Dhaval, a Zoroastrian priest, who seems to have possessed a thorough knowledge of Pahlavi. His translation is of great value as a help in understanding the Pahlavi version, which has not been altered or changed in any way. This method often oblige to sacrifice the Sanskrit syntax to that of the original Pahlavi, and his language consequently assumes a peculiar archaic aspect. A further striking peculiarity of the Sanskrit of Nervosangh's version is his disregard of the rules of scatbi, or euphonic vowel-combination, so uniformly observed in other Sanskrit works. Nervosangh seems on occasion to have corrected the Pahlavi rendering when he thought it at fault, thus showing that he must have referred at times to the Avestan text itself and reached an independent decision as to its meaning.

A modern Persian translation of portions of the Pahlavi version of the Khordah Avesta was prepared in Persia at some time between 1600 and 1800 A.D., and two separate translations into Gujarati were made in India early in the last century, and appeared at Bombay in 1818 within five months of one another. These are the last independent native versions made before the percolation into India of the influence of Western scholarship. These later versions were made on the occasion of the first notices by various scholars, but the Danish philologist Rask was the first to point out more exactly the relation between them. He had travelled in Persia and India, and had brought back with him many valuable manuscripts of the Avesta and the Pahlavi writings. In a little volume published in 1820 he
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The name 'Avicenna' is the Latinized form of the Hebrew 'Aven Sinâ', the transcription of the Arabic 'Ibn Sinâ'. Abû 'Ali al-Hujjâj ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sinâ was born in the year A.H. 570 (A.D. 980-981), in the city of Khurramân. The son of a money-changer, and very precocious as a child, he received a frail-class education. According to Musâmân custom, he began by learning the Qur'ân and belles-lettres (adar). He then studied Indian arithmetic under the guidance of a greengrocer. His next tutor was a philosopher named Nâzî, who came to reside in the capital with his father at Bokhara, and taught the boy the elements of Logic, Epistemê, and the Almagest. Avicenna studied medicine without the help of a teacher, and, while quite young, began to visit the sick. Aristotle's Metaphysics presented great difficulty to him at first; but his mind was soon cultivated by a small but active band of workers.


III. GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY: Spiegel, Grammatik der altiranischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1867, and Vergleichende Grammatik der altiranischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1882; Geiger, Handbuch der Avestasprache, Erfangen, 1879; de Harlez, Vocab. de l'Avesta, Paris, 1882; Bartholomae, Handbuch der altiranischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1883, and 'Vorgeschichte der Iranischen Sprachen' and 'Avestische und Altpersisch', in GVP, 1884-1896; Kânga, Práctica y artes de la lengua Avesthánica (for a grammar of the Zend-Avesta, Turin, 1867); Justi, Handbuch der Zendersprache, Leipzig, 1864; Bartholomae, Altiran. Wörterb., Strassburg, 1904, and Zum Zendischen Wörterb., Strassburg, 1906; Mills, Dictionary of the Language of the Zend Avesta, London, 1892; IIT (still in progress); Blochet, Lexique des fragments de l'Avesta, Paris, 1896; de Harlez, Vocab. de l'Avesta, Paris, 1901; de Harlez, Elementaire Tafereelt van Zend-Avesta, Leiden, 1906; also much of the literature cited under 'IV. Commentaries, etc.' Spiegel, Commentary über den Zend, 2 vols., 1864-68, and Vartenjanka's Sanskrit-Avestaische Grammatik der Zend-Avesta, Leipzig, 1861; Sanjana, Dictionary of the Zend Avesta, Bombay, 1895; Bharrachal, Collected Zendâist Writings of the Parsees, i. (Khordah Avesta), Bombay; also much of the literature cited under 'v. General Discussions, etc.' Spiegel and Mills—the latter is also contributing numerous discussions of individual Hias of the Yasa to ZDMG, RAJS, JAO, etc.

IV. COMMENTARIES, ETC.: Spiegel, Commentary über den Zend, 2 vols., 1864-68, and Vartenjanka's Sanskrit-Avestaische Grammatik der Zend-Avesta, Leipzig, 1861; Sanjana, Dictionary of the Zend Avesta, Bombay, 1895; Bharrachal, Collected Zendâist Writings of the Parsees, i. (Khordah Avesta), Bombay; also much of the literature cited under 'v. General Discussions, etc.' Spiegel and Mills—the latter is also contributing numerous discussions of individual Hias of the Yasa to ZDMG, RAJS, JAO, etc.

v. GENERAL DISCUSSIONS: West, 'Contents of the Nâstîs' (translation of the Dinkar passages on the subject) in SESE


A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.
And meantime he finished his greatest works. Avicenna died in A.H. 428 (A.D. 1036-7), at the age of 58, in the course of a journey, made in the train of the Great Khans, to Persia.

His biography impressed the vision of very great activity—an activity, too, which was exercised in very many ways than one. Avicenna loved wine and pleasure almost as much as intellectual work; and he committed excesses which reflected on his life. Legend has siezed upon his character, and has made of him a sort of powerful but beneficent sorcerer, the hero of strange adventures and burlesque forces. A whole volume of Turkish tales is devoted to him.

Avicenna's works are very numerous. In Philosophy, the greatest is asl Shifat ('the Cure'). The Shaiakh composed it by degrees at his different residences during his wanderings. When it was finished, he made an abridgment of it entitled Najat ('Healing'). This abridgment, written in very concise language, but clear and logical, is suitable for study. Another famous philosophical work is entitled Isharát. The full title is Kitáb al-ísharát wal-tahnábát, that is to say, 'Book of theorems and propositions.' Juzjami composed it, and Avicenna, while he was in prison himself, put a high value on it. It has been commented on by the scholar Nasir ad-Dín Tusi (T. A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273-4)).

Avicenna's other philosophical treatises are: Philosophy al-Arai, Philosophy al-Ali, so called from the names of the patrons to whom they are dedicated; Guide to Wisdom, composed by the Shaiakh when in prison, and often commented on; an epistle on The Sources of Wisdom, printed several times in the East; several treatises on Logic, one of which forms a part of the Najat; a treatise On the Soul; a short poem on The Soul, rather a mysterious piece, which has been commented on; an epistle on The Human Faculties and their Perceptions, printed at Constantinople; lastly, a series of mystical treatises, and a few poems in Persian.

In Medicine, Avicenna composed the voluminous work entitled Canon of Medicine, so celebrated in the Middle Ages. He also produced works on the different sciences, abridged Euclid and the Almagest, and helps us to understand the Astronomy. Shortly before his death, he asked Ala ad-Daula for permission to resume the astronomical observations which had been interrupted by troubles and wars. He was also credited in the Middle Ages with some treatises on Alchemy.

A.H. 383: Characteristics.—Avicenna belongs to the school which in Arabic literature took the name of 'School of Philosophers' ('al-falāṣīfī'). This name denotes all the philosophers who made a special study of Greek works, and the scholars who translated them. Shahrestāni (tr. Haarbricker, ii. 212 f.) gives a list of about twenty who, before Avicenna's time, received this title of Philosopher. Among them are the Christian or Sasanian translators, Hunain son of Ishāq, Thabit son of Qurra, Yahyā son of Adi. Among the Muslims, the most celebrated representatives of this school, before Avicenna, are al-Kindi and al-Farábī. Of these, al-Kindi is the real organizer of Arabic Scholasticism, while to al-Farábī Avicenna is greatly indebted in Metaphysics, as he acknowledges in his preface to the work. In this account of his original work, we shall not consider medical or merely scientific portions, but confine our attention to his philosophical outlook.

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4. Philosophy.—Avicenna's Philosophy may be sub-divided as follows: Logic, Physics, Psychology, Metaphysics, Mysticism, and Ethics. This division is in conformity with the custom of the school.

(1) Logic.—The parts of the Najat relating to Logic were translated into French by Pierro Vattier (see Lit. at end of art.). The Išhárat also contains some important philosophical definitions. In a treatise on the Classification of the Sciences, Avicenna gives Logic a very prominent place indeed among the sciences. His reason is not only the importance of Logic in itself, but also the comparatively extensive knowledge that the Arabs had of Aristotle's logical treatises. This knowledge enabled him to unite with his other philosophical works. In this same treatise Avicenna further subdivides the science of Logic into nine different parts, which correspond respectively to the eight books of Aristotle, preceded by Porphyry's Isagoge, one of the best-known works of the Oriental Middle Ages.

The first part, correspond to the Isagoge, is a kind of general philosophy of language, and is occupied with the terms of speech and the indirect elements of the sentence. In the second treatise of simple abstract ideas, applicable to all being, and is called by Aristotle the Categories; the third deals with the composition of simple ideas, in the presentation of which is subject of the Hermeneutics; the fourth unites the propositions together to form demonstrations, and corresponds to the First Analysis. The fifth discusses the conditions to be fulfilled by the premises of reasoning, and is like the Second Analysis; the sixth, seventh, and eighth parts respectively consist of propositions, taken from reasoning, and close to the Topics or Dialectics, the Sophistic, and Rhetoric. The ninth and last part treats of discourses whose aim is to stir the soul or the imagination, like the Poetics.

Logic, then, is taken here in a very broad sense; syllogistic is only a part of it. Syllogistics with Avicenna is only a secondary matter, except that of being clear and well arranged, free from vain subtleties and all scholastic trifling.

Although, as we have seen, Avicenna gave Logic a very important place, he did not, at the same time, exaggerate its power. He shows very clearly that this power is, above all, negative. 'The aim of Logic,' he says in the Ishárat, 'is to provide mankind with a rule, the observance of which will prevent him from erring in his reasoning.' Logic then, strictly speaking, does not discover truths, but only the use of them, he already possesses, and prevents him from making a wrong use of them.

Reasoning, according to Avicenna, starts from terms settled at the outset—the first data of experience and the first principles of understanding. The method of deducing conclusions from a known deduced from a previously known is not unlimited; it must have a starting-point, found outside of the reasoning, which will be the base of the logical fabric. First, from direct experiences or ideas, descriptions or definitions are formed, and then, by means of these, arguments are arranged. Avicenna cleverly explains what definition is: by definition man is enabled to represent objects; by argument he is able to persuade. Avicenna gives both the senses and the reason a share in the formation of the primary data of the sciences. According to him, imagination always supports reason; opinion also, and even memory, fulfil the same office. There are primary principles which all hold because of common feeling, or because of logical and psychological. It is now generally granted that this school was a development of Neo-Platonism rather than strictly Peripatetic. Avicenna seems to have cleared up and systematized the work of his predecessors. In his account of his original work, we shall not consider medical or merely scientific portions, but confine our attention to his philosophical outlook.
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not even aware of how the conviction has arisen. A self-evident example of these first principles is: 'The whole is greater than the part.' This philosophy is very sound. It is a scholasticism, not yet antiquated, open and sincere, in many places recalling the analyses of Leibniz.

Avicenna further discusses the form and matter of definitions and arguments, distinguishes between definition and description, and sums up, in the manner of the Peripatetics, in different kinds of questions that arise in science: first of all, what a thing is, and if it is; next, where it is, when it is, how it is; and, lastly, why it is. We see here an application of the doctrine of the Categories. Avicenna recognizes the four causes — material, formal, efficient, and final. He shows that they may all appear together in a definition. Thus an axe may be defined as ‘an iron implement, of such and such a shape, for cutting wood.’ At the very beginning of his Logic, Avicenna explains specie, essence, property, and common accident, which together furnish another method of constituting definition.

The Sciences are founded on experiences and reasonings. They have objects, questions, and premises. As there are universal premises (see also the reasons of the sciences) there are universal definitions.

The different objects of the sciences establish a hierarchy among themselves, according to their dignity. Besides this, the sciences are divided into theoretical science and practical science. The principal objects of theoretical science are Physics, Mathematics, and Theology; of practical, Applied Physics, Mechanics and Art, and Ethics. The problem of the classification of the sciences was very popular in the Middle Ages, both in the East and in the West.

On the philosophical part of his Physics, Avicenna discusses several of the primary ideas of the human intellect, e.g., power, time, and movement. He desires from Physics a first acquaintance with the ideas which Scholasticism employs in Logic and Metaphysics, that is, to say, with the ideas of form and matter and the categories. The ideas of form and matter are suggested by observation of the physical world: ‘Physical bodies, strictly speaking, are constituted of two principles, matter and form; but their qualities are gathered from them, which arise from the existence of the nine categories.’ Scholasticism divides these accidents into primary qualities, which are inherent in the body, and secondary qualities, which can be taken away without annihilating the body, but which contribute to its perfection.

Avicenna’s conception of power is more closely alluded to dynamics than to statics. He is interested in the energy acting from within the body rather than in the forces which move it from without. Like Aristotle, he allows that each body has a natural place, to which it always returns, by some hidden power, when it has been removed from it. The commonest example of these innate powers is ‘weight.’ This idea of power is developed in Psychology and Metaphysics. In Physics there is no infinite power. Its effects are always either greater or less. Avicenna recognized the principle of mechanics that ‘what is gained in power is lost in speed.’

Thus he explains by movement, and it cannot be diminished otherwise. Time cannot be conceived in immobility; it would then be of fixed duration, and no longer true time. ‘Bodies,’ says Avicenna, ‘are in time, not in their essence, but because they are in movement, and movement is in time.’ Time was regarded by Avicenna as a property of being itself. For the world in general, it is measured by the movement of the stars.

Avicenna also speaks of the locality of bodies, then of space and impenetrability. He tries to show, by somewhat subtle reasoning, that bodies cannot move in a vacuum, because, he thinks, the dimensions of a vacuum are indivisible and potential, which he concludes that a vacuum does not exist. He does not admit the possibility of actual infinity. Like the ancient, he believes that the world is finite, and that there is outside of it neither fullness, emptiness, but absolute nothingness. He admits, again, that bodies are divisible in potential to infinity, and he rejects atomism. Atomism had its partisans at this time, the mutakallimun (‘theologians’), with whom Avicenna disputes. In this connexion too, he analyzes the idea of contact very cleverly.

Avicenna unfortunately hardly managed to rid himself of the errors of Peripatetic Physics, although he had the opportunity several times. Yet, from a philosophical point of view, his account, besides forming interesting reading, bears witness to a very acute mind.

(3) Psychology.—In Avicenna’s doctrine, Psychology is carefully systematized, and adheres to the scholastic form. Being, and also the faculties, are classified methodically according to a hierarchic arrangement. The general plan of this grand construction is as follows:

There are three kinds of minds. These are, in ascending order, the vegetable mind, the animal mind, and the reasonable or human mind.

The vegetable mind, or nature, possesses three faculties: (1) nutritive power, which, when resident in a body, changes another body into the form of the first; (2) a power by which the body itself increases, without changing its form, until it has attained its full maturity; (3) power of generation, which draws from the body a part which, when it has arisen, in its turn, produce other bodies similar to it acto.

The animal mind possesses two kinds of faculties: motive faculties and apprehensive or perceptive faculties. (1) The motive faculties ensure the maintenance of power and power. The appetitive power itself is either attractive or repulsive. If attractive, it is simply desire, concupiscence; if repulsive, it is inaccessibility. The efficient power, which is the producer of movement, resides in the motor nerves and the muscles. (2) The perceptive faculties of the animal mind are classified as external and internal. The former include the five senses—sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The matter have their own particular senses and the common sense, a sort of centre in which all the perceptions assemble before being elaborated by the higher faculties. The common sense is situated in the front part of the brain, and it acts on the perceptions, the formative faculty or imagination. It strips the sensible form of the conditions of place, situation, and quantity, and it determines itself to attract, to repel, or to make an impression on the senses. The formative is followed by the cognitive faculty, which works first of all by way of abstraction on the sensible, assimilates them, and extracts notions out of them. The estimative faculty next groups these notions into what might be called judgments, but which are quite instinctive and not intellectual. This faculty it is which constitutes ‘animal intelligence.’ For example, the sheep knows by its eye to flee from the wolf. The last of the faculties of the animal mind is memory, which is situated in the back part of the brain.

The human mind alone possesses intelligence. This intelligence is divided into active intelligence, or practical reason, upon which morality depends, and speculative intelligence, or theoretical reason, which perceives ideas. The perception of ideas is built up through three faculties, which make the movement from mere power to actuality. The first of these faculties, the material intellect, is only a general possibility of knowing; the second, the intellect of possession, recognizes first principles; the third is that which is directly fitted to receive the forms of things that are intelligible, to actualize, to make the imperfect intellect. It seizes hold of that which is intelligible, when, outside the human mind, it unites with the ‘active intellect.’

There naturally arise, in the course of this theory, physiological questions relative to the functions of the senses and the localization of the different faculties. Avicenna treats of these as...
best he could at a time when the biological sciences were as yet hardly in their infancy.

In this respect the same argument may be made for the visual images are transmitted to the eyes, and draws a parallel between two processes of explanation, which he attributes respectively to Aristotle and Plato. He accepts Aristotle's method and rejects Plato's.

The discussion of the intelligence also brings up the question of universals. This question was not so preponderantly important in Aristotle as it was in Western scholasticism. Avicenna is a realist. Like the Neo-Platonists, he admits that the intelligibles, which are universals, exist in the active intellect. The human intelligence comprehends them in acta, when it unites with the active intellect, and becomes dependent on it for particular which the senses recognize. But this process of abstraction is not sufficient; it is only preparatory, and gives the comprehension of the universals only in potentia. Before this can pass to actuality, man's intelligence must be united with a superior intelligence. The reasonable mind starts from the sensible, and little by little rises above it, approaching meanwhile the region of universal realities. Psychology ends in Metaphysics.

The following are Avicenna's proofs of the spirituality of the soul. The soul perceives its own peculiar essence; intellectual power perceives ideas apart from organs; the locale of intelligibility cannot be a body. The immortality of the soul is a necessary truth. The dependence of the soul on the body is not essential but accidental. Another form of this proof is that the soul is a simple substance. Avicenna believes that the soul is created at the same time as the body is formed, and is to a certain extent in harmony with the body; it is a soul to animate. This condition of compatibility with the body makes metempsychosis impossible.

(4) Metaphysics. — There is one part of Avicenna's Metaphysics which seems quite old-fashioned now, and we must go back in imagination to the beginning of science to find any sense in it. It treats of the procession of the superior intelligences and the production of the celestial spheres. On the other hand, there is a part which seems to date from a very early period of philosophy, and is a systematic character no longer found in modern works of philosophy. This part treats of primary cause and necessary being. The following is very briefly the theory of the spheres:

they are described in the following manner. See § (3) from the vegetable world up to man, is continued beyond man into the region of the stars. The idea given at the top of the scale is the Necessary Being, and the last one is a region of eternity. From this first being emerges the world of ideas, which is a collection of pure intelligences, simple substances, concepts or of all possible worlds. The next consists of the souls of the stars, which are world. The souls are essences, bound to pure intelligences, which animate bodies. The bodies that they animate in this supra-human region are the stars, which are classed after the manner of ancient astronomy. The world of the intelligences of the stars, below the last of them, which animates the moon, is the active intellect. From it flows the sublunary world.

Very noticeable in this theory is the analysis of the world of ideas into active intellect and astronomical intelligences. The interchangeability of the stars is an old belief which was disputed down to the time of Galileo; and the comparison of their spheres with a superior kind of animal is an idea which dates back to the Hellenic world, and which was long dear to the East.

In connexion with this system, which strikes a modern reader as quaint, Avicenna discusses in a dignified manner the metaphysical theory of causality. He considers that the pure intelligences are the causes of each other in descending order, and the causes also of the souls of the spheres, and, through them, of their bodies. He holds, then, that intelligence is essentially active; it is even productive of being; and cause usually is simply intelligence. Elsewhere cause is identified with being itself; it is perceptible especially in the primary cause, which is the cause of potentiality at the same time, and includes in its essence everything of which He is the principle. He comprehends everything in a universal manner, and at the same time no attribute of any particular. The ultimate cause, beyond the cause of the cause, is hid from Him, not even the weight of a dhrub (an atom). He is, at the same time, a final and efficient cause. The final cause precedes the efficient in potential in acta the efficient precedes. The cause of the efficient cause is the final and efficient cause.

God is not the actual moving power of the stars, for this function would beget a certain multiplicity in Him, and, according to the spirit of Avicenna, He must have all safeguards of simplicity. He moves the stars by the intermedialation of the first caused, that is, of the first intelligence which springs from Him. This intelligence knows itself and it knows God. From this double knowledge arises a duality. The duality then changes to triplicity when the first caused still knows itself as possible in itself, and as necessary in the primary Being. In this way this philosophy introduces multiplicity into the world.

The doctrine of universals reappears in connexion with that of causes. There are causes of kind and causes of individual; the general it is his own cause, the particular has a cause. A thing has a cause of its quiddity and another of its being, i.e., a cause by which it is what it is, and another by which it exists. If a thing is to be individualized, its idea must be able to receive the effect of particular cause.

The idea of the necessary Being is the terminus of the theory of causality. The necessary Being as such has no need of causes. He exists from the beginning complete, with all His qualities. He is absolute. He is pure good, for He possesses the perfection of existence, and existence in itself is goodness: existence, always in acta, is pure good.

He is pure truth, for that is called true which can justly be said to exist, and, as His existence is necessary, He is therefore absolute truth.

The theory of causality takes quite a different form. A demonstration composed of three lemmas proves the necessary being:

(1) All possibles cannot spring from one possible cause, on which their possibles are united in themselves; (2) a series of causes finite in number cannot be possible in themselves and necessary to each other, so that they depend on one another in a circle; (3) everything can be possible and actual; and an incompleteness of being, and a failure to beget, and the idea is determinating. This consequently signifies that all possibles must have cause, that causes are not linked together infinitely, and do not return on themselves. Therefore the series of possibles ends in the necessary being.

This theory is a very fine effort to prove God and to deduce the world from Him in a vigorous way, by a dialectic of mathematical precision. Faith in the power of reason is manifested in this system. To us, who are now more sceptical, it seems pure rationalism, and it is difficult to see how it can be reconciled, however, by its vigour and power.

(5) Mysticism. — It is doubtful whether Avicenna was really a mystic in the religious sense of the word. Here again he has followed the custom of the Neo-Platonic school, regarding mysticism as only a subdivision of philosophy. Ibn Tufail seems to say that Avicenna had a kind of esoteric doctrine called hikmat-al-ishraq, 'philosophy of illumination,' which really contained his true ideas. But we know from one of Avicenna's works that this philosophy is almost exactly Avicenna's own Neo-Platonism with a different nomenclature.

Passing over mysticism as related to asceticism,
5. Avicenna's school.—The school of Avicenna does not boast any very celebrated names. His philosophic and religious teachings were transmitted to the Musulmans of the East by orthodox theologians, especially by al-Ghazālī. For the history of this school of 'Philosophers' proper in Western Islam, see AVERROES, AVERROISM.

LITERATURE.—(a) On the MSS of Avicenna's works: C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur in Berlin, 1897—1905. For Avicenna's life: Ibn Abi Usábīa, ʿUqun al-Aʿlāb, ed. Müller, Königsberg, 1854, pp. 2—20. Avicenna's general philosophy is the subject of A. A. ʿArīf, L'Oiseau, in France's Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques; T. J. de Boer, The History of Philosophy in Islam, London, 1903. A very important work is now in process of preparation in Germany on the Šifā of Avicenna. (b) The Šifā was published at Rome along with the Canons of Medicine in 1593, and at Beirut, Paris, 1753. See Le Livre de Logique du fils de Šinā, tr. Vattier, Paris, 1832. (c) On logic, Al-Fārābī, Documenta philosophiae Arabum, ed. Schmödl, Bonn, 1856. On psychology, Landauer, ʿDīs-ṣiḥḥat al-ʿilm al- 갖고ni." It is a rare work which has been prepared by the public. The virtues enjoy this happiness. Otherwise its taste is vitiated; it cannot attain its end, and accordingly suffers. But if a man has lived a mediocre life, his actions never reaching the height of his intentions, his soul, when freed from the body, becomes the centre of a struggle between his pure desires and his bad habits. Only when purified by this grievous struggle does it attain perfect bliss.

ETHICS.—Avicenna, announced of the speculative part of his philosophy, was on that account less interested in practical philosophy and moral analysis. In his mystical works, he has some fine pages on morals, but their character is distinctly metaphysical. He also wrote on ethics as well as a short treatise on Government, which was published recently. It is written in a practical spirit, but is really an elementary treatise in economics. It explains how a man should govern himself, his wives, his children, and his servants.

From the very earliest times, humanity felt a need of organization. First of all, man had to settle in places where he could most easily and comfortably live. This led to the setting up of a certain order of dwelling, of which established, these required looking after. This duty was entrusted to the woman. From the woman the family was born, and, as it increased, servants were added to the household.

Mun's need of subsistence was also the primary promoter of commerce and the arts. Avicenna divides the arts into three kinds: (1) those which are dependent on intelligence of the highest order, e.g. guidance, judgment, counsel; (2) these are exercised only by the great; (2) those dependent on education, e.g. writing, speaking, medicine; (3) those founded on strength and courage, as military arts. Every individual should learn one of these and apply himself to it.

The good wife is her husband's associate in ruling and guiding. The best kind of wife is intelligent, religious, fond of her husband, and springing from good stock. The management of the family is based on fear, dignity, and care. If a man does not make himself feared, his wives will depend on it of the family, in so far as they are complementary to metaphysics and morals. He describes Providence as the fact that the whole world is encompassed by the knowledge of primary Being. This knowledge is cognizable of the most perfect and the highest of the Being. The theory of optimism, exhibited in this idea, is similar to Leibniz's: evil is not a part of Divine decree in essentia; its place there is accidental. Avicenna recognizes the three kinds of evil: want, physical suffering, and sin. We find evil only in the world as a fact, and has not yet attained perfection. It affects only the individual; species are shielded from it. Evil, moreover, is always a good from some superior point of view. 'It does not enter into the plan of Divine wisdom to abandon lasting and universal good, because of fleeting evil in individual things.' Like Leibniz, Avicenna decides that, however common it may be, evil is not the general rule; it is only the exception to the good.

After death the reasonable soul attains perfection. To effect this, it must become conscious and intelligent, and receive within it the form of harmony and well-being which pervades the world of superior essences. It unites with this idea of perfection, and so becomes like it. Only the soul which has been prepared by the public for certain virtues enjoys this happiness. Otherwise its taste is vitiated; it cannot attain its end, and accordingly suffers. But if a man has lived a mediocre life, his actions never reaching the height of his intentions, his soul, when freed from the body, becomes the centre of a struggle between his pure desires and his bad habits. Only when purified by this grievous struggle does it attain perfect bliss.

AWE.—In the presence of an awe-inspiring object, we feel ourselves subdued, but are placid: we are powerfully had hold of, but neither resist nor desire to be set free. On the contrary, we are drawn towards the object, and its presence is well welcomed by us, though with a serious and pensive joy. The affections, then, are enlisted, as well as the imagination. The appeal is made to that part of our nature that is open to influences from what is higher or greater or grander or better than ourselves. We feel our inferiority, indeed, but there is no resentment; we are conscious that the superiority in the case is the complement, and not the contradiction, of ourselves. This is in line with the experience of the finite resting on, and complemented by, the infinite, and of the 'less being blessed of the blessed."

Greater, higher, grander, better—these are the conditions of the possibility of the emotion of awe; and there is the further condition that these should not appear as threatening us with danger, but as friendly, or, at any rate, as not unfriendly. If we were on our own level, this peculiar emotion could not arise; and if we were threatened with evil, a contrary emotion would be aroused. The antithesis to the awe-inspiring in objects is the commonplace and the obvious, or the desirable and the mean—everything that tends to lower, and not to elevate, the soul. Dealing with what impresses us, awe is by its very nature contemplative and enmolding; it allies itself with our ideals and our aspirations, and is helpful towards enabling us to purify and to raise the personal and its ethical value. Hence, mystery intensifies it—the unknown and the unknowable. We cannot but be serious in the presence of mystery. The feeling of the mysterious, when it takes possession of us, necessarily subdues us and lifts us up.

We shall better understand the nature of the emotion, if we note the objects that call it forth. Some of these are impersonal, and some are personal. Of the impersonal causes, we have (a) phenomena of nature showing us the incomprehensible, objects that transcend our capacity of understanding or that give special scope and exercise to our imagination—such, therefore, as are exceptionally impressive and create in us a certain indefinite yearning, wonder, and admiration; e.g., the starry heavens, the magnitude or vastness of...
space, the infinity of time, the origin of life, the mystery of generation, and the like. But, besides these, we have (b) intellectual theories and moral principles—generalizations of commanding sweep and laws of transcendent excellence. Of the two things that make the profoundest impression on Kant, the Moral Law was one: the grandeur of it, the unconditionality of it, the authority of it—all contributed to make it awe-inspiring to a degree. In all this we have the feeling of feeble-mindedness and insignificance of our thoughts and reasoning of might and worth set over against our impotence and imperfections. Next, we have (c) awe as associated with persons—an intellectual genius like Plato or Aristotle, a literary genius like Shakespeare or Goethe, a scientific genius like Newton, an ethical or a religious genius like St. John or St. Paul. But, of course, the highest of all examples is God—supreme in Majesty, the source of all the excellences ('wisdom, love, might') and the fountain of Holiness. We have here the realization of the Ideal, which points the contrast.—

"Who is the man and the man's name; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts!" (Is 6). It is the contrast of the sinful and the weak, in presence of the holy and mighty, or not merely our frailty and weakness, but our strength do not repel but attract us. It is felt that underneath the majesty and greatness lie beneficence and mercy: in the hands of the Supreme, we feel ourselves secure. Again, we have (d) things sacred causing awe—things associated, therefore, with the Divine. Such and these holy places (see art. 'Bethel' in Hastings' DB and in EB), the soul-moving services of religion on special occasions—the dispensing of Communion in Protestant Churches and the Elevation of the Host in Catholic Churches, are all, and akin to this, (e) the awe that is associated with solemnity—e.g. the presence of Death, the death-chamber, funeral rites. Speaking of St. Edmund, Carlyle says:

"They confounded him with worth and sweet spices, with love, pity, and all high and awful thoughts; conversing him with a very storm of melodious adoring admiration, and sundry other sentiments; joyfully, yet with an air of awe, which has something of the awful in it, commemorating his noble deeds and Godlike walk and conversation while on earth." (Past and Present, bk. ii. ch. 20).

Now, this being so, there can be little difficulty in perceiving the relation between awe and fear. The dictionary subsumes the one under the other: it makes awe simply a species of fear or dread. No greater error could be committed; for neither in their nature nor in their results have the two much in common. It would be ill both for ethics and for religion if they had.

It is the peculiarity of fear (q.v.) to agitate and unsettle us. It deranges the body and unites the nerves, producing well-marked outward effects (shudder, perspiration, anxiety, dread, distraction, vocal utterance, erection of the hair, and such like); but it has well-marked psychical effects also—intellectual and volitional. The first effect of fear is to stimulate us to resistance or to circumvex
evention, and, if the terror is not excessive, it braces us for the effort; but, beyond that stage, it becomes detrimental and may be ultimately disastrous. However exhilarating fear in moderation may be, its normal action on the intellect is disturbing and disconcerting: it destroys the power of correctly appreciating the situation, and creates a tendency to magnify the danger, and so an inability to perceive the right course of action to be pursued if the impending evil is to be prevented. If at the moment the intellect, under fear, counsels resistance, the result may be a baffled flight; till, last of all, it becomes powerless to counsel in any form—it simply collapses. So that, thus far, fear may be defined as 'nothing else but a surrender of the succours which reason offereth' ('Wisdom of Solomon' 17). But the effect on the will is no less conspicuous. Danger, if moderate, may rouse to courage; fear, on the other hand, arouses to effective opposition; but, beyond this point, the result is disquieting and weakening, until, in extreme cases, absolute paralysis sets in, and the subject can do nothing but remain helpless and await his fate. And so, fear resolves, and does not attract; and its tendency is to paralyze both intellect and will and bring about disaster.

Moreover, when the moment of fear is past, our attitude towards the object that created it is one of hatred or dislike.

Not so with awe. In most of the respects now enumerated, it is the antithesis of fear. It has a calming and quieting influence on the body (as seen in the bowed head, the soft walk, the restrained speech, and the reverential look, of the subject of it); and, inasmuch as it affords, instead of repelling, it produces satisfaction and contentment, and a desire to continue in the presence or under the influence of the object that inspires it. In awe, we feel ourselves in the hands of superior power, but that power is conceived as beneficent and good, and we do not, in consequence, shrink from, or be ill-disposed, towards us, and under whose protection we may rest secure. The consciousness of danger (and therefore fear) is wanting, and the feeling of reliance takes its place. We trust the awe-inspiring object, and are attracted towards it, and we rest in the experience of it, and are satisfied. Hence the importance and significance of awe as a religious emotion, with its concomitants of reverence and veneration. It lies at the root of worship, and is the indispensable condition of the Divine.

Hence, further, awe enters into the sublime. Not every sublime object, indeed, need beget awe (for pain sometimes is associated with sublimity, and fear is a distinctly felt ingredient of it, producing uneasiness); but much that is sublime also impresses us with awe. Both are results of the manifestation of power or excellence, and both are most effective when associated with Personality. Moral heroism, for instance, and magnanimity are of this stamp—greatness of soul rising superior to misfortunes and the vicissitudes of events. "Anxius contra mundum" (a unique figure defying opposition, standing erect in solitary grandeur in the face of fearful odds) can never cease to move us strongly—to draw forth our admiration and to enlist our regard; and there are many acts of self-sacrifice and many lives of disinterested devotion that are sublime and awe-inspiring in the highest degree. They elevate our thoughts and win our affections; they purify our souls, and we feel that we are all the better for the contemplation of the frightful things.


William L. Davidson.

Axe.—There were several forms of axe, or adze, in use among the Greeks, as amongst other nations; but a special controversy has arisen over the σιδερος or λάθρας with double blinde, owing to its association with Zeus Labradon.

The double axe is derived from one of the Stone Age types, in which the handle passes through the middle, and the blade is slumped between the flanges. Examples of this type may be seen in
any good collection, such as the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford. The type was first translated into bronze, and then the form was modified, the wings growing and assuming a more curved outline. Other specimens have been found with other tools in a carpenter's shop at Anthedon, and with other tools at Goninn and Palaikastro in Crete, and at Troy. A late Attic relief shows a youth holding one of a pair. On other works of art, I note attempts to kill Phæatus with this axe. These fits with it, the Amazons are frequently armed with it. It is represented as part of Gausl's war-spool, along with other arms and weapons, upon many reliefs;' and it was used as war-spool. It was to slay the sacrificial victim by the Hittites and at Paphlaga,' and in Crete, where a priestess is represented with one in each hand, and there is other evidence to be considered anon. Here is enough to prove that this axe was a war-weapon, or tool, and a sacrificial implement in consecration.

We are now in a position to understand its meaning in the hands of divine persons. Zeus of Labranda is well known to have held it: but so does Artemis, 22 and so does Dionysus, 26 and so does Apollo in Asia Minor, 27 and so do the local heroes in Asia and elsewhere. 28 These use it, no doubt, as a weapon of war; and Zeus with his axe manifestly protects Labranda as Athena armed cap-a-pie protects Athens, or any other armed deity stands forth in his might. We may even fairly suggest that the name Labranda has some such relation to Labranda, Danausse or Toledo to their famous sword-blades.

The use of the axe in sacrifice seems to be enough to account for its representation along with the ox-spool, first as a memorial of sacrifice, and then as a decorative scheme. Here our evidence comes largely from Crete and the Mycenean age. Mr. A. J. Evans has found representations in which the ox-spool is surmounted by an axe, the handle being fixed in the spool; one is a Knossian seal, 23 another a Mycenean vase-painting from Sphacteria. 24 These examples are horrid by Evans's horn of consecration 1 (see 'EGEAN RELIGION'), which is obviously a stand of some sort, and apparently is a conventionalized ox-spool, 25 also had the axe fixed in it; 26 one was found in the Knossian shrine with a hole, and a small double axe of steatite lying near, so that it may be fairly assumed that the axe stood in the hole. 27 The axe also becomes an ornament of vases and other works of art. 28 We may compare with this the use of the ox-head with wreaths in a frieze, so common in Roman times; and the reliefs of ox heads with other sacrificial implements, by Kairos. The axe shown is found carved with a late dedication to Apollo in Asia Minor, once apparently to commemorate the sacrifice of a bull. 3 It may perhaps be mentioned that the ox-spool, or its model, is hung up as a charm in gardens and vineyards by the modern Greeks, especially in the Asiatic islands, and less commonly elsewhere.

The axe was an object of dedication, like any other weapon or tool. We have seen it as part of war-spool; the axe was also dedicated to Apollo at Delphi; 4 and in the Dictyan and Labranda of Zeus 19 axes were found, 5 along with 20 lance-heads, 25 darts, 100 knives, pins, and tweezers, a cart drawn by oxen, human and animal figures, vases, and other things. All the Cretan axes are simulacra, being too thin or too small for use; butmost are performed, and some have handles. Other tiny axes of this sort have been found, of different types: thick and solid, like stone axes; thin, and sometimes marked with dots like dice; sometimes the handles are perforated for hanging. These have been also dedicated at Olympia, and Palaikastro (Cret); 6 to Artemis in Aredia, 7 in Ithaca, 8 and at Ephesus; 9 and to Athens and Artemis Orthia at Sparta. 10 The axe also becomes a motive of ornament; 22 and axes were found made of gold and bone in tombs and elsewhere. 12 It is obvious that these dedications cannot be held to have any peculiar appropriateness to Zeus, because they are dedicated also to Athena, Apollo, and Artemis, and with them are found many other things that are peculiar to Zeus. They are not for use; they may be either models of war-spool, 13 or ornaments, or perhaps fractions of the axe-unit of exchange. Similar axes are known in modern times as fractions of the axe-unit, and there are indications that the unit was known in Greece; 14 or again, the shape may have remained as traditional after they ceased to be used in exchange.

It remains to discern the graphic representations of the axe. The blocks that compose the walls of the palace at Knossos are scored with a number of different signs, which occur either alone or in conjunction, just as the symbols of writing might do. Amongst these is the double ox-spool, which is repeated along a number of times on the four sides of a square pillar in the corridor at Knossos. Whether the pillar be sacred or not 15—and there is at least room for doubt—there is no sufficient ground for regarding these signs as sacred. Such an explanation would account for only one out of many signs, all used together in the same way. It must also be

1 ib. xiv. 572, with Moreau's note.
2 Gerhard, Ausserkeine Vasenbilder.
4 Jahresber. p. 44, pl. xxii. BSA i. 135 (found in a dwelling-house, with needle, chisel, and knife).
5 Schmidt, Schliemann's Sammlung, 615.
6 Jahresber. vi. 28. 7 Amath. xxx. pl. c.
9 ib. 1883, 128; B. Russell, 145.
10 Espenander, Aeg. Real. des Encl. de la Gaule romaine, ii. 555, 588, 591, 622, 700, 701, 712, 715, 726, 738, 830; cf. BSA ii. 250, 552, 553, 554.
11 Plutarch, Qu. Gr. 45.
12 Perrot and Chipiez, iv. 627; Ridgway, Early Aprx. i. 270.
13 Ant'v. '1906, 32; 14 Plutarch, Qu. Gr. 45.
15 On coins of Laodicea in Syria; Hogarth, Ephesia, 333.
16 C. M. Schliemann's account. 17 Col. Brt. Sculpt. 659; cf. BSA ii. 28.
18 Art. Meth. x. 12; BCh iv. 254.
19 S. Russell, 188; cf. BSA i. 114, fig. 70. 20 Br. Russell, 188; cf. BSA i. 114, fig. 70.
21 BSA i. 114, fig. 70.
22 JHS xi. 107, fig. 3.
23 BSA i. 128, see the title really begs the question, as implying an ideal meaning.
24 B. Russell, 188; cf. BSA i. 114, fig. 70.
25 JHS xi. 107, fig. 3.
26 BSA vii. 96, fig. 55.
remembered that these signs were certainly covered over with plaster, as some of them still partially are. The Italic excavators of Phaistos regard them as literary signs; they all, or nearly all, occur on gems. Several, including the double axe, occur on the literary tablets of Knossos, and are interpreted as meaning 'by Zeus himself!'. They are probably masons' marks; and some of them, including the double axe, have been noticed on stone blocks, apparently used for masons' marks, in other places, as the old Hellenic blocks used to build the medieval fortress of Cos, and the stones of the Edinburgh Crete.

The above is enough to show that the double axe is not necessarily sacred, or necessarily connected with Zeus. But this is no reason why the axe should not have been the object of worship. Axe-worship is, of course, not fictitious worship, as some have loosely called it; but instances are not uncommon of weapons being worshipped, whether as weapons or as iron. Evans, in his paper on 'Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult', has alluded to the subject; and A. B. Cook has collected evidence for it in 'Axes of Crete'. The evidence is of varying value: the most weighty piece of evidence is the representation on the Hagin Triadha sarcophagus: a priestess is pouring some red liquid into a jar between two double axes. The other evidence, such as axes set betweenhero-souls, held as writing by Evans himself, or visible on the ground of engraved seals, is indeterminate; but these may strengthen the case for worship, if it be established otherwise. Cook publishes a cut of a priest sacrificing before a number of objects, including an ibex, a star, a crescent moon, and two knobbled sceptres with a (one-flanged) axe set upright upon a stool (Assyrian); a Persian seal shows a worshipper before a stool with similar objects upon it. A coin of Tenedos shows an axe upright standing on steps between two supports; another, an axe connected with a jar by a fillet. These seem to be the most significant facts that bear on an axe-cult: it is impossible here to recount all that has been brought in evidence to prove it, or to discuss the far-reaching and often fanciful inferences that have been drawn from them. The reader, however, may be reminded that there are several distinct questions, which have been often confused: (1) Was there an axe-cult? (2) Was the axe specially connected with Zeus? (3) Was the axe a symbol of Zeus? (4) Is the axe associated with Zeus? (5) Is the Knossian palace the Labyrinth?

Literature.—The literature has been given throughout the article.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

AXIOI. — I. Meanings of the term. — The various senses in which the term 'axiom' is used are easily confused, and require to be carefully distinguished. We may mention five senses of the term, all of which are historically important. (1) Axiom in a predominantly epidemiological sense: a proposition whose truth is self-evident; an immediately evident objective truth. (2) Axiom in a predominantly psychological sense: a proposition of whose truth the man who calls it an axiom feels a fixed persuasion, while he regards the proposition as indemonstrable, and his faith as something fundamental and, for him, necessary; a proposition that, by the name of 'axiom', has been fixed for him by a process of auto-deduction. (3) Axiom in a predominantly logical sense: a first principle which, itself not demonstrable, can be used as a basis for demonstrations. (4) Axiom in a predominantly social sense: an opinion which is, as a fact, accepted by all who are competent to judge, and which is not necessarily a consequence of the innate constitution and the original instinctive tendencies of the mind lead us to accept, and which we therefore do not derive merely from our experience.

1. From the point of view of sense, (1) all our knowledge is supposed to be either 'meditate' or 'immediate'. An axiom is a proposition known to be true, not 'meditately', but 'immediately'. For this view, 'intuitive knowledge', 'immediate insight', 'axiom', or 'evidence' is presupposed, as a possible form of knowledge and of consciousness. The criterion of an axiom is said to be that, when we consider the import of a given axiomatic proposition, this state of consciousness, this direct assurance, arises, and makes wholly unnecessary any demonstration of the truth of the proposition which comes under our observation. Here the stress is laid, therefore, first upon the immediacy of the insight in question. To think the axiom, and to know it to be true, are supposed to be simply inseparable acts. The assurance or intuitive knowledge, or 'evidence', or 'intuitive truth', is immediate, whereas the assertion of the proposition is further regarded, according to sense (1) as objective. One does not mean by the term 'axiom', when thus used, merely to point out the fact that a given person feels sure that this axiom is true. Sense (1) implies that whoever accepts the terms of any proposition 'intuitively knows', that is, directly observes, the perfectly objective fact that the axiom is true.

2. Sense (2), on the contrary, lays stress upon what may turn out to be the subjective necessity with which some one feels convinced of the truth of the proposition as a whole, or of some particular proposition. When such a feeling of necessity attends a conviction, and when no demonstration of the truth of the conviction can be given beyond the more observation that, so long as one conceives the meaning of the proposition, one feels thus convinced, sense (2) requires one to call the proposition an axiom. Sense (2) therefore makes the criterion of an axiom relative to the subject who feels the necessity, and who is able to give other reason for his conviction.

Sense (3) is present in the mind of Descartes when he speaks of propositions as being 'certain', or as being capable of being 'certain'. Sense (3) is emphasized by those who, by the word 'axiom', mean (6) a proposition that is capable of being known as a fact, or that it is clearly 'convincing', or that it is such that we feel that it is true.

Sense (2) and (3) are often confused. The question as to the relation between the terms 'certain' or 'evidence' and 'truth' is central in the theory of knowledge, and only a thoroughgoing sceptic will deny that there is indeed a close connection between at least some of our 'assurances' and our truths, and that the danger of confusing mere 'conviction' with objective 'evidence' is manifest throughout the history both of science and of religious belief.

3. Sense (3) makes the use of the term 'axiom' relative to a given or proposed theory or system, consisting of propositions and of reasons. In this third sense an axiom is a proposition which is not demonstrated in the course of the development of the system of theory, but is assumed or accepted at the outset, and used as a basis for demonstrations that form parts of that system. If the system in question constitutes, or is regarded as constituting, the whole of the possible system of knowledge, then the axioms in sense (3) appear as...
‘absolutely first principles,’ since, by hypothesis, they are essential to the rational demonstration of the truths of this system and are not mere propositions to be proved in the course of any investigation that we can make. But if one is explicitly confining one’s attention to some more or less limited province of knowledge, or to some special system of propositions, axioms, and laws, the second (3) may be applied to that special system, and are then merely the principles presupposed, used, but not demonstrated, by the system in question.

Axioms in sense (3) might therefore be neither self-evident truths nor yet necessary convictions of any one, but merely ‘assumptions’ or postulations. On the other hand, sense (3), in so far as it requires an axiom to be a ‘first principle,’ emphasizes a character which we are all especially accustomed to connect with the term, namely, that character of universality that is possessed by axiomatic propositions are very commonly regarded as possessing. Senses (1) and (2) could be satisfied by particular, or even by individual, propositions. Thus the proposition ‘1 is a prime number’ is satisfied by the one who has toothache, and be viewed by the sufferer either as the ‘self-evident’ objective truth, or as the ‘immediate consensus’ and logical truths. Whether the great mass of mankind should be satisfied (2) is merely a question of the type of demonstration only when they are asserted along with universal propositions. And therefore at least some axioms, in sense (3) of the term, must be universal assent. It especially belongs to sense (3) to emphasize this universal character of at least part of the axioms of any theories.

Sense (3), in contrast with, and sometimes to the exclusion of, senses (1) and (2), has been made prominent in various modern logical discussions of the principles of mathematical theories. This is done by the ‘axioms’ of a given mathematical theory, recent writers mean, in many cases, propositions which one uses simply as the fundamental hypotheses of the theory in question (e.g., of the theory of some one of the ‘non-Euclidean’ or ‘non-Archimedean’ geometries, or of the Cantorean ‘Theory of Assemblies’). One need not assert such hypotheses to be true, except in the sense that one uses them, at least provisionally, as self-consistent assumptions about a logically possible state of things, and uses them as ‘principles’ or as ‘primitive propositions’ in some statement of a theory. An axiom, in this sense, is often opposed to a proposition that is shown to follow from the principles, and that is, in this sense, demonstrated in the course of the theory in question. In two different statements of a theory (e.g., two different theoretical descriptions of geometry or of number-theory) decidedly different sets of ‘primitive propositions’ may be the basis of a single theory. In such cases what in an axiom in one statement of a theory may appear as a theorem in another statement, and conversely, is a doctrine of a ‘first principle’ in one relative, not merely to the theory in question, but to a particular way of stating that theory, and of showing that certain propositions follow from certain other propositions.

If one insists, as Aristotle did, upon sense (3) as applying to certain propositions which are said to form the indemonstrable principles of all science, so that, without these absolutely first principles, no system of knowledge whatever is possible, then in a sense (3) also axioms are principles that are necessary, but cannot be proved. But if one follows his way of treating the theory of knowledge, there are propositions which are axioms both in sense (1) and in sense (3). In consequence of the Aristotelian tradition, senses (1) and (3) have thereon all science, and are self-evident, and hence philosophers actually inseparable; so that the ‘first and fundamental truths’ are the ‘self-evident’ or ‘immediately known’ propositions are, in discussions of the problems relating to axioms, not infrequently simply identified. But the logically important distinction between the relatively first principles of a theory and the axiomatic propositions (if such there be) has been brought after to light, especially by the modern logical investigations of scientific theories, and should never be forgotten in dealing with the topic. If a proposition is to be called ‘immediately evident’ in sense (1) and in sense (3), special reasons (such, for instance, as those of Aristotle) should be advanced for asserting that this is the case. As a fact, it can never be ‘self-evident’ that a proposition is an axiom in sense (3); for one can ascertain that a principle is indeed a logical basis for the demonstrations only by taking the trouble to go through the demonstrations themselves—a highly ‘mediated’ procedure.

4. Sense (4) uses as the criterion of an axiom the ‘universal assent,’ the ‘consensus’ of ‘all rational beings,’ or sometimes the consensus of all the ‘competent,’ of all the ‘normal,’ or of the ‘wise,’ or of some class of knowing beings whose common opinion in the matter is treated as the standard opinion. The criterion here in question has frequently been extended to a logical basis for the universal consensus of the long annals of the doctrine of Nature, of the ‘natural,’ or of the ‘Law of Nature’ and the ‘consensus of humanity’ as the standard whereby both opinions and deeds are to be judged. But among an outer circle, there is an opinion held by some, who hold that, as a fact of human nature, there are indeed propositions which nobody denies, or which all who understand their import affirm. In practice, however, those who appeal to ‘universal assent’ as the warrant for an axiom usually render their criterion somewhat inept, by the very fact that they employ this criterion in arguments directed against opponents, who, as appears, call in question either the truth, or the evidence, or the interpretation, of the axiom that is under consideration. If the opponent himself does not wholly assent, one can hardly appeal to ‘universal assent’ as an evidence against him, without modifying the sense in which one calls the assent ‘universal.’ Such modification occurs if one regards the consensus in question as that of the ‘wise,’ or of the ‘competent,’ or if one insists, in a well-known poetic fashion, that ‘nobody who is in his senses’ doubts the supposed axiom. Thus, in practice, an axiom in sense (4) is usually conceived in some close connexion with senses (1) and (2)—the consent of the ‘wise’ and the common assent of the controversy. Not infrequently a thinker first explicitly asserts that a proposition is, for himself personally, an axiom in sense (2); then he draws the conclusion that it therefore must be an axiom in sense (1); and thus he proves, by a more or less lengthy mediate course of reasoning, that the proposition, being ‘immediately evident,’ cannot be proved. Since, perhaps, some opponent still remains unconvinced, and declines to admit the ‘immediate evidence,’ the defender of the proposition in question, instead of making use of sense (4), and now undertakes quite convincingly to silence the objector by asserting him that nobody objects to the proposition, since it is ‘known to all.’ Or, if the opponent even yet persists in giving attention to the ‘immediately evident’ truth that at least he himself objects, the defender of the axiom finally confuses sense (4) itself by a convenient definition of the “assent of all,” whereby the opponent is excluded from the “all,” who are worthy of consideration; and henceupon the matter becomes, of course, quite clear, although not to the opponent.

Such processes have played a great part in the history of controversy. A famous example is furnished by the controversies which have been suggested by Locke’s revival, in
the First Book of the Essay on the Human Understanding, of the ancient questions as to whether all men possess in common a knowledge of logical, of mathematical, and of moral truths. Specifically, of moral principles, the interest in finding out whether there is any agreement amongst all men regarding the distinction between Right and Wrong has been pronouncedly influenced since Locke’s attempts to construct an axiomatic basis for morals have sought in Anthropology for evidence, that, regarding some moral opinions, all men agree, and have conceived their principles as definable in terms of sense (4).

5. Finally, in sense (5) of our list, an axiom is defined by reference to the famous doctrine of ‘innate Ideas.’ This doctrine is an equally famous attack upon it, in the First Book of his Essay, long made central in controversy; and the partisan of innate ideas, in the various forms which this doctrine has since assumed, have frequently connected, in many often conflicting ways, senses (1), (2), and (4), and to a certain extent sense (3), with the use of the criterion for an axiom which sense (5) emphasizes. From the point of view of sense (5) it is essential to an axiom that it should come to our consciousness by reason of the very ‘constitution’ or ‘original nature’ of the mind. Such a view of the mind emphasizes the importance of our instinctive tendencies and inherited aptitudes as psychologically determining our whole intellectual life, while evolutionists of the type of Spencer have been led to believe that nobody ever possessed those particular dispositions which, when developed through our individual experience, lead us to regard some propositions as certainly true, and as true far beyond the range of our personal experience. For Spencer an axiom is, in general, an expression in an individual of the results of the ‘experience of the race,’ and is in so far, indeed, innate in the individual. Such a doctrine has established new connexions between senses (4), (5), and (2), and has to some extent connected senses (1) and (3) with (5).

But let us now consider whether an axiom in sense (5) might prove to be an actually false proposition, for the ‘innate constitution of the mind’ might involve one or another aptitude to believe error. In fact, an evolutionary view, closely resembling Spencer’s, might lead, in a thinker less optimistic about human nature than is Spencer, to the doctrine that certain instinctive tendencies, determined by evolution, are still such as to deceive the individual. Thus the innate hostility and resentfulness which form one aspect of human nature might be of disadvantageous necessity to the result of the conditions of conflict under which humanity has developed. And such tendencies might easily lead, in a civilized man, to a belief regarded by the individual as axiomatic in sense (5), and probably also in sense (2). This belief might take the form of the principle that one ought to avenge all injuries, and to destroy, if possible, all enemies. As a fact, however, this belief, although dependent upon the very ‘constitution’ of the mind of one whose ancestors have lived by the sword and enjoyed blood revenge, may be, and is, a false principle of ethics. Or again, the lover’s beliefs about his beloved are deeply affected by the innate constitution of his mind, and may appear to him to be, not only in sense (5) but also in sense (2), axiomatic. Yet they may be in many respects false. A pessimist, such as Schopenhauer, is fond of emphasizing the innate ‘illusions’ which, according to him, characterize human nature. Buddhist doctrine is equally emphatic in characterizing the most cherished and innate convictions of conventionalism, as both logically and morally destructive. Salvation for the Buddhist depends upon discovering axioms in sense (1) which are extremely hard to discover, so that only the Buddhas ever attain to them. But, when once seen, these axioms for the enlightened indeed

self-evident. And the knowledge of them sets aside those axioms in sense (2) which are also axioms in sense (5), and which, according to Buddhism, are due to the innate deceitfulness of desire. So little, for some men, does either inanitness or subjective necessity imply self-evidence and truth.

Axioms of innate ideas generally admit, any individual may remain unaware of some of his inherited aptitudes for conviction. On the other hand, there is no reason why a new assurance, or an axiom in sense (2), may not appear to others than whom revelation or a sudden growth or ‘mutation’ (such as may occur in the course of evolution) endows with a faith which, just because it is novel, does not constitute an axiom in sense (5).

As for senses (4) and (5), they very frequently coincide in their denotation, but need not do so. Although what the very constitution of the human mind determines us to believe is, ipso facto, ‘believed by all,’ in case the constitution in question is precisely the constitution ‘common to all human animals,’ take the instance of locality, it is not also the individual, the congenital variation of this or of that mind. The individual may possess an aptitude for conviction which belongs to his ‘constitution,’ but which no other man, or any man, has possessed. This is as possible as is a new individual revelation due to any other source than the inherited temperament of the individual. Prophets, Buddhas, poets, geniuses generally, have often been credited with such aptitudes for forming out of the depths of their own nature new convictions, which they have then taught to other men. On the other hand, as Locke and other empiricists have frequently insisted, those convictions which in sense (4) are more or less common to many or even to all men, but not of that account to be regarded as mainly determined by our innate constitution. They may be supposed to be due to experience, which moulds men to common results.

The foregoing survey shows us that the five senses of the term ‘axiom’ here in question are in a large measure independent of one another, so far as their logical intension is concerned, while by virtue of their various applications, now to the same, now to different sets of propositions, these five meanings of the term ‘axiom’ have become filled with a manifold of meaning and necessity, and of the theory of knowledge. The result is that the term ‘axiom’ is a very attractive and a very dangerous term, which should never be employed by a careful thinker without a due consideration of the sense in which he himself proposes to employ it.

II. History of the term.—As to the history of the term ‘axiom’ and of its uses, the ancient sources are above all: (i.) Aristotle’s theory of the axioms as propositions conforming both to our sense (1) and to sense (3); (ii.) Euclid’s actual use of his axioms in geometry, in the Elements, and in union with certain propositions called ‘postulates’ (which were also theoretical principles in our sense (3)). The treatment of the principles of science and of morals in sense (4) as principles ‘known to all’ or as known to the ‘wise’ or to the ‘competent,’ has its beginnings in pre-Socratic philosophy, and plays an important part in the Platonic Dialogues, and is in various special cases and passages carefully considered by Aristotle, but becomes especially prominent in the Stoical theory of knowledge and of ethics.

While sense (2) plays a part throughout the history of ancient thought, it becomes especially important in Christianity and in modern discussions of the psychological aspects of the problem of knowledge.
Sence (5), implied by the Platonic theory of reminiscence, but long put into the background by the Aristotelian theory of knowledge, has come to play a very great part in modern discussion. Its complete classical expression is probably the one to be found in Leibnitz's Nouvelles Essais. The last line of the nature, the existence, the various senses, and the use of what we call truths has been dominated since 1781 by three great movements: (1) the critical philosophy of Kant; (2) the various forms of modern Empiricism, Positivism, 'Pragmatism'; (3) the modern logical investigations which were especially stimulated by the famous inquiry into the axioms of Euclid's geometry, and which have since extended to the whole range of the foundations of mathematics, and also to the principles of theoretical physics, and to still other branches of scientific theory.

III. Significance for modern philosophy. In the attempt to deal with the extremely complex philosophical problems which are suggested by the foregoing five senses of the term 'axiom,' there are some of the leading considerations which any student of the topic chooses to regard as the thesis of this text.

(a) First, not every philosophy which tries to avoid scepticism is forced to admit the existence of axioms in sense (i). The necessity of such an admission as the sole alternative to scepticism evoked the principle of the Parmenides, as described in the foregoing sketch to Aristotle. If all science depends upon a determinate set of absolutely 'first principles' (in sense (3)), then, unless these principles are also axioms in sense (i), our denial would remain sceptical, for all scientific theory would lack basis. But the Aristotelian theory of scientific procedure is not the only possible one. That theory depends upon conceiving the structure of scientific theory as necessarily linear, with chains of syllogisms leading from determinate beginnings to the conclusions that constitute the scientific theory. But for a thinker such as Hegel, the ideal form of the totality of scientific theory is cyclical rather than linear. Truth may be, as a whole, a system of mutually supporting truths, whose absoluteness does not depend upon any one set of first principles, but consists in the rational coherence and inevitability of the totality of the system. To assert such a doctrine involves considerations which cannot be developed here. It is enough here to remark that such a system might be attacked at this point of view there would indeed be axioms in sense (3), viz., in relation to certain partial systems, such as this or that mathematical or logical doctrine, whose theoretical development would indeed depend upon chains of deductive reasoning. And there would also be necessary truths, both in the parts and in the whole system. But there would be no absolutely first principles, and there would also be no immediate certainties—nothing, in fact, that is purely immediate in the whole system of truth. The whole would be mediated by the parts, and conversely.

(b) Second, the traditional alternative: either this proposition is self-evident or else it is dependent upon some other proposition from which it is deduced, or else it remains uncertain, does not exhaust the logical possibilities regarding the rational discovery of truth. Omitting here the complex problem as to the relation between our experience of particular facts and the general truths which our scientific theories aim at establishing, we may point out that the principle of contradiction such that to deny them implies that they are true. As Aristotle already observed, the principle of contradiction is itself a proposition of this type. Euclid's geometry contains more than one instance where a proposition is demonstrated by showing that the contradictory of the *probandum* implies the truth of this *probandum*. To prove that this is, in fact, the case, may be no easy one, and may involve elaborate mediations. But any proposition *A*, such that the contradictory of *A* implies *A*, is *ipsa facto* a true proposition, although nobody may yet have come to feel its necessity.

When we prove a proposition, however, by showing that its contradictory implies it, we do not make this proposition 'self-evident.' Nor yet do we demonstrate the proposition merely by reference to other propositions which we have to assume as prior certainties. What we find is, not so much 'self-evidence,' as 'self-mediation'—an essentially cyclical process of developing the inter-relations which constitute the system of truth. In case, then, there are no axioms in sense (1), we need not abandon either the ideal or the hope of the attainment of rational truth.

(c) Third, axioms in sense (2) we need and use wherever and whenever we are engaged in practical activities, or are absorbed in contemplations, such as require a layman aside of the critical sense and limitation of the business of reflection. The assertion 'I am sure of this' is never logically equivalent to the assertion 'This is true.' And it is no part of the business of science or of philosophy to seek, or to remain content with, merely private 'convictions' or 'premises,' however 'necessary' the subject feels them to be.

(d) Fourth, axioms in senses (4) and (5) interest the anthropologist, and the student of society, of history, of religion, of psychology; they can never satisfy the student of philosophy, or in particular, of logic, and of mathematics.

(e) Finally, sense (3), interpreted not absolutely but relatively, so that an axiom is a principle which lies at the basis of a certain selected system of propositions, and which is not demonstrated in the course of that system, the *sensum* in which the term 'axiom' is still most serviceably employed in modern theory. Philosophy seeks not absolute first principles, nor yet purely immediate insights, but the self-mediation of the system of truth, and an insight into this self-mediation. Axioms, in the language of modern theory, are best defined, neither as certainties nor as absolutely first principles, but as those principles which are used as the first in a special theory.


AZAZEL.—When the word 'Azazel' was first introduced into a Western Bible or language is unknown to the present writer. It first occurs in the Concordances of the Greek, Latin, and German Bibles; it found a place in AV in *Lv* 10:18; 26 for the 'scapegoat' of the text, and in the text of the RV, 'dismissal' being its interpretation on the margin. In Greek it seems to have appeared for the first time in Philo's *Hexaemera*, 1713, at *Lv* 16:26, from Cod. X (Codex Sinaiticus, now M). It is found a second time, according to Field, in the text of that Codex at *v*, *ει τη δε αναφθηναι τη καταστασις*; this reading
being shared, according to Holmes-Parkers, by Cod. 18. 

Redpath, Consonance to the Proper Names of LXX', p. 7, this reference to v. 19 is missing. Though it appears in the Hebrew Bible three times in the famous chapter on the yearly Feast of the Atonement, lexicographers as yet completely disagree as to its explanation. The literal meanings of the term (cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs, 1900), explains the word as 'entire removal,' seeing in the form a 'redup.

intens. abstr. from ʿ[=EN] = Arbab. laz = remove' = 'entire removal' of sin and guilt from sacred places into the desert on the back of a goat, the symbol of entire forgiveness. This explanation is said to be proper another, which finds in it a proper name, either of a rough and rocky mountain (Yoma, 67b, וֹיָדָא יִתְיָדָא, of or of a spirit haunting the desert. The form bālaz in this case, considered as changed from בֵּאלֶז, בֵּאלָז, being another name of a fallen angel. The name is not found elsewhere in Hebrew. In the Syriac Bible it is pronounced 'azaza and explained by the lexicographers as another name of the deity to whom the Babylonians dedicated Mespupah, Beela, or Beela (cf. Thesaurus Syriacus, p. 2551). The name became well known among the Syrians as that of a martyr in the days of Maximian, identified with St. Pancras of the Western calendars; see 'Histoire de Saint Azazail, texte syriaque inédit avec introduction de traduction française précédée des actes grecs de Saint Pancrace, publiés pour la première fois par Frédéric Macler, Paris, 1902 (Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, fasc. 141), and cf. on it H. Delahaye, Analecta Biblica, xxiv. 85-95, and Brockelmann, ZDMG lvi. 493-50). Recently the whole conception has been derived from the Babylonians; cf. J. Dyneley Prince, 'Le Boue Emissaire chez les Babyloniens' (J.A. x. 2, 1, pp. 138-156, Ju.-Ac. 1903); but M. Posse, La Magie assyrienne, Paris, 1902, p. 85) seems to be right when he declares: 'Je ne puis rien voir de semblable.' If one reads Lv 16 with an open mind, the impression is that Azazel must be a being related to Jahweh in something of the same way as Ahriman to Ormazd, or Satan (Beelzebub) to God. To go into details on the text of Azazel, some of the things about the fallen angels (Gen 6:1-2) is outside the scope of this article.


not found among the other Semites and cannot be primitive. Corresponding to the original usage which limited the name ba’al to owners of things, the ba’alim are also the owners of objects and places, not the owners of persons. Lords of tribes or of individuals are not identified as a sitkum, 'adonim, wliaktnn, rabbnin, marin, but never ba’alim. One never meets Ba‘al-Isra‘el, Ba‘al-Maon, Ba‘al-Ammon, as one meets Ba‘al-Sidon, Ba‘al-Lebannon, Ba‘al-Moon, but instead El’ohi- or Melekh- Israel, Moab, Ammon.

In Bab-Assyr. the worshipper addresses his god as B‘ell, ‘my lord,’ or B‘elli, ‘my lady’ (cf. Madlone, Notre Dame); but this is not found in the Israelite usage. The personal name Ba‘al is used in places like Belti of Palmyra (de Vogüé, Jassar, Sémité, 1868, 62, 155). She is the consort of the Babylonian Bel, who is worshipped alongside of the native B¢l. The Ba‘al of Gebal appears in Greek and Latin writers as Béliis (=πηυς), Bøxens (Abdenurus in Müller, FHG iv 283, 9), Bǿyy (Hesychius, s.v.), Búxxa (Philo Byblius in FHG iii 509, 25), Béliis (CIL iii. Suppl. 10933, 10964); but this is never found in native Sem. inscriptions, and is due to the assimilation of the Greek genitive of Gebal with Béliis of Bâlîs of the Babylonians. The same is true of Ba‘alans (=πηυς), ‘our ba‘al,’ a title of Jupitter Heliopolitanus in Chron. Pasch. i. 561. It is noteworthy, however, that, while the worshipper does not speak of the god as ‘my ba‘al,’ he may call himself ‘slave of the ba‘al,’ e.g. in the Phen. proper names Abás-ba‘al, and the Palmyrene name Abdi-ba‘al.

Where ba‘al, ‘proprietor,’ is identified with mlek‘, ‘king,’ as is the case in certain Phenician inscriptions, this is due to syncretistic combination of the tribal god of the invading Semites with the local name of Tyre, and is analogous to the syncretism that is seen in such Heb. proper names as Ba‘al-Yah, ‘the ba‘al is Yahweh’ (1 Ch 12), or Yo‘ba‘al, ‘Jahweh is the ba‘al;’ if Kenemen’s restoration of Jg 9 be correct. Here Jahweh, the conquering god of Israel, is identified with one of the local ba‘als. Thus Melkart (=γηὺς, ‘king of the city,’ is called the ba‘al of Tyre (CIS 121, 35 257 ἐπισκεψα; ‘to our lord, to Melkart, the ba‘al of Tyre,’ CIS 123a, 39, ‘king-owner,’ a compound deity like Milk-Ash­ tart (CIS 123a, 147, 194, 380); Ba‘al-Makhtu, the name of a son of the king of Arvad (Kid ii. 173), perhaps the prototype of the obscure Ba‘al-ala­ga­qi of the treaty of Esarhaddon (KAT 3357); and Ba‘al-Malik, in whose honor a temple was dedicated at Carchemish (CIS, p. 155, the god ἐπισκεψα; ‘Ba‘al-Adonis’ occurs; cf. the proper name πιπιρ, Lat. Indrbotal (CIS 138), and Beal-nuppu (CIS i. i. 111). Such late combinations in Phenician do not invalidate the general conclusion that ba‘al as a divine name designates primarily the owner of a sanctuary and not the master of his worshippers.

If this be true, it follows that there are as many ba‘alim as there are sacred objects and sacred places which they inhabit. Except in late theological abstractions, there is no such thing as a god ba‘al in the plural. The OT speaks habitually of the ba‘alim in the plural (Jg 21 3 8; 18 10, 18 7 129, 18 18, 2 Ch 17 40 18 33 344, Jer 22 9b, Hos 8 4b 10 11); according to Jer 22 11, they were so numerous as to be the citizens of a city. They could not be understood of images of one god Ba‘al (so the older interpreters, and more recently Baethgen and Baudissin), for idols are never mentioned along with altars, standing stones, or asheras as gods. But it is quite clear that ba‘al in the singular is not to be treated as a plural of majesty like Elohim, for, unlike Elohim, when a divine name it is never construed as a singular.

It can be taken only as indicating a multitude of local numina. When the singular ba‘al is used, it requires a noun in the genitive to indicate which ba‘al is meant; e.g. Ba‘al-Ḥazor, Ba‘al-Sidon, Ba‘al-jarrān, even (PERS 3 526) that these are merely the local forms of one God Ba‘al, like the local forms of Zeus among the Greeks, is untenable, because there is no evidence that ba‘al ever became a proper name like Zeus, and because the Semites never combined names of gods with names of places in this fashion; e.g. we never meet such combinations as Askart-­Sidon, ‘Askart-Gebal’ to distinguish the various forms under which Askart was worshipped.

If it is used without a following genitive, it irregularly takes the singular article in the inscriptions. Thus the ba‘al of Jg 6 28, 28, 32, 11 is the local numen of Ophrah, ‘the ba‘al’ of 1 K 10 17, 26 27, 12, 21 23 24, 2 K 3 10 16 28 11 12 21 22, 17 31 25 29 10 (and the corresponding passages in Ch), Jer 29 7 11 17, 12 10 19 23 26 28, 13 26 9 11; Hos 20 19 13, Zeph 1 1 is Molkart, the ba‘al of Tyre, whose cult was introduced into Israel in the reign of Ahab (1 K 1611), whence it spread to Judah through the influence of Ahab’s daughter Athalith (1 K 22 34, 25, 2 K 3 27, 14 22). In these cases that the ba‘al means the image of one god Ba‘al, or that the article is used to distinguish the local manifestations of one deity (Baudissin, PRE 3 328).

In Babylonian, where there is no article, Bel alone, as a designation of Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, becomes a true proper name; but the usage is not found in the other dialects. The insertion of the article in the Heb. and Phen. shows that ba‘al has not yet lost its appellative force.

Only in proper names is the article with ba‘al omitted, e.g. in the place names Barmoth-ba‘al Kiyath-ba‘al in the Heb. personal names Jeru­ bba‘al, Išb‘ba‘al, Méri-ba‘al, Ba‘al-yada, Ba‘al-­ Yah, Ba‘al-hanan, and in numerous similar Phen. personal names, such as Ba‘al-hanan, Hanny-ba‘al, Ba‘al-yadon (see Bloch, Phen. Glossar. s. v. 72; Scholz, Glaubensdienst, 181 f.) ; but these formations do not prove that ba‘al is a proper name any more than the similar formations with ‘eb, ‘father,’ ‘ah, ‘brother,’ ‘am, ‘uncle,’ melk‘, ‘king,’ ‘adonim, ‘lord,’ prove that these words are personal names in Semitic. The article in these cases is due to the fact that these formations go back to a time when the article had not yet been developed in the various Semitic dialects. Ba‘al is no more a proper name in these compounds than ḫäs in analogous Greek names. In the same way we must consider the use of the article in names of gods compounded with ba‘al, e.g. Milk-ba‘al, Aḥdôn-ba‘al, Askarti-­shém­ ba‘al, Tamit-pen-ba‘al, perhaps Ba‘al-God and Ba‘al-Ziphôn (see below, ii. 8, 10). When Ba‘al without the article is mentioned in the Greek inscriptions, the context shows that only the local deity is meant. Even in the Occident no one god Ba‘al arose, but there were many local ba‘als, whose names were either transliterated or translated into Greek. In Latin Augus­ tus was still conscious of the appellative force of the name in Punic, when in his commentary on Judges (12 iii. 707) he translated ba‘al ‘dominus.’ Jerome in his commentary on Hos 5 translates it ‘èxov, id est habens’; and Servius (ad Æn. i. 621) says, lingua Punica et alia dividit; he was of opinion that these facts it is impossible to agree with Baethgen (Beiträge, p. 16) when he says, ‘It is clear that there was originally always one and the same Ba‘al, who stood in relation to various localities;’ (PERS 3 327); it is apparently originally a title of the male divinity in general. Afterwards, when a number of such divinities were worshipped alongside of one an-
other, this word became the designation of the chief god of each locality. On the contrary, in Sem. inscriptions and in Sem. literature, outside of Babylonia and Assyria, ba’al never loses its appellative force. Only in the theological speculations of Gr. and Lat. writers does Belus appear as a great god. This tendency is to be regarded as the work of the Greeks, who were ignorant of the primitive meaning of ba’al, and thus were able to identify all the Sem. ’b’alim with the Bab. Belus (see below, i. 7).

If there was no such thing as a god Ba’al, and this name designated merely the individual pro- prier of a particular sanctuary, then it is evident that the traditional identification of this deity with the sun has no foundation. It is true that the sun was the ba’al of certain places, as Larsa, Sippar, Helopolis (Ba’al-bek), Beth-shemesh; but this was only one of many kinds of ba’als. The moon was the ba’al of Ur, of Harran, of Palmyra, and perhaps also originally of Sinai (from Sin, the moon-god). Other gods of all sorts were ba’als of other places. If Ba’al-mesopot has anything to do with the sun, it is only a local use of the ba’al of certain places (see below, ii. 5). By the Greeks and the Romans the local ba’als were identified with Zeus, Saturn, and Herakles as well as Sol. Only in the speculations of late writers such as Macrobius, who are disposed to regard all gods as one or another form of the sun, was this identification with the sun. This theory has been revived and has been given wide currency in modern times (e.g. Creuzer, Symbolik u. Mythologik, ii. 413; Movers, Pflanzer, i. 183; Baedaeus, PEE 329 E), but is nevertheless destitute of scientific foundation. So also Baeleghin’s theory that ba’al was primarily the god of heaven (Beitrage, p. 264), or any other theory that identifies ba’al with a single god, goes to pieces on the fact that this word is not a proper name but an appellative.

In the light of these facts it appears that the ba’al cult carries us back to the polytheistic stage of religion (see Polytheism). Among the Semites, as among other ancient peoples, and as among savages in all parts of the world, every object in nature that could do something, or that was believed to be able to do something, was revered as divine. The objects of worship were conceived, after the analogy of human beings, as living persons consisting of soul and body. The phenomenon was thus the divine being of a spiritual, or sometimes even a physical, nature. In the case of celestial or atmospheric phenomena the name of the divinity was usually the same as that of the phenomenon (see below, ii. 3). Thus Shemesh was at once the sun and the sun-god; Ramman, the thunder and the thunder-god. In other cases the name was distinguished from the physical object by being called its ba’al. This is a striking difference between Indo-European and Semitic polytheism. Among the Indo-Europeans Dyaus, the laurel, is also the name of the nymph that the sacred oak at Nauplia, is also the name of its indwelling nymph: Athenae, the patron goddess of Athens, bears the same name as her city; but among the Semites the nymphae of a palm-tree are not called Tanur but *Ba’al-tanur* (Jg 22:24); the nymphae of a well, not *Pe’er* but *Ba’al-thoq-ba’er* (Jos 19:19); the nympha of a mountain, not Lebanon but *Ba’al-Lebanon* (CIS 5); the nympha of a city, not Sidon or Gebat but *Ba’al-Sidon* (CIS 3) and *Ba’al-Gebat* (CIS 177). This difference of conception is significant for the later development of Indo-European and Semitic religion. The Indo-European could never free himself from the identification of his gods with nature, and consequently the highest forms of his religion remained pantheistic. The Semite, on the other hand, was accustomed from the earliest times to distinguish between the object and its ba’al. His religion tended towards transcendentalism, and in its highest form among the Hebrews became pure theism. Apart from this more independent relation of Semitic naming towards the object, all religious objects and no objects at all apart from the objects or localities that they inhabited. Their cult was a lower stage of religion than polytheism, for they were not gods in any proper sense, but only *Bal’im, *Maniim, *spirits. Hence the name polytheism, which later writers apply to this sort of religion instead of the ambiguous term ’animism’ used by earlier writers. Out of the *ba’alim* gods might grow by groups of phenomena coming to be regarded as manifestations of a single power, or by a particular *ba’al* being identified with the sun or with a part of a city; but, apart from such developments, the *ba’alim* remained simply local deities.

ii. Classification of the Ba’als. — The ba’als might be classified, according to the physical objects which they inhabit, as terrestrial and celestial. Among the terrestrial ba’als we may enumerate:

1. Ba’als of springs. — For the primitive Semitic nomad in the desert the spring was the most wonderful object in nature. Its waters gushed miraculously from the earth, as did the holy spring of vegetation, to man, and to beast. On it the existence of the tribe depended, and about it as a centre the tribe rallied. It is no wonder, therefore, that it was revered as divine, and that its name was regarded as the mother of the tribe. In all branches of the Sem. race springs retained their sanctity down to the latest times.

The following sacred springs may be mentioned. — Among the Arabs: the Zemzem at Mecca (Wellhausen, Rote, 1921); among the Canaanites and Hebrews, Ba’al-eshib, ‘the spring of decision,’ an oncral fountain at Kadesh, ‘the sanctuary’ (Gen 14); Beer-lahai-roi, between Kadesh and the Jordan (Gen 21:32-33; Josh 11:5). Beer-sheba, near Kadesh, (Gen 21:32-33; Josh 11:5); En-eel, near Jerusalem, by the sacred stone Zophethel, where Adonijah offered sacrifices (1 Kg 1; 2 Sam 22:30). En-manah, the ‘gusher,’ an intermittent spring near Jerusalem, where Solomon was crowned (1 Kg 1), probably the same as Bethesda (Jo 5:2), and of which a Fountain of the Fruits is related (May 35). En-moqlay, a spring near Joppa, with superstitious reverence by the people of Jerusalem, the ‘Dragon’s Well,’ also near Jerusalem (Neh 2:9); Ba’al-sheemah, ‘spring of the so-called Mother of the Gods’ (1 Kg 18:3); Ba’al-me’or, the spring of the Holy of Holies, probably the sanctuary at the source of the Jordan at Panias (belonging to the god Pan), or Caesarea Philippi, the modern Banias. — Among the Phoenicians: a spring at Joppa connected with the myth of Persus and Andromeda (Papp. iv. 35; 9); the sanctuary of the springs Tibilis (Kohmannus Insur. 157); the nympha *Avhers* (< Heb 34, *overfowling spring*) in Philo Byb. (PhIG III 579f. frg. 4; 5); the river *Adonis* (< Heb 34, *my lord*), the modern Nahir Benhin, which bursts from a cave in the cliffs near the mouth of the *Ashdor* and *Adonis*, according to Lucian (Dea Sbr. 6) and Euseb. (Hist. const. iii. 55); the river *Arkispios* (the Gr. equiv. of the Heb. *El-Arka*), near *Nahr Ibrahim*, ed. Tobler, p. 4; Levy, Phyn. Stud. i. 521.— Among the Phoenicians, colonies. the spring *Massipia* (< Heb 34, *fountain*), the daughter of *Penerezza* and of Hиракlos (CIS 24); the spring *Kais* at *Syracuse* (Udod. Sic. v. 41), and the hot springs at *Himera*, in Sicily (ib. 11), both of which were connected with myths of Heracles. — Among the Phoenicians, Melfi, Phocaea, Gades, in Spain (Strab. iii. 7. 5; Piny. Hist 97 [100]), 219.— In Syria: *Mabug* (< Heb 34, *fountain*), the native name of Banubi or Hierapolis, and of the sanctuary of the *Avaroris*; the eunuch spring *Kanadha*, at *Antioch* (Zonc. Zorn, v. 19).— In Assyria: *Rash-Eanu*, *the fountain of Rash-Eanu* (Abu al-Aswad, Cal. Ed.). — Among the Persians and the Muslims and infidels, the holy springs have retained their holiness down to the present time, being regarded as the seats of Christian, Nestorian, Pechmeran and Muslim saintship; and in all parts of the Muslim world springs are still regarded as the abodes of pious spirits, whose favour is sought through sacrifice and offerings;
The sacred groves in India, often called "special trees" by the Hindus, were highly revered and held to have mystical properties. These groves were considered as "pure" and "sacred" spaces, devoid of pollution or harm. They were believed to be the dwelling places of deities and spirits, and any disturbance or harm to them was considered an offense. The belief in "special trees" often led to the preservation of these groves, ensuring their existence for generations. This practice of worshiping trees and groves continues to be prevalent in many cultures around the world, reflecting a deep connection between humanity and nature.
Boaz, 'Ezra', 'Zeuxis', 'Hudhah', 'wesel';
Ezra, 'Ezra';
Husniah,'Husniah';
Telam, 'lamb';
Jonah, 'dove';
Jeth, 'mountain goat';
Car and Cheren, 'lamb';
Chilchil, 'mountain goat';
Daghes, 'serpent';
Nimarch, 'leopard';
Susa, 'mare';
Eglah, 'gazelle.'

Among foxes, there is the springbaal, 'ba'al-ra'si' or 'ba'al-man,' of 1 Kings 5:15; 'Atayyrosis = Ba'al-Tebor (Genesius, Thes. exeg. 777);
Ba'al-Hermon (Jer 5:6; 1 Ch 5:5);
Zeus Karnaites = Ba'al, which still forms the religious centre of the Median world.

The divinities that inhabited these mountains were their 'ba'als.'

The name of 'ab, the harem of the goddess, is probably derived from the word 'ba'al.'

An Egyptian text speaks of the 'ba'al upon the mountains' (W. M. Müller, Alter Orient, p. 399).

In Canaan we find Ba'al-Pe'or (Num 25:5);
Ba'al-Peor (Ex 35:5);
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BAAL, In my i. Moreover, in town owner Ba'al-zdph On, is or does 'the town owner few The and, it There "Anion. more Balsame m God (but.of in its worshipped 442). Zenjirli, ordinarily 7ndni»n 6*), that be (Melanges, trary, is applicable to 32. (Ezk 347).

Sabrean in God is worshipped in Bar-zur, deity' (Is 32, 178), of Philistia, that rises off' (Ezk 34, 'rose' (Is 27, 369), 'broken' (Ezk 40, 'middle' (Is 24, 27), 'above the altars' (3 Ch 14, 594), that could be 'cut off' (Lv 26, 'broken' (Ezk 40, 'middle' (Is 24, 27), 'above the altars' (3 Ch 14, 594), that could be 'cut off' (Lv 26, 178), of Philistia, that rises off' (Ezk 34, 'broken' (Ezk 40, 'middle' (Is 24, 27), 'above the altars' (3 Ch 14, 594), that could be 'cut off' (Lv 26, 347).

The sanctuary of Shaddai, 'rock' refers to a meteoric stone or supposed 'thunderbolt' that was revered as a fetish.

The sacred stone was regarded as the residence of the dwelling and, therefore was known as beth el, 'abode of deity' (cf. Gn 17:12-22, where Jacob calls the stone that lies set up beth el, and Gn 31:12, where God says, 'I am the God of Bethel, where thou didst anoint the stone, and where thou madest a vow'). This name for holy stones was common also among the Phoenicians, from whom it spread to the Greeks and the Romans as beth or, ba'el (see Struve).

The divine proprietor of the 'house of deity' was its ba'el, just as the human owner of a house was its ba'at, e.g. Ba'al-hammân, 'owner of the stele', in the numerous Punic inscriptions referred to above. The form Ba'al-massâ/bah does not happen in any other form to be perfectly in accord with Sem. habits of thought, and is the necessary counterpart to the conception of the massâ/bah as a beth el. 6. Ba'al of sanctuaries. - In a few cases, apparently, the ba'at is not named from the sacred object in which he is supposed to reside, but from the sanctuary. The Sabean goddess Đhât Himâ, 'she of the holy ground' (ZDMG, 1877, p. 84), thus takes her name from her temenos. A similar formation seems to be found in m n ā nā (CIS 41), with which Renn is probably to be rendered 'Ba'at el of the inner sanctuary.' After this analogy also we should perhaps interpret Ba'ad-dîr (= 7în 'ayîb), who was worshipped at Siqus, in Numidia (CIL viii. 5279; Suppl. 19121-1923). If Ba'al-zebul is the correct rendering of Ba'âr el-Zubal (see above, 3), then this 'ba'at of the dwelling' may take his name from the sanctuary in which he was worshipped (but see below, 8).

7. Ba'al of places. - In the foregoing cases we are told what the particular natural phenomenon was with which the ba' at was connected. In other cases the phenomenon is not mentioned, but the ba'at is named from the place in which he was worshipped. Thus in Canaan we find Ba'al-Mé'con (Nu 3256, Jos 13:18, Ezk 43, 1 Ch 5), Ba'al-Shalishah (2 K 12), Ba'al-Hazor (2 S 13:18); in Phoenicia, Ba'al-Sidôn (CIS 3), Ba'al-Tyre (Hoffman, AG 3000, 180), Ba'al-Be'or (CIL viii. 177); in Syria, Belos of Apamea (CIL xii. 1277); in Minor, Ba'al-Tarsus (Scholz, Götzenland, 149), Ba'al-Gazur (Head, Hist. Num. 631). In all these cases we must suppose that the divinity was connected with some striking physical phenomenon, only we are not told what the phenomenon was. There is no name of the town where it was located. Sometimes we know from other sources that there were sacred springs, trees, or stones in the places in question.

8. Celestial ba'als. - The object with which the divinity was connected was not necessarily situated on the earth; it might be the sky, one of the heavenly bodies, or some atmospheric phenomenon. Thus in Palmyrene, Phoenician, and Punic inscriptions we often find mention of Ba'âl-sh'mayin, Ba'al-shâmmâm. This name is not derived from shâmâ, 'sun,' but may have an analogous strength of identifications of this god with the sun by late Greek writers, but is derived from shâmâyim, 'sky,' as Augustine (Quast. in. Adv. xvi. 1) correctly translates, Balsameni quorum dominus coeli Punic celt, daturas diei, "the abode of Heaven' in any abstract theological sense, but the one who lives in the sky. It is thus the exact equivalent of the Sabean god, Đhât-Sâmâtâ, 'he of the sky.' Ba'al-Shâmmâm is the Sem. counterpart of Varuna, Oannes, among the Indo-Europeans. It is noteworthy, however, that, while the latter worships the sky directly, the former worship the ba'at of the sky (Liddellarzi, Ephemeris, i. 3).

Closely connected with Ba'al-shâmmâm in conception is Ba'al-zephôn (zâphôn), 'owner of the north.' This was also worshipped at Memphis (W. M. Müller, Asia u. Europa, p. 315). In the annals of Tiggath-pileser iii. (KIB ii. 20 f.) a peak of Lebanon bears the name Ba'al-zâryûnu (cf. Sargon, Annotations, 204). In the treaty between Ba'al, King of Tyre, and Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, one of the gods mentioned is Ba'al-zâryûnu (KAT 337). There was a town Zaphôn in Gad (Jos 13:7, Jg 12), also in Southern Palestine (KIB v., No. 174, 16), but it does not seem likely that this can have been the location from either of these insignificant places, since its cult spread all the way from Phoenicia to Egypt. Zaphôn is rather an abbreviation of Ba'al-zaphôn, and that in its turn of Bethê-ba'al-zaphôn, just as we find the series Melô, Ba'Mâ-ôn, and Bethê-ba'al-Mâ-ôn (Nu 332, 2, Jos 15). Moreover, Zaphôn alone occurs as the name of a deity in the Phen, proper names 2572 from Abydos (CIS 108), 2572 from Carthage (CIS 265), 2265 from Carthage (CIS 267, 357). The last name is Ba'al-zâphôn, with the element zôphôn ('client of Zaphôn'), appears also as the name of an eponym in the time of Ashurbanipal (KIB i. 207, iv. 130). These names throw light upon the Heb. proper names Zaphôn, Zaphôn, Zophônites, Zôphôn. If Zaphôn is a god, we may either suppose with Gray (Heb. Pr. Names, p. 135) that this is a case of compounding two divine names, like Jahwë-Hollow, or, more probably, we may regard Zaphôn, 'the north,' as an object that might either be worshipped directly or be regarded as the abode of a deity, so that the god might be called either entirely Zaphôn or Ba'at-Zaphôn. The sanctity of the north as the dwelling-place of the gods is widely attested among the Semites (154); cf. Ba'at, Beitrage, p. 22; Baudissin, Studien, i. 278). Ba-al-
pîphôn, ‘owner of the north,’ accordingly, is nearly synonymous with Ba‘al-śabāl, ‘owner of the sky,’ of the Phen. pantheon: the two deities existed side by side (KAT¹ 357). The name Ba‘al-śabāl, ‘owner of the dwelling’ (see above, 3 and 6), may be given with reference to this heavenly abode rather than with reference to an earthly palace (cf. 3 and 4).

The worship of the sun, moon, and stars was universal among the ancient Semites (cf. Baethgen, Beiträge, p. 61; Grunwald, Eigennamen, pp. 30–35; Jastrow, Rel. Bab.² p. 134, 151; KAT³ pp. 361–370); but, as noted above, it was not customary to speak of a ‘sun god’ as we have seen of the bull of the ba‘al of the sky or the ba‘al of the north. Like animals, they seemed to possess personality, and were worshipped directly as gods rather than as the abodes of gods. By the Hebrews they were spoken of collectively, not as the ba‘alim, but as ‘the host of heaven. The same holds true of atmospheric phenomena. Ra’mman, ‘thunder’ (KAT² 442); Reqem, ‘storm’; Baraq, ‘lightning’ (KAT² 446); Resheph, ‘flame’ (KAT² 478); Ra‘bōh, ‘thunderbolt’ (?); Baraq, ‘hail’; Mašar, ‘rain’; and many other names, which are explained by the manner of the ‘stiff’ or ‘frost,’ are shown by the evidence of proper names to have been objects of worship in all branches of the Semitic race (Grunwald, Eigennamen, p. 281). These phenomena are worshipped directly. Ramman, Reqem, Baraq, and Mašar are worshipped under their own names, and besides Ba‘al-Ramman or Ba‘al-Reqem as the name of a god, although such formations are common in names of men (see below, 9). In this respect Semitic and Indo-European nature-worship were strictly parallel (see Aramis, 1 1).

9. Adopted ba‘alim.—Celestial and atmospheric phenomena that could not be reached in their proper abodes like terrestrial ba‘alim often had sanctuaries built for them on earth, and thus by a sort of adoption became the ba‘alim of these places. Thus Dib-śabāq, ‘he of the sky,’ appears in the Sabean inscriptions also as ba‘al of Ḫabīq; and in like manner Ba‘al-śabāmīn, ‘owner of the sky,’ is ba‘al of Tyre (KAT² 357), of the Phoenician colonies (Baethgen, Beitr. p. 25), and of Palmyra (de Vogüé, op. cit. 59). Ba‘al-śabāmīn, ‘owner of the sky,’ is also a name of Egypt and of Phoenicia. Shauw, ‘the sun,’ is in the Sabean inscriptions also ba‘al of Gufslat (CIS iv. 11.1) and ba‘al of Gabbaran (CIS iv. 43.3). The sun was the ba‘al of Ba‘al-ḥek (Hellenopolis), and the sun-goddess was Ḫabbīt, the ‘heat of the sun.’ In Sin, the moon-god, was the Ḫel of Ur and Ḫarran (Lidzbarski, Nordsem. Epig. p. 444, pl. xxiv.), and in Palmyra a god bore the name Yarchi-ḥal (v.97), ‘the moon is ba‘al.’ On a Syrian seal (Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, i. 12) the name Ba‘al-Reqem appears, which shows that in some districts Reqem, ‘the storm,’ had become the local ba‘al. Similarly, various ʿādhanīm, ʿ&tākkīm, ashtarāth, and other tribal gods, that had originally no connexion with physical phenomena, might become the ba‘alim of certain places directly that the original worshippers settled in these places. Thus Ḥabab tawāne became the local Ba‘al of Canaan, Melkert for the Phoenicians the ba‘al of Tyre, and ʿAshṭart for the Gebalites the ba‘al of Gebal. Certain local ba‘alim also became so important that their cults migrated to other cities, so that they became the ba‘alim of these new places. Under the name of Zeus Aţabγyrios the cult of Ba‘al-Talor spread to Rhodes and Sicily (Baudouin, Studien, ii. 217). Zeus Kassōl (b‘al Kassōl) was also the ba‘al of Palatinum (Strabo, iii. 1). Müller, Fig. p. 568). Melkert, the ba‘al of Tyre, was also worshipped at Carthage and the other Phen. colonies. Ba‘al-Ḥarran was also one of the gods of Sam‘al (Lidzbarski, Nordsem. Epig. 444, pl. xxiv.). In such cases as these, where ba‘alim were not originally connected with sanctuaries, but became the propitiators by adoption, the names have individual personal names; ordinarily they were nameless, and were known merely by the locality in which they had their abode.

10. Departmental ba‘alim.—The ba‘alim studied thus far have been a series of ‘proprietors’ of certain physical objects or places. This usage of the divine name corresponds to the meaning ‘owner’ or ‘citizen’ of the common noun ba‘al. The question now arises whether the divine name is also used like the common noun in connection with certain deities. Of such names, which predominate over abstract qualities or activities, are very common in the Indo-European religions, and by Usener (Gotternamen) have been entitled ‘departmental deities.’ Of the existence of such ba‘alim in the Semitic religions there is no clear evidence. At the temple of Deir el-Qa‘lī, near Beirut, inscriptions have been found in honour of Ba‘almarākūt, Ba‘almarawī. This name is translated κόμαρον κόμων, ‘leader of dances’ (le Bas, 1855= Kaeffel, Ephg. Gr. 833), which indicates that the god, of which the ba‘al is a derivative of raqād, ‘dance,’ and may express the abstract idea of ‘dancing.’ This interpretation seems to be favoured by the Greek translation. In this case we have a ba‘al who presides over the temples and fêtes. According to them, deities.—Similarly, however, marginal notes ‘dancing-place,’ and may have been the name of the locality where the temple was situated. ‘Owner of the dancing-place’ could easily have been paraphrased in Greek as ‘leader of dances.’ In this case we have simply a ba‘al who takes his name from the locality where he is worshipped, like all the other ba‘alim we have studied thus far.

In an inscription from Cyprus (CIS 41) we meet ʾra‘ ad-a ms. This is commonly read Ba‘al-marāpē, ‘possessor of healing,’ or Ba‘al-marāpē, ‘heal the healer,’ in which case we have another departmental ba‘al; but marāpē, ‘healing-place,’ or marāpē, ‘healer,’ may equally well have been the name of a medicinal spring of which this ba‘al was the owner. This will then be a local ba‘al of the familiar type.

In Jg 5.11 ba‘al is also a ba‘al of Carpathia of Egypt and of Phoenicia. Ba‘al-ḥereth (cf. 12. El-ḥereth). This is commonly interpreted ‘Ba‘al of the covenant.’ The ‘covenant’ is then understood of the relation between the deity and his worshippers (Baethgen, Sayce), or of an alliance of two cities (Berthelot, Kittel), or of an alliance between Shechem and neighbouring Canaanite towns (Ewald, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Cheyne), or of agreements in general, as Ze‘ēr Ṭēṣoph (Nomdēk, LDMG xlii., 1888, p. 478). On any of these interpretations the name stands without confirmation elsewhere in the OT, and without analogy in the whole field of Semitic religion. Under these circumstances it is reasonable to suspect textual corruption in the passage in Judges. Instead of ʾna‘a, b‘rēth, we should perhaps read Ḫa‘a, ʾna‘a, b‘rēth, ‘heals.’ Ba‘al-b‘rēth would then be the counterpart of Ba‘al-hét (cf. 6. El-bérēth). It is also the name of a god in Is 65:4, probably also in the proper names Mīgdal-Ba‘al (Jos 15:52) and Gaddī-E (Nt 13:8), Gaddi (Nt 13:8), and the tribal name Gaddī. The name Gaddı-melek, ‘Gad is king,’ occurs on a
deity, but is not used elsewhere. A trace of the old religious meaning of the word survives, however, in Ba'al, 'fear,' in the Semitic name Ba'al occurs as designation of the god of the mountain. Thus 'yfûnîn, 'in the presence of the Ba'al' (Euting, Sin. Inschr. 327); also in proper names, e.g., 'Amlaba'î, Garmi-ba'î, 'Abilba'î (see Euting).

In Nabatean the name occurs in Ba'al-Shamin (CIS 183, cf. 176) and in the personal names Atti-bel (CIS 190) and Ba'al-Adhôn (CIS 192). This Ba'al apparently has been borrowed from Syria. In classical Arabic ba'al is not used as a title of deities. From this W. R. Smith (109 ff.) infers that the ba'âtim were deities of the watered land, of agriculture, etc., and were known to the desert Semites, and were first worshipped in the fruitful lands of Syria and Mesopotamia. This conclusion is unwarranted, (1) because, as noted above, the ba'âtim cannot be limited to watered land, and ba'âtim of trees, stones, mountains, celestial bodies, etc., can be worshipped in the desert as well as anywhere else; (2) because there is no evidence that the phrase ba'âl, or what the ba'âl waters (= Ahtar-land) or a ba'âl-pan, is borrowed from the Aramaic; (3) because the usages of the Christian Igal have the cross as their ba'âl, and the verb ba'âl, 'be ba'âl-struck, frightened'; (4) because the sacred mountain Serobât is probably a compound of sar and ba'âl. These are sufficient reasons for thinking that the designation of deities in Arabic, although in the classical literature it has dropped out of use (so Noldeke, ZDMG xxl, 1886, p. 174; Wellhausen, Reste, p. 146; art. Arabe, I. 9). Instead of ba'âl, dhîl, which has already begun to displace it in Sabean and Missayan, is commonly used in Arabic in forming titles of gods, e.g., Dhîl-âholasa, Dhîl-Rigil, Dhîl-Kafrain, Dhîl-Årama, Dhîl-Ameât, Dhîl-Labba, Dhîl-Ålama, Dhîl-sh-Shard. All these adverb the divine in question as belonging to the particular or locality, and are thus the exact equivalent of ba'âl names. On Dhîl-sh-Shard, Wellhausen (p. 51) remarks that three Shfras are known, all wooded thickets with water. This god was widely worshipped in Arabia (Wellhausen, op. cit. pp. 48-51), and was the chief god of the Nabataeans (Baethgen, Aarb. iv. 17). The primitive religion of Arabia was evidently the worship of a multitude of local numina. Subsequently, through trade and shifting of population, cults migrated, and gods became ba'âls of regions far removed from their original country. Thus at Mecca, in the time of the Prophet, there were 360 different gods. Under Islam these old ba'âlms still survive as the jinn (W. R. Smith, 119 ff.) and the âliu (Zwemer, Arabia, p. 47 ff.).

2. In Canaan.—The earliest evidence of the ba'âl-cult in Canaan is found in the Egyptian inscriptions, where ba'âl (ba'al) is mentioned as a god of the Canaanites and of the Hyksos invaders (see E. Meyer, Set-Typikon, p. 47; ZDMG xxxi, 1877, p. 725; W. M. Müller, Asien, p. 320). In the Tell-el-Amarna letters the ba'âl of Gebel is frequently mentioned (KIB, nos. 18, 25, 55 ff.; 61, 54). Ba'al does not occur. In the personal names Bel-ge'bir and Bel-ram, the god may be the Babylonian Bel. It is probable that the ideogram IM in these letters should often be read Be'il instead of Adad (Hommel, Alter. Überlief. p. 229; Knudtzon, Beitr. Ass. u. syr. f. 320 f.; Zimmern, KAT 337). The OT says that the ba'âlms were the gods of the Canaanites, and that they were adopted by Israel after the conquest of the land (Jg 2, 10, Hos 13, 15; 2 Sm 5, 2). Consequently it is possible to learn a good deal about them from survivals in Israel. With the exception of Ba'al-Judah (2 Sm 6), and possibly Ba'al-Gad (Jos 11, 1), all the place names

Heb. seed; Gu'tla-ba'âl Gâd-ba'âl (Hoffmann, Phen. inscr. 27) and such names as Gâd-ya, Gâd-Itâ, in Assyrian business documents (Johns, Dec., No. 275, 3, 197, etc.). For the curious and god也被記載為Ba'al-Gad,困难性之精子形成之名稱為Gad,‘the owner,’ and the place where the name was first mentioned, after which the difficulty would be solved; but there are no trustworthy analogies for such a procedure. Baethgen (Beitr. pp. 79, 254) regards this as a case of the synthesis of two deities, like 'Ashkar-Chemosh, 'Attar-'Ata, Jâshish-Elohîm; but this implies that ba'âl had become a proper name, and of this there is no evidence among the Hebrews or among any of the other West Semites until a late period. According to Baethgen, the name of the god, in the sense of the idea (i. 272 n.) the analogy of the other ba'âls, and to regard Gâd as the name of the district occupied by the tribe of Gâd. The name of Ba'al-Gad will then be parallel to Ba'al-Judah. Even if Ba'al-Gad were to be taken as the name of the tribe of Gâd, this would make no difference, for, as we have just seen, ba'âl frequently migrated.

The name ðîbî (CIS 806b, 4) is commonly regarded as the equivalent of Heb. Ba'al-yâmin, 'owner of days,' and is supposed to be a sort of Sem. Kronos. The reading is very uncertain, and the name may be the equivalent of Ba'al-yamim, 'owner of the seas.'

These are all the cases that can be cited of apparent departmental ba'âls. All are capable of an interpretation which makes them local ba'âls of the familiar type. Accordingly we are probably justified in concluding that ba'âls who presided over human activities or abstract qualities were unknown to Semitic thought. Such functions belonged rather to 'âdûtôm, mâlkhôn, and other triform names, and to the gods of the Phoenicians, was the god of healing, and Ishar of Babylon was known as Mâlîlidîtù, Myîlîtta, the goddess of childbirth. From our investigation, we reach the conclusion that the ba'âlms were originally ba'âl, 'the divine,' and that the only sense in which ba'âl was used as a divine name was that of 'owner' or 'proprietor.'

iii. HISTORY OF THE BA'AL-CULT.—1. In Arabia.—In South Arabian inscriptions ba'âl is constantly used to describe the great gods as 'proprietors' of particular shrines established in their honour. Thus, Ta'labiyam, ba'âl of Tur'at, or ba'âl of Kôdûman; Ḥâgâr, ba'âl of Maryâb; Imaâkkâh, ba'âl of 'Awânum, or ba'âl of Barânum; 'Abîtar, ba'âl of Alâm; Shâmâ, ba'âl of Gujufât, or ba'âl of Gâblan (CIS iv. 2, 3, 31, 1, 19, 21, 28, 1f., 41, 21, 43, 2f., 46, 5, 67, 3, 74, 3f., 80, 2f., 90, 1f., 100, 1). These names all belong to the ninth class noted above, 'adopted ba'âl.' To express the primary relation of a god to the physical objects that he inhabits, or the sanctuary where he is originally at home, the Minean and Sabean inscriptions use ðîhî (fem. ðîhtî), 'he of,' 'she of.' Thus instead of Ba'al-Shâmâm we meet Dhît-Sâmâmî, 'he of the sky,' who is also ba'âl of Baqûr; and similarly Dhît 'Hûmûr, Dhît-Ba'âl-dû, Dhît-Mûsûmî, or even the ba'âls of various shrines (CIS iv. 145, 155).

In Ethiopic ba'âl occurs as a loan-word in the version of the OT as a name of the Canaanithis
in the O.T. compounded with ba'\textit{\textit{al}} were probably derived from the earlier inhabitants. The original form of such names was like \textit{Beth-ba'\textit{\textit{al-Ma\textsuperscript{o}on}}, 'house of the owner of Ma'on} (Jos 13\textsuperscript{14}), which might then be abbreviated into \textit{Ba'al-Ma\textsuperscript{o}on} (Nu 32\textsuperscript{3b}) or \textit{Beth-Ma\textsuperscript{o}on} (Jer 48\textsuperscript{26}). The following names occur: \textit{Ba'al-ba'\textit{\textit{al}} (Note 13\textsuperscript{14}), 1 Ch 4\textsuperscript{24}, Ba'\textit{\textit{al-}}Jezreel (Jos 15\textsuperscript{14}), Ba'\textit{\textit{al}}-Shalishah (2 K 4\textsuperscript{24}), Ba'al-tamar (Jgs 20\textsuperscript{13}), and \textit{Baal-hanan (Ca 8\textsuperscript{14})}. These \textit{Ba'al} names are found in Benjamin, Gad, Judah, Simeon, Reuben, Dan, so that they witness to a general diffusion of the \textit{ba'al}-cult throughout Canaan. There must have been innumerable other \textit{ba'al} whose names have not come down to us, since, according to Jer 2\textsuperscript{11} 29\textsuperscript{9}, they were as numerous as the towns, and were worshipped on every high hill and under every green tree. The existence of \textit{ba'al}-worship in Philistia is attested by the name \textit{Ba'al-zebub} (\textit{Ba'al-zebub}) at Ekron (2 K 19\textsuperscript{27}); in Edom by the names \textit{Ba'al} and \textit{Ba'al-Zama\textsuperscript{1}}; in Moab by the names \textit{Ba'al-Peeor} (Nu 2\textsuperscript{27}), \textit{Ba'\textit{\textit{al}}-Baal} (Nu 22\textsuperscript{4}), \textit{Beth-ba'al-Ma\textsuperscript{o}on} (Jos 13\textsuperscript{14}), \textit{Mishal Iscr. lines 9, 30}; in Ammon perhaps by the personal name \textit{ba'al} (Jer 40\textsuperscript{34}); see \textit{AMMONITES}. The \textit{ba'al} who were worshipped in the fertile region of Canaan were regarded as the protectors of the various classes of cultivators, as the givers of wool and flax, oil and wine, grains, vineyards, and fig-trees (Hos 25\textsuperscript{12}; 25\textsuperscript{14}); but it is unsafe to infer from this that all the \textit{ba'al} of Canaan had an agricultural character. As the names just enumerated show, there were also \textit{ba'al} of springs, trees, mountains, and cities that did not necessarily have such a character. The Old Testament often combines the \textit{baal} with the \textit{\textit{ash}ter\textit{\textit{oth}}, in such a way as to suggest that the \textit{\textit{ash}ter\textit{\textit{oth}} were regarded as the consorts of the local \textit{baal} (e.g. Jg 21\textsuperscript{20}, 1 S 7\textsuperscript{13}). Perhaps we may suppose that, under the influence of the meaning 'husband,' which the common noun \textit{baal} had, every \textit{baal} was regarded as the 'husband' of an \textit{\textit{ash}ter\textit{\textit{oth}}. It was the introduction of this sexual element into the \textit{baal}-cult of Canaan that made it peculiarly obnoxious to the prophets, and led them to stigmatize it as adultery (Am 2\textsuperscript{2}, Hos 4\textsuperscript{14, 17}). The places where the \textit{baal} were worshipped were known as \textit{baalim}, 'high places' (see \textit{HIGH PLACE}, p. 20); the place-names \textit{baalim} (Nu 22\textsuperscript{4}) and \textit{Be'alim} (Num 21\textsuperscript{16}) belong to the \textit{\textit{ash}ter\textit{\textit{oth}}. Inhabitants of Petra have discovered at Petra a rock-hewn high places that have lately been discovered; these give a good idea of the arrangement of such sanctuaries (see \textit{Robinson, Bible World, 1869, pp. 8-21}). Such high places contained altars, \textit{doh\textit{\textit{rin}}, marish\textit{\textit{ith}}, and benu\textit{\textit{min}} (Jg 6\textsuperscript{7}, 2 Ch 14\textsuperscript{2, 4, 14-24, 34-37}). Idols are not mentioned in connection with the \textit{baalim}, and were probably not found in most of the high places. They belonged rather to the temples of the great gods. The existence of altars implies sacrifice. The offerings were doubtless animal sacrifices, which later on grew into the developed Hebrew cult, and to the offerings of the Phoenicians. Hos 2\textsuperscript{2} indicates that grain, new wine, oil, silver and gold were presented to the \textit{baalim}. Hos 2\textsuperscript{19} speaks of 'the days of the \textit{baalim} unto which she (Israel) burned incense, when she decked herself with her ear-rings and her jewels, and went after her lovers' (see \textit{CANAANITES}).

3. In Israel.—The conquest of Canaan by Israel was a process extending over several centuries. The Hebrews did not discriminate the aborigines, but certain clans forced their way through the wilderness into the land, and occupied the rural districts, while the cities remained in the hands of the Canaanites. For some time there was constant warfare between the two races, but gradually hostilities ceased and they began to mingle. Little by little Israel acquired agriculture, industries, and all the other forms of Canaanitish civilization. With this came inevitably the adoption of the worship of the local gods of Canaan. Agriculture could not be carried on without observing the ceremonies that became associated with the planting of the grain and the reaping of the harvest; altars, sacrificial trees, and holy stones in all parts of the land could not be appropriated without taking with them the divinities that belonged to them. As the Book of Judges and the early prophets repeatedly lament, 'Israel served the \textit{\textit{baal}}', that is, alongside of Jahweh the national god it also worshipped the local numina of the land that it had conquered. Through this process it was in danger of losing the measure of national unity that had been achieved by Moses, and of splitting up into a number of small communities that rallied about the local \textit{baal}. Consciousness of this peril was awakened through the rapid development of the Philistine power. About B.C. 1050 the Philistines conquered Israel, taking captive the richest town, Ashkelon, and the city of many shafts (Jer 20\textsuperscript{29}). Hebrew nationality was now in danger of extinction, and the only thing that could save it was a union of all the clans in a supreme effort to shake off the Philistine yoke. No one of the \textit{baalim} of Canaan was important enough to form a central power to challenge the rule of the Pharaoh of Sin, who had brought Israel out of Egypt, and who had united the clans in a common cult in the desert, was able once more to rally them for the common defence. The leaders of Hebrew thought perceived that the only way to save Israel was to forsake the \textit{baalim} and to return to Jahweh. Some extremists, such as the Kenites and the Nazirites, wished also to reject agriculture, life in towns, and the other elements of Canaanitish civilization that were associated with the \textit{\textit{baalim}}; but the wisest men saw that it was impossible to return to the life of the desert. If the \textit{\textit{baalim}} were to be conquered, it could only be by appropriating to the service of Jahweh all that had hitherto belonged to them. Through the efforts of the Levites, the so-called 'Judges,' or Vindicators, the Seers, and other enthusiasts for Jahweh, He finally triumphed over the \textit{\textit{baalim}}, not by avoiding them, or by destroying them, but by absorbing them. The name \textit{baal} became a synonym of Jahweh, and the \textit{\textit{baalim}} were regarded as manifestations of Jahweh. He ceased to be the God of Sinai and became the God of Canaan, the patron of agriculture and civilization. The ancient shrines of the land became His shrines, and the legends connected with them were retold as stories of His dealings with the patriarchs. The agricultural ritual and the harvest festivals of the \textit{\textit{baalim}} were re-consecrated to His service. By the time of David the process was complete. Jahweh had appropriated everything that belonged to the \textit{\textit{baalim}} that were associated with the god of Israel. And David interprets the name \textit{Ba'al-\textit{\textit{priazim}} as meaning 'Jahweh hath broken mine enemies before me like the breach of waters.'

This process of syncretism has left an interesting monument in some personal names of the period of the early monarchy. These are as follows: \textit{Ish\textit{\textit{baal}}, 'the \textit{\textit{baal} contends'}} (Jg 8\textsuperscript{30}); \textit{Is\textit{\textit{baal}}, 'man of the \textit{\textit{baal,' a son of Saul (1 Ch 28\textsuperscript{2}), also one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11\textsuperscript{2}); Mer\textit{\textit{baal}}, a son of Jonathan (1 Ch 11\textsuperscript{2}); Ba'\textit{\textit{al}} knows son of David (1 Ch 14\textsuperscript{14}); \textit{Ba'al}\textit{\textit{sham}, 'the \textit{\textit{baal}} is gracious,' a Gederite (1 Ch 27\textsuperscript{2}).} No names of this type are found after the time of David. In most of these cases it is certain that \textit{\textit{baal}} is not a foreign god, but a title of
Jahweh, who has become the ba'\={a}l of Canaan, since Jerub-ba'al, Saul and David, were all loyal and faithful to him, is nothing but 'ba'\={a}l Jahweh,' the name of one of David's helpers (1 Ch 12*), the identity of the ba'\={a}l with Jahweh is asserted; so also in Yo-ba'al (Jg 9*), if Kuenen's emendation be correct. These names accordingly belong to the time when the Canaanites were conquering the b'\={a}l'\={a}nim by identifying them with Jahweh. In popular conception in the time of Hosea the b'\={a}l'\={a}nim were not foreign gods, but local Jahwehs. Hos 2* says that Israel has called Jahweh ba'\={a}l, and 2* identify the feasts of Jahweh as the days of Israel's ba'\={a}l. This was a result of this process the b'\={a}l'\={a}nim lost their power, and Jahweh became the God of Canaan; but the victory was purchased at the cost of a mixture of the religion of Jahweh with all sorts of alien elements. The early prophets faced the problem how to maintain the supremacy of Jahweh; the later prophets from Amos onward faced the problem how to purge the religion of Jahweh from the heathen innovations that had entered it. Their efforts were only partially successful, and Judaism, as we know it, is the result of the efforts of the rabbis. The Law, properly regarded as a compromise between Prophectism and Ba'\={a}lism.

A totally different sort of ba'\={a}l-cult was the worship of Melkart, ba'\={a}l of Tyre (see below, 4), which was only absorbed into the ba'\={a}l'\={a}nim by the king of Tyre, Ahab. Pressed by repeated attacks of Damascus, Ahab was constrained to seek the help of Phoenicia, and formed an alliance by marrying Jezebel, the daughter of Ethba'al, king of Tyre (1 K 16*). Such a relation of dependence usually involved the worship of the chief god of the protector (see e.g. 2 K 10*); consequently Ahab was compelled to establish the cult of Melkart in Samaria (1 K 16*).

Against this religious innovation Elijah and Elisha warred (1 K 18. 19*; 2 K 9. 10). There is no record that either of these prophets opposed the old native b'\={a}l'\={a}nim that were identified with Jahweh. The golden bullock at Bethel, for instance, they never attacked as Hosea did subsequently; but the ba'\={a}l of Tyre was a foreign god, and to worship him was to repudiate Jahweh (1 K 18); hence the intensity of the opposition of these prophets. According to 1 K 18, Elijah was successful, and in agreement with this we learn from the annals of Shalmaneser II. that in B.C. 856 Ahab was no longer in alliance with Phoenicia, but was highly regarded as the true successor of the Phoenicians and the Phcenicians. According to 1 K 20, the prophetic and popular sentiment was sufficiently strong in Israel to compel Ahab to give up the Phoenicians and their god and seek this new ally. Subsequently Ahab must have repudiated the Syrian alliance and have re-established relations with Phoenicia, for he died fighting against the Syrians (1 K 22*). After his death, under the influence of the queen-mother, Jezebel, Ahab's son Joram, continued this work, and raised Tyre's influence once more in full force (1 K 22*). This cost the dynasty of Omri the throne. Instigated by Elisha, Jehu slew Jezebel and her son Jehoram, and exterminated the worship of Melkart with fire and sword (2 K 9. 10). Immediately after this, in B.C. 842, we find him paying tribute to Assyria instead of Phoenicia, apparently on terms that did not demand the worship of Ashur. Melkart never again gained a foothold in the northern kingdom. The problem which confronted Amos and Hosea was not the existence of the foreign deity, but the purification of the religion of Jahweh from admixture with rites of the ancient b'\={a}l'\={a}nim of Canaan. The worship of the Tyrian ba'\={a}l was introduced into Judah by Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel (1 K 22*), 2 K 9*, doubtless as the price of a revolution in which the Canaanite allusions in the genealogy of the king. In the subsequent revolution that was incited by the priests Athaliah perished, and all the people of the land went into the house of the ba'\={a}l and brake it down; his altars and his images were utterly destroyed, and the priest of the ba'\={a}l before the altar* (2 K 11*). In the re-erecture of all sorts of heathenism under Manasseh, the Tyrian ba'\={a}l was once more worshipped (2 K 21*). To this Jeremiah and Ezekiel allude whenever they speak of the ba'\={a}l in contrast to the ba'\={a}l'\={a}nim. Under Josiah, what was stamped out (2 K 23*), and did not again gain a foothold in Judah. It was a foreign religion that never appealed strongly to the mass of the people.

With the old b'\={a}l'\={a}nim of Canaan it was very different. They were thoroughly identified with Jahweh in the conception of that nation that it was unconscious of apostasy in worshiping them. All the efforts of the pre-exilic prophets to banish them were unsuccessful. Under the reign of every good king, and after every attempted reformation, the records show that the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places. The Book of Deuteronomy and the reformation of Josiah had for their central aim the destruction of the high places, the centralization of worship at Jerusalem; but both Jeremiah and Ezekiel confess that the effort was unsuccessful. It was the Exile, which removed Israel from the old holy places and old religious associations of Canaan, that finally eradicated this cult. Orthodoxy Judaism detected the attempts of the forefathers, and, interpreting literally the words of Hos 29 (17) 'I will take away the names of the b'\={a}l'\={a}nim out of her mouth,' substituted bosheth, 'shameful thing,' in the place of ba'\={a}l in the reading of the Scriptures. In Jer 32 and elsewhere bosheth has actually taken the place of ba'\={a}l in the Heb. text. The Greek version often has θειός to indicate that the reader is to substitute εἰδούς for ba'\={a}l, and in 1 K 18* this alternates with ba'\={a}l in the text. Particularly in the Books of Samuel ba'\={a}l has been eliminated from names of persons, although it has been allowed to stand in the parallels in Chronicles. Thus Ish-ba'al (1 Ch 8* = Ish-bosheth throughout Samuel (Ish-vei, 1 S 14*); Ish-ba'al (1 Ch 11* = Josiah-bashosheth (2 S 29*); Meri-ba'al (2 S 20*), or Mobi-ba'al (2 S 9*), or Mophi-bosheth (2 S 4*), cf. the other Mophi-bosheth, 2 S 21*; Ba'al-yaad (1 Ch 14* = El-ya'da (2 S 5*). Abi-abalon (2 S 23*) is perhaps a perversion of Abi-ba'al, and 'Ebed, 'slave' (Jg 5*), of some ba'\={a}l'\={a}nim compound. (see Geiger, ZDMG xv., 1892, pp. 728-732; Nestle, Die isr. Eigenmamen, pp. 108-132; Dillmann, SBAW, phil.-hist. Kl., 1881, p. 609 f.; Wellhausen, B. Samuelis, pp. xii. f., 30 f.; Driver, Samuel, pp. 186, 185 f., 279; Gray, Heb. Proper Names, pp. 121-136). In spite of these efforts, however, the name has stood as a designation of naturally irrigated land (see above, ii. 1), and under modified forms the ba'\={a}l'\={a}nim lingered in the rural districts. In modern Palestine, the Jews unite with the Christians and Muslims in reverencing numerous local saints that are only the thinly disguised b'\={a}l' of earlier days. In spite of all the efforts of Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism, one may still say with the author of Kings, 'Nevertheless the high places are not taken away, the people still sacrifice and burn incense in the high places' (see Curtiss, Ursen. Rel. p. 81 ff.).

4. In Phoenicia and the Phoenician colonies.—In Phoenicia the name seems to have been pronounced ba'al; to judge from such proper names as
Hannibal, Aschenbal (Schroeder, Die Phön. Sprachw., p. 174). The most important of all the Pheen. br'lamin was the lord Melkart, the ba'al of Tyre (CIS 121). He is mentioned in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'al, king of Tyre (KAT 357), as (i.lu) Mil-kr'l-l, one of the great gods of Tyre. His name Melkart (= Melk-ziyeth, 'king of the city') seems to be derived from a tribal god who was identified with the local ba'al, just as Javveh was identified with the br'lamin of Canaan. In all the names of the kings of Tyre the element ba'al refers to Melkart: thus, Ab-i-ba'al, the father of Hermes, the Melkart of Tyre (KAT 8). In the temple of Rehoboam: Eth-ba'al (Assyr. Tu-ba'-lu), the contemporary of Ahab (1 K 16), Ab-i-ba'al, the successor of Eth-ba'al; Ba'al-i, the contemporary of Sennacherib; Eth-ba'al-ii., the contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar; Ba'al ii. (c. 575-564), and somewhat later Mer-ba'al. He is also the ba'al meant in the numerous Tyrian proper names compounded with this name (see Lidzbarski, Nordsem. Epig. 239 ff.). Under the name of Herakles his temple at Tyre is mentioned by Menander in John, viii. 13 (Ap. Darn. ii. 18) and by Herodotus (ii. 44). In regard to his cult little is known from native sources. Our fullest information is derived from the OT accounts of his worship in Israel. He had a temple, an altar, and an 'asherah (1 K 16, 2 K 10, 11), also a mosh'eb, or stand for the image. The image is mentioned (2 K 11), and is implied in 1 K 19. Hos 210. There were prophets of the ba'al and of the associated 'asherah (1 K 18), also Chemarim, or priests of the ba'al (2 K 23; Zeph 1). The bullock was sacrificed to him (1 K 13). Like other melk'ahim, Melkart received human sacrifice (see under art. AMMONITES, vol. i. p. 391; and cf. Jer 19 32), but this was in his capacity as melk and not as ba'al. From this the inference cannot be drawn that such sacrifices were customary in the service of other br'ilim. Kissing his image is mentioned as a rite in 1 K 19; dancing round the altar, and cutting the body with knives and shouting the name of the god, in 1 K 18. Distinguished from Ba'al-Melkart in the treaty of Esarhaddon, in spite of its identical etymology, is Ba'al-ma-la-gi (KAT 337). This is apparently Ba'al-Malki, 'Ba'al my king,' and is the same as Milk-ba'al of the Phoenician colonies (CIS 123a, 147, 194, 380). What his character was, and how he was differentiated from Melkart is unknown. Ba'al-Melkart is Ba'al ash-shefb (Euting, Ap. Darn. ii. 175), and Ba'al-Mack (see above, ii. 8), is also mentioned as one of the great gods of Tyre in the treaty of Esarhaddon (KAT 357). In an inscription from Um-el-‘Awamid, near Tyre (CIS 7), a certain Abdelm states that he has dedicated to Ba'al-shamém a doorway and its doors, that it may serve as a memorial of him and a good name under the feet of his lord Ba'al-shamém. Philo Rybius also records the worship of Beldeasq in Phoenicia (Müller, PIG p. 556), and Menander and Dios in documents of the 3d cent. B.C. (c. 171) speak of the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus Olympios (ba'al-samêm), which they distinguish from the temple of Heracles (Melkart). Herodotus (ii. 44) also distinguishes the temple of the Thasian Herakles from that of Melkart. As a different deity from Ba'l-shamém the treaty of Esarhaddon mentions Ba'al-tas-pu-nu = Ba'al-zaphôn, 'owner of the north' (see above, ii. 8). Ba'al-shamämn (see above, ii. 5) is apparently mentioned in the previous inscription, line 3 (Ap. Darn. ii. 185, p. 380 ff.), and in the inscription from Um-el-‘Awamid (CIS i. 8). Besides these br’ilim which had risen to the rank of great gods, there were numerous local br’ilim of a more primitive character. Ba'al-Lebnon is mentioned in CIS 5 (see above, ii. 4). The worship of Zeus Atalayros (= Ba’al-Talab) in the Phoenician colonies makes it certain that he must also have been worshipped in the mother-country (see above, ii. 4). The river Belus, near Acre, proves the existence of a local ba'al of the stream (see above, ii. 1). Ba’al-Sidon is mentioned in CIS 3. With him was associated ‘Ashtart. But he is Ba’al-šidôn, ‘owner of the promontory,' at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebel just north of Tyre (KAT 43). At Gébal ‘Ashtar was worshipped as the local ba'al in connection with her spouse Adonis (CIS 1; KT B v. No. 55; Philo Rybius, ed. Müller, p. 369; Lucian, Deo Syn. 6; see ASHTART). In the Phoenician colonies all the great br’ilim of the mother-country were worshipped, and in addition a number of new local br’ilim. Ba’al-zaphôn is found in Egypt (Ex 14, Nu 337), and in the proper name Bôd-zaphôn at Abydos (CIS 108); also Ba’al-séphûd at Menophis (Müller, Darn. ii. 175), Ammon, and Tyre (Ap. Darn. ii. 175); he was transplanted from his mountain near Antioch to Pelusium (see above, ii. 9). In Cyprus we find Melkart the ba'al of Tyre (CIS 88. 3-7) and the proper name Abd-Melkourt (CIS 14, 7); Zeus Keraunos (Waddington, 2739), who in a Palmyrene bilingual is called Belus, and on a stone from Egypt ‘Ashtart. In Rhodes there is Zeus Atalayros (= Ba’al-Tabor) (see Pausanias, Studien, ii. 247); in Corinth, Zeus Maturos (Euting, 243); in Thassos, Melkart (Paus. v. 25; Herod. ii. 44). At Carthage, Melkart the ba'al of Tyre appears frequently in proper names, e.g. Abid-Melkourt (CIS 179, 243, and often). Abd-Melkurt (Euting, Korth, Inschr. 18 = Ammian, CIL viii. 38), Ammot-Melkurt or Mot-Melkurt (Euting, 339, 329), Bod-Melkurt (Euting, 28, 261 = Bodmicer CIL 9618). At Melkourt (Euting, 213), Ba’m-Melkurt for Ba’al-Melkurt (Euting, 15), Melkurt-mashal (Euting, 130), Melkurt-balaz (CIL 234; Euting, 48), Ham-Melkurt (Euting, 165), and many others. The compound deity Milk-ba'al is also found, as in Phoenicia (CIS 123a, 147, 194). Ba’al-Adon (CIS i. p. 155) is a combination of the ba'al of Tyre with the Adonis of Gebal. Ba’al-shamém also appears (CIS 350). In Phaestus (Pausanias, 2.139), Hannu 594, a large statue of Belus, in whose name Augustine also knows him as a Punic deity (P-L iii. 797). The worship of Ba’al-zaphôn at Carthage is attested by the proper names Zaphôn-ba'al (CIS 207, 837) and Ba’al-zaphôn (CIS 265). Ba’al-hamman (see above, ii. 5) attained at Carthage the rank of a patron deity. More inscriptions have been found in honour of him than of any other Punic god. In Carthage itself he is always associated with the goddess Tanit, whose name stands first, showing that she was considered the more important personification of the god. The name Belus signifies Belus, or Bôd-zaphôn, whose name, however, is a Punicized form of the Semitic ba’al, 'lord.' The god is represented with rays surrounding his head, and holds a tree in his hand. Above him stands the sun. On another stele he grasps a grape-vine with his right hand and a pomegranate with his left. Still other depictions near representing palms, flowers, and fishes. The god is thus seen to have been a patron of fertility, like the br’ilim of Canaan (see Genesius, Phoen. Monumenta, ’Numid,’ i. ii. iv). Bâlaranress (bes = Ba’al-Kar- rum, ‘great god of Ram') was the chief and principal divinity who was worshipped on a two-peaked mountain near Carthage (see above, ii. 4). Ba’al-at-hatir and Ba’al-adjiris are also local Numidian deities (see above, ii. 6). In Malta, Melkart ba’al
of Tyre is named in inscriptions on two votive pillars (CIS 121). Another pillar from Malta bears the inscription: ‘pillar of Malak-bél, which Nebum has placed for Baal Hamman the lord, because he has heard the voice of his words’ (CIS 123a). This shows syncretism of the already compound deity Milk-Bal’ at with Baal-hammān. In Sicily we find an inscription on a sarcophagus (De Bèrèn, vi, 29.1.; CIL 141.153). ‘Agīl-bél (𐤄𐤆𐤁𐤇𐤊𐤄𐤂𐤇𐤊, ‘Agilisbelis’) was evidently a moon-god, since he is depicted as a young warrior with a crescent on his shoulders. The etymology of his name is obscure. De Vogüé connects ‘Agīl with 𐤇𐤇𐤇𐤇, ‘bulllock,’ as a symbol of the new moon. He was probably the original ‘Bāl’ of Palmyra, and he is meant in proper names compounded with ‘bél; e.g. ‘Abed-Bél, ‘Abed-isbelos’ (Vog. 6), Zebad-Bél (frequently), Repha-bél, ‘Rephāeliaos’ (Vog. 66), Zayd-bélos (CIG 4065), Malak-bélos (Waddington, 2379), Bel-barak, Bel-leha, Bel-‘ arson, etc. (On the use of ‘bél over against ‘bél and ‘el in Palm, see Nöldeke, ZDMG xlii, 1888, p. 357; Badínsin, PSE 324; on the proper names, Ledain, Dictionnaire des noms propres palmyréniques.) Malak-bél (𐤄𐤆𐤁𐤇𐤄𐤇𐤇𐤊𐤎, Malakbelos), like Milk-Bal’ at (see above, i., iii. 4), is ‘Bēl of the ‘belos’ (Bél of the Aramaic ‘bel-bél’ (see Bél, ‘belos’), ‘king,’ with ‘bél (= ‘bél). The form ‘bél suggests that the deity is of Bab. origin. (On Malak as a Babylonian god see Zimmern, KAT 469; Jastrow, Die Rel. Bab. u. Assy. p. 102). The rays with which this god is represented on the monuments (Lajard, ‘Mysteres, p. 1.) let us suppose that he was connected with the Babylonian Bel-Marduk (see below, 6). In the Lat. version of the Palmyran inscription of the Capitol (ZDMG xviii. 101 f.) the god is called ‘sul sanctissimus.’

Another pair of Palmyran deities that appear together in the inscriptions are Bel and Yarhl-bél (de Vogüé, p. 64). Bél, as the form of his name and his conjunction with Belti show, is imported from Babylonia. He is Marduk, the great bel of Babylon (see below, 6). His name occurs with special frequency on seals (Mordtmann, 50; de Vogüé, op. cit. 132, 133, 134). Many proper names are compounded with bel as with bel, e.g. Eta-bél (Ἐλάθης), Bel-saqeb (Βαλφωνί), Bel-barak, Bel-sani (Βαλφωνί), Ner-bel (Νερφωνί), Abel-bél (see above, 6). As the sun god of Palmyra, he bears a message of cheer. This inscription by its mention of the Ben-Hadad of the OT is shown to belong to 8th cent. B.C.; and, like the inscription of Esar- haddon mentioned above, witnesses to the antiquity of the deity Bel. A parallel should be drawn with the Egyptian Pogonum, Inscriptions égyptiennes, 1908, pp. (167-178).

In Palmyra, Baal-shamimeh, ‘owner of the sky,’ whom we have met already among the Nabateans, the Phoenicians, and in the Phoenician colonies, appears as the chief god under the form Be’el-šāmīm (Ῥαβμός, Ism. 19, 10, 18; 50, note 1; 53, No. 73; Entting, Berichte Akad. Berlin, 1885, 609, 41). His full Sem. title is בֶּל שָׁמִים, ‘owner of the sky, lord of the world,’ is in the Gr. parallel transliterated, Διά μεγίστα εκείνης. Most of the inscriptions of Milk-Malak-bél, which he has borne, have the name, but have the inscription, ‘To Him whose name is for ever blessed, the good and compassionate’ (de Vogüé, Palm. 74-105 al.; that he is meant, however, is shown to be clear from the Greek parallels which read, Διά εὐφρατον καὶ εὐφράτου. One inscription (de Vogüé, 16) is so restored by P. Vogli to identify him with Ἡσαῦ; but this is very doubtful. The form be’el in his name shows that he is of foreign origin. סָבִּים does not appear in Palmyran proper names, and is not used except in the sense of ‘number,’ as in our text. In the title of the ‘mede of the sun’ of Samaria, in the inscription of the Baal of the village of Baitokaiei, near Apamea (CIG 4474 = Le Bas, 2750v.; CIL iii. 184 and p. 372), SABAL-BEL. Especially famous was Zeus Karios (Βαλακασίων), whose cult we have found al-
ready in Egypt. Among the Nabataeans he appears as Kasie or Eta Kasie (de Vogüé, Syr. Cent. Notab. iv. 2, vi. 2, viii. 1, 2; Hallaran, v. ). Baudissin conjectures that he is the same as Kózē, the chief god of the Edomite ANTEKITES. He was worshipped on a lofty mountain on the coast near Antioch. His name, which is evidently derived from the root ʔaʔ̪aʔ, 'cut off,' de Vogüé refers to the 'precipice' on which his temple stood. Baudissin thinks that it rather means 'decider, judge.' The former interpretation is, however, in accordance with the local character of most Ba'al names. At his sanctuary a feast was celebrated by the people of Antioch (Strabo, xvi. 2, 5). Seleucus Nicator obtained an oracle from him concerning the building of Seleucia (Malahus, ed. Dindorf, p. 190). He is also mentioned by Lagarde (Analecta, i. 176, line 24). In Diodorus Siculus he also coins a translation of Zeus Olympios, whose cult Antiochus Epiphanes established in the Temple at Jerusalem, has been perverted by the Jewish scribes into shēkūt-šōme'nēm, 'the appalling abomination.'

5. In Babylonia—Babylonia was originally occupied by the non-Semitic race now commonly known as Sumerian. The religion of these people was a polytheism that differed in no essential respect from the polytheism of the Semites. There was a multitude of divinities presiding over all sorts of things. The name of a god's 'lord' was generally known as in, 'owner,' lord,' and a female one as nin, 'proprietrix, mistress;' thus, En-ki, 'master of the sea'; En-zi, 'master of wisdom'; Nin-ki, 'mistress of the sea'; Nin-har-sog, 'mistress of the great mountain'; Nin-in, 'mistress of destruction'; Nin-er-ut, 'mistress of the great house (temple)'; Nin-Mar, 'mistress of Mar!'; Nin-a, 'mistress of water' (?). By a process common among the Semites (cf. ASHTART, 2) many originally feminine divinities were transformed into masculine, as Nin-in-sag, Nin-er-ut, Nin-a-gal, Nin-sag, 'master of great strength,' the patron of blacksmiths; Nin-šad, 'master of the wild boar'; Nin-an-zi, 'master of the tree of life.' Celestial phenomena were objects of special reverence, and gave the religion of Babylonia an astral character which it retained down to the latest times. Here may be mentioned Anu, the sky; En-il, 'master of the air;' Sin, the moon-god of Sumer and Akkad, Assyria, and Aslanbaniap. This was Sin, the ancient Babylonian moon-god. His cult seems to have been indigenous in Ur in Southern Babylonia, and to have migrated to Harran at a very early period (cf. A. Schrader, En-il und Chaldeos zu Harran in Gn 11). From the earliest deities to the latest times he received the homage of the Babylonians and Assyrians among with their domestic deities. Sargon, king of Assyria (B.C. 722-706), confirmed the exemption from taxes that Harran enjoyed as the city of Sin (Amula, ed. Winkler, xxv. 5). Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (B.C. 555-539), rebuilt the temple of Sin at Harran (Rawlinson, v. 64, col. i. 8-ii. 46). At a later date we find the cult of Beł-šēmām, 'the owner of the sky,' at Harran, perhaps though syncretism of the Syrian with the Babylonian, the moon-god of the city of Sin (Jacob of Sarug, in ZDMG xxix. p. 131). Beł-šēmām is also found in Nisîlîa (Isaak of Antioch, i. 299, v. 78 ff.; Bickel, Beł-šēmām princeps deorum, 251, 258, 358, etc.). From Mesopotamia the worship of this god spread into other areas. Bēšāmān (Beshimon, Bashammin, Pasham), who had a famous temple in the town of Thoran in Armenia, was none other than Beł-šēmām (Agathangel, 131, and Lagarde's note). According to the by the city of Takran, Tigranes brought back his image of gold, silver, and crystal from Mesopotamia (Langlois, Historique de l'Arménie, i. 54, 140; ii. 60, 88). It is clear that during the Greek period the cult of Beł-šēmām was generally diffused throughout Syria and Mesopotamia, and that he attained the rank of amnunān dēnas. This was doubtless due to his air-idolity and was called Beł-šēmām Olympios in Phoenicia, Palmyra, and elsewhere. Zeus was the chief god of the Greek pantheon, and, therefore, wherever the Greeks went, his supposed Syrian counterpart enjoyed his pre-eminence. In the later Greek period the name of Zeus (Διός, Διός, Ζεύς, θεός, at Palmyra). Identification with Anu, the Lord of Heaven, in the Bab. religion may also have assisted in the process. In Syriac writers his name appears as a translation of Zeus (2 Mac 6; Isocrates, Anab. xeiva, 176, line 24). In Diodorus Siculus he also coins a translation of Zeus Olympios, whose cult Antiochus Epiphanes established in the Temple at Jerusalem, has been perverted by the Jewish scribes into shēkūt-šōme'nēm, 'the appalling abomination.'
mountain of the north where the gods assembled; he was called 'great mountain.' His tower-temple at Nippur was known as E-kur, 'the mountain house.' All this indicates that En-lil must once have had the political as well as the religious centre of Babylonia; but this was in a pre-historic time, when the local gods were represented by the earliest inscriptions (c. 4000 B.C.), Nippur had lost the political hegemony, although its god still retained his ancient pre-eminence.

Alongside of En-lil stood his consort Nin-ili, who shared the high rank of her husband. She was known as ‘lady of earth’ and, in the local pansies of the land, as ‘mistress of heaven and earth.’ One of her common titles was ‘Nin-har-sag, ‘lady of the great mountain,’ with reference to her supremacy on the mountain of the gods. Associated with En-lil as the greatest gods of the Sumerian pantheon were ANU, ‘the sky,’ and En-ki, ‘lord of the sea.’ ANU is mentioned in the earliest inscriptions, and, like En-lil, had temples in all parts of Babylonia. En-ki, otherwise known as E-a, ‘house of water,’ was the patron-god of Eridu. In pre-historic times he was the chief god of the region of the Persian Gulf, and must have been politically one of the most important cities of Babylonia. In the inscriptions of Lagashziggiru (perhaps as early as c. 4000) the triad En-lil, ANU, and En-ki is already known (VAB i. 9). En-ki is the chief god who is represented in the oldest inscriptions. Thus the visible universe was portioned out between ANU, lord of the sky; En-lil, lord of the earth; and En-ki or E-a, lord of the sea. There is reference perhaps to this triad in the words of the second commandment, ‘the heavens above, and the earth beneath, and waters under the earth’ (Jastrow, Die Rel. Bab. p. 140). A second triad of inferior dignity consisted of Ur, the moon-god of Ur; Utu, the sun-god of Sippar; and Nana, the goddess of Erech. The superior rank of En-lil in the triad was not due to the greater political importance of his city, Ur.

The Semites who entered Babylonia used the word bēl (= ba’al, cf. Aram. ’baal) in all the senses in which it was used by the other Semites, and, in addition, developed the meaning ‘master’ or ‘lord,’ which is not found in any of the other dialects. They spoke of their gods as bēl, both with reference to their ownership of physical objects and places, and with reference to their authority over tribes and individuals. The worshipper addressed his god as bēl, ‘lord’ in the way that he addressed other Semitic languages. When they conquered Babylonia, they found the Sumerian gods on the ground, and adopted them as their own, just as Israel adopted the ’elāh of Canaan. The en of a particular object or locality became for them the bēl; the nin, the bēl. The old Sumerian moon-god Ur became Sin, the bēl of Ur; the sun-god of Sippar, Shamash, the bēl of Sippar; Nana of Erech, Ishtar, the bēl of Erech. The names of other Sumerian gods, such as En and Ningirsu, were never employed in their local forms on the bēls or bēlitās of their respective sanctuaries. En-lil, as the chief god of Babylonia, was known as Bel par excellence (there is no article in Bab.), and in course of time this appellative drove the old name out of use and became the common designation of the god, so that, when bēl was mentioned without any qualifying word, En-lil was understood to be meant. Thus in Babylonia bēl became the name of an individual god in a way that was never true of Bel at among the West Semites. In like manner, Nin-har-sag, the consort of En-lil, was known as Bēlt, ‘the lady.’ For many centuries after the conquest of Babylonia by the Semites their language was not reduced to writing, and the ancient Sumerian was employed as a sacred tongue for all the inscriptions in the temples. The result is that before the time of Hammurapi the name of the god of Nippur is always written En-lil, although it is certain that the Semites habitually called him Bēl. From the time of Hammurapi onward Semitic inscriptions begin to be common, and then the name of the god appears written either phonetically as Bēl, or ‘lord,’ or En-lil, or ‘the strong call of En-lil.’ When he conquers the people of Gishlu, it is in the name of En-lil (VAB i. 14). He speaks of himself as ‘endued with strength by En-lil, nourished with holy milk by Nin-har-sag’ (VAB i. 19). He owes his position as king to the fact that his name has been spoken by En-lil (VAB i. 19). Entemena of Lagash undertook restorations of the temple at Nippur, and constructed there a laver for the god (VAB i. 54). Gudea also marks his high position as king of Lagash in the triad En-lil (VAB i. 114), and in the name of En-lil (VAB i. 128, 130). Nin-girsu, the patron-god of Lagash, is called the son of En-lil (VAB i. 123). The temple of En-lil at Shuruppak, the capital of Lagash, was called En-udu, ‘house of the god,’ which is given in position that he held over against the local god. Ur-engur, king of Ur, rebuilt E-kur, the temple of En-lil at Nippur (VAB i. 189). By the dynasty of Ur En-lil was honoured to an extraordinary degree (cf. VAB 1906–c. 195, 2006–d). Aradzi of Larsa calls En-lil his god, who has given him the throne (VAB i. 212). Votive inscriptions in his honour from kings in all parts of Babylonia have been found by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. His worship spread even as far as Elam (VAB i. 181). The primitive character of Bēl of Nippur is difficult to determine, on account of the confusion of this god with Marduk in all the later religious texts. From the oldest inscriptions we gather that he was conceived as a mighty warrior, armed with a net, who marched forth for the destruction of the enemies of his worshippers (VAB i. 14, 19, 128, 130). The Creation-epic shows that in its original form he was regarded as the creator of heaven and earth. He determined the fates of men (VAB i. 21, 222). He was worshiped in his temple, and punished those who violated them (VAB i. 14). On his temple at Nippur and the remains there found see Peters, Nippur; Hipprecht, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, and Explorations in the Bible Lands.

The high position that Bēl of Nippur maintained for centuries he finally lost through the rise of the city of Babylon to political supremacy. Before the time of Hammurapi (c. 2200 B.C.), Babylon was a relatively obscure place, and its chief god, Marduk, enjoyed only a local cult. He is never mentioned in the inscriptions of kings who reigned before the first dynasty of Babylon. He was originally the god of the morning and the spring sun, who had become the bēl of Babylon by a process similar to that by which Sin, the moon-god, had become the bēl of Ur. When Hammurapi expelled the Elamites and united all Babylonia beneath his rule, Babylon became the chief city of the empire, and Marduk, its god, was suddenly exalted to the chief place in the pantheon. He now became Bēl, or ‘lord,’ par excellence; and this title presently became a proper name that was used even more frequently than his real name, Marduk. There were now two Bēls in Babylonia —the old Bēl of Nippur, who, in spite of the fallen state of his city, was still revered through force
of religions conservatism, and the new bēl of Babylon, who had proved himself to be the de faco lord through the strength of Hammurabi’s arms. What was more natural than to attempt to prevent conflict between the two potentates by affirming their identity? This step was taken in the case of the priests of the old Babylon, but not in the case of those of Hammurabi. All the attributes of the old bēl of Nippur, ‘lord of lords,’ ‘lord of heaven and earth,’ ‘lord of the lands,’ ‘creator,’ etc., were transferred directly to the new bēl of Babylon. All the ancient hymns and prayers to bēl of Nippur were appropriated to the use of his rival. When Hammurabi and his successors of the first dynasty speak of bēl, and use the language of the ancient inscriptions, they mean Marduk. In spite of this attempted syncretism, however, the priests were unable to banish the old bēl entirely even from Babylon. As a member of the supreme triad—Anu, Bēl, Ea—bēl held his own, and was constantly invoked in the inscriptions along with Bēl-Marduk: but this was more a religious formula inherited from the past than an active belief. For all practical purposes of worship, Enlil-Bēl was absorbed by Marduk-Bēl. Outside of the city of Babylon the claim of Marduk to be the same as the older bēl was not received without opposition, and there are evidences of a long struggle before it became a decided fact. Among the gods of the old city of Nippur naturally never accepted it, and throughout the entire period of the Kassite third dynasty Nippur retained its place as a sanctuary, to which pilgrims flocked from all parts of Babylonia. The Kassite kings had no special fondness for the patron-god of the dynasty of Hammurabi, and they bestowed special honour upon the old bēl of Nippur (Hilprecht, Old Bab. Insers. i. i. Nos. 28–32). With the fall of the Kassites and the establishment of a native Babylonian dynasty, Nippur was placed on the map of the gods, given him, and Bēl of Nippur waned until little remained but the memory of his former glory. Curiously enough, Bēlit of Nippur did not share the fate of her husband and become the wife of Marduk when he was identified with Bēl. Marduk had already a consort, Sorpinatum, a relatively unimportant goddess, who was in no way comparable with the old Bēlit of Nippur. The two were never identified, as logical consistency would have demanded, but Bēlit held her own as an independent divinity.

In the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, Bēl usually means Marduk. He occupies the second place in the pantheon (after Ashur), and is usually named in connexion with his ‘son’ Nabu, the patron-god of Borsippa. The Assyrian kings showed him the highest reverence; and even when they conquered Babylonia, they claimed to do it in the service of Bēl, and took the throne by the formal ceremony of grasping the hands of Bēl at Babylon. Along with this there existed also the cult of Nabu-Bēl; and Nabu-Bēl and Anu, Bēl, Ea, still stand at the head of lists of gods in which Marduk appears as a separate deity; and when the Assyrian kings speak of Bēl, the lord of the lands, who dwells on the holy mountain, they mean the Bēl of Nippur. Tiglath-Pileser I. states expressly that he restored a temple of ‘the old Bēl’ at Ashur (Rawlinson, i. p. 14, col. vi. 87). This double use of Bēl as a proper name lasted through the entire Assyrian period, and, besides this, bēl retaining its generic meaning as a title of all the gods. The standing formula for the gods in general is ilātu rabiti bēltiya, ‘the great gods my lords.’ Bēlit was worshipped in Assyria partly as the ancient goddess of Nippur, partly as the consort of Anu or Ashur. Her name is also used as a title of the Assyrian Ishlar. This confusion is due to the fact that the common noun bēlit never lost its appellative meaning of ‘mistress.’ Many goddesses might be called ‘mistresses,’ and then through this similarity of title be confused with one another. When Ashurbanipal wishes to distinguish the older bēlit, he calls her Bēlit of Nippur (Borsippa) as his bēl.

In the New Babylon period Bēl-Marduk regained the supremacy that in the Assyrian period he temporarily surrendered to Ashur. His cult was revived with great glory by Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonidus, and all the attributes of supreme divinity were heaped upon him. Throughout Babylonia he was acknowledged without question as the Bēl, and his cult spread widely in the provinces of the empire. We have found it already at Palmyra (see above. p. 51), and traces of it at Edessa is attested by Jacob of Sarra (ZDMG xliii. 1875, p. 131). When Bēl is mentioned in the OT and Apoc. it is always Marduk that is meant. The old bēl is unknown, except in so far as his character survives in his successor. In Jer 51st he is called ‘bēl of Babylon.’ In Is 46th he is named in connexion with Nebel, the god of Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon. In Jer 50th Merodach (= Marduk) stands in poetic parallelism with Bēl. Cf. also Bel and the Dragon (= Dn 14 in LXX), Baruch 6th (cf. 6th). Bēl also occurs in a few Heb. proper names.

7. Among the Semitic peoples.—Through Phen. colonies in all parts of the coast of the Mediterranean, and through Greek colonies in Syria, the worship of the old Sem. bālīm was widely disseminated throughout the Greek-Roman world, and exerted a deep influence upon Occidental thought. The local divinity was either called by his original Sem. name, e.g. Bālianis at Heliopolis, Baalsamem at Tyre, Palmyra, and the Phenician colonies, Balmarcides at Deir el-Qal’a, Beelmaris at Tyre, Balkaranensis at Carthage, Baladdiris at Gabala, Asag, and Hammurabi at Babylon, who, it is said, was given a new name when he was enthroned. His name was translated into its supposed Gr. or Lat. equivalent. The local bāl was everywhere regarded as the supreme god, hence he was frequently identified with Zeus or Jupiter, the name of his city being appended to distinguGU him from other similar divinities, e.g. Zeus Kasios, Zeus Damascenos, Zeus Karmelos, Zeus Atabyrios, Zeus Tarsios, Jupiter Heliopeutianus (see above under the corresponding Semitic names). Other bālu had peculiarities which led to their identification with certain local divinities. Carthage, for instance, is regularly called Saturnus in the inscriptions (cf. Alex. Polyh., frag. 3 in FHG iii. 212; Servius, in. a. 642, 729; Damascenus, Vit. Isid. s. 115; Joh. Chrys. on Ps. 165, § 3; Theodor. on Ps 10325 in PG lxxxvi. 733). The bāl of Heliopolis, who was the son, was, of course, identified with Helios and Sol. Melob-Bēl at Palmyra is in the Latin parallel called *Sol sanctissimus* (cf. Servius, in. a. 642, 729; Nom. Dionys. xl. 392 ff.; Macrobius, Saturn. i. 29). Hessychius (s. bālu), the elyx of the Elysian plain of Egypt, the old bēl of Nippur, the Babylonian Aned. 225), connect bālu with Uranos. Beal-Melkart of Tyre is almost uniformly identified by classical writers with Herakles (cf. Baethgen, Beiträge, 201 L.). Late writers assert that in Persian Beal is the same as Areš (Malalas, p. 19; John of Antioch, frag. 5, in FHG iv. 542; Chron. Paneth. i. 18). This variety in the identification bears witness to the multiplicity of the bāluim with which Greeks and Romans came into contact (see Scholz, Götzdienst, p. 149 ff.; Baethgen, Beiträge, p. 197 ff.).

The Bab. Bēl is also known to the classical writers. In Servius (in. a. 612) a dim memory survives of a distinction between the older and the younger Bēl, but in general only Marduk-Bēl is known, and all the attributes of Enlil-Bēl are
BAALZEBOU, BEELZEBEUL.

These two names probably refer to the same supernatural being; or, at any rate, the second of them is derived from the first. Baalzebub (בָּאלֶזְבּúb) is the NT form (2 Kgs 1:16, 17), and Beelzeboul (בֵּלֶזְבּוּל) the NT form (Mt 10:25; Mt 12:27-32; Mk 3:22; Lk 11:18-19).

Baalzebul is in the OT represented as the god of the Philistine city of Ekron, whose oracle was so famous that Ahaziah, king of Israel, sent to consult it, to the neglect of the oracles of Jahveh. The Hebrew word בַּלְזֶבּוּל would mean 'lord of flies'; זבּוּל-assyrian זבּוּמְבּוּ, 'a fly' (cf. Ec 10). The LXX and Josephus so understood it, since they make the name of the god בַּלְזֶבּוּל (cf. LXX, βῆλεςβοῦλ, and Jos. Ant. ix. 2). Aquila supports the same reading by transliterating βῆλεςβοῦλ, while Symmachus supports the NT form βελεζβοῦν. Bezdöhl found, in an inscription of the Assyrian king Assur-bel-Kala (11th cent.), mention made among the gods of Ebir-mari (a name applied in Deut 29:24 to Syria or the land of the Philistines) of the god bel-bi (or-na). Were the last syllable certain, it would show that Baalzeboul was found there earlier (cf. Catalogue, K. 3500, and Hommel, AHT 193).

Movers (Die Phänöster, i. 260 ff.) held that the original name was בַּל-זֶבּוּל, 'lord of the mansion,' which originally meant a heavenly motion, but afterwards the god of the nether world.

This view is of very doubtful certainty, since בַּל in the sense of 'house' (1 Kgs 8:40 and Ps 49:5) is very uncertain (cf. LXX).

In Is 63:4 and Hab 3:10 it is used of a station of the heavens, while in the Talmud (Chagiga, 12b) בַּל is the fourth heaven, in which are the heavenly Jerusalem and the altar.

This would hardly be possible, if in Jewish thought the word had ever represented a region of the world the lord of which was the prince of demons. Hälewy (Ja xix. 1862) p. 304 and CAI 111 (1892) p. 74 thinks Zeubul the name of a place, comparing the ἴπαυνα of the el-Aunara letters (KB v. 174. 16)—a theory which Kittel ('Könige,' in Nowack's Handkommentar, ad loc.) rightly rejects. The resemblance between Zeubul and the name Bel does not strike, and the Biblical text states that the deity in question was the god of Ekron. In all probability Baalzeboul means 'lord of flies,' which are very numerous in the neighbourhood of Ekron (see Barton, A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands, 1904, p. 216 ff.). This title was given as an epithet to the god, whether by the Ekronites or the Hebrews we do not know, though Baethgen (Beit. z. sem. Religionsgesch. 1888, p. 25) holds that he represented a process of divination by flies. In the NT, as already noted, the name is בַּלזבּוּל and applied to the lord of the devils, and made a synonym of Satan (cf. Mt 12:22, Lk 11:15, 19). Cf. above, p. 287.

These facts have given rise to various conjectures. (1) The theory of Movers already referred to, that the name was בַּל-זֶבּוּל, is struck by some others as improbable, and the NT receive confirmation from the fact that in Mt 10:25 ὀικοδόμης (οἱκοδόμος, = 'master of the house') may be considered a translation of it. There is no real reason, however, to consider one of these words a translation of the other. If בַּל (='house') is the origin of Bel, then Bel would easily have ἀρχή (=Syr. bāla, 'lame') suggested to him, and might so understand the Beelzebul of AV has no authority in Greek MS. It owes its currency to the Vulg.

4 Cheyne (EBC, col. 514) holds that οἰκοδόμης suggests the reading ἔκποες, 'master of the house.'
name (so Gollid, 'Mark,' in Inter. Crit. Com. p. 62). (2) It is supposed that the name is a variation of Brailzebub, and that both the form and the significance have undergone change. As to the form, it is supposed (a) that the final 6 was changed to 3 by an various pronunciation, so as to make it mean 'dung,' as bo'dl ('= lord') is sometimes changed to bo'elh ('= shame') (cf. Esh-bosal, 1 Ch 92, with Ish-bosheth, 2 Sh 29); this perverso transformed 'fly' to 'dung,' or 'filth.' (b) Baussan (PRE) holds that b was changed to 3 in popular pronunciation, without intent to change the meaning, as Babel-Moundeb is sometimes changed to Bab-el-Mandel; and (c) Riehm (HWF) held that in the time of Christ Bael-zebub was Aramaized to ρωτνταα (='lord of eminence'), and so was the exact equivalent of Zabulub. As to the significance of Beel-zebul the NT period different theories have been proposed to account for its evolution from the OT god. Geiger (Uebersicht, p. 53) thought that the god of the hated Philistines became the representative of heathen power, and so the arch-enemy of Israel. He found confirmation of his view in the fact that, in Aramaic, בָּעֵל would be phonetically transformed into בָּעַל (= 'hostility'). This theory, though plausible, lacks historical confirmation. The Philistines were a wily and treacherous enemy after the early days of the kingdom. Syria, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans took successively the place of principal enemy, and it is hardly probable that the god of Ekron, who is mentioned in but one narrative of the OT, could have continued to hold this place. Had he done so, he could not have escaped mention.

Another view is expressed in the Talmud, which regards the fly as the representative of evil. In Berekoth, 61a, it is said: 'The evil spirit lies like a fly at the heart of man.' Again, in Berekoth, 10b, it is said that Shumamite woman (2 K 4:27) perceived that Elisha was a man of God, because no fly crossed his table. This estimate of the fly goes back to the Mishnah, for in Abot, 9, we read: 'A fly, being an impure thing, was never seen in the slaughter-house of the temple.' In reality the revival of interest in Baal-zebub in the NT was due to literary causes. Cheyne has pointed out that Lk 9:44 shows that in the time of Christ the narrative of 2 K 1 possessed a strong interest for the Jews. Probably both the hostility to Baal-zebub exhibited in the narrative and the perversion of his name into the Aramaic בָּעֵל (='lord of hostility') helped this literary interest to make Baal-zebub a synonym of Satan. As the name meant 'lord of flies,' this would be sufficient to call into existence the Talmudic conception that the fly is a kind of imp, especially as Lv 11 and Dt 14 imply that it was to be reckoned among unclean flying things. The change of zebub to zebul in the NT was, no doubt, due to conscious perversion. In addition to the above cited, cited, cited, cited, cited in the Talmud (Aboda za'ira, 18b, ed. Dalman, Aram, Gem, p. 137) shows that 321 as applied to the sacrifices of the heathen was changed to 321 ('dung').

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, Horae Hebraicas on Mt 11:24, Lk 11:1; Movers, Phreri, 214, l. 290ff; Geiger, Uebersicht, Breslau, 157, p. 69; Riehm, HHWD; Baussan, PRE; Wickeiner, Geschichtente Israel, 1890-1900, l. 223, 222; Peake's Bible Dictionary, ed. Cheyne, F. F., and Rees, l. II; Kittel, Konig, in Novak's Handkommentar, p. 182; Alford, 'Mark,' 1887; in Expositor. p. 149. G. G. Gould, 'Mark,' 1896 (ib.); Plummer, 'Luke,' 1898 (ib.), p. 301.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

BAB, BABIS.—Bab (בָּבֶא = 'Gate' in Arabic) was the title first assumed by Mirza Ali Muhammad, a young Sayyid of Shiraz, who in A.H. 1290 (= A.D. 1844) began to preach a new religion, which spread through Persia with extraordinary rapidity, and, in spite of violent persecutions, culminating in the execution of the founder on July 9, 1830, and of some twenty-eight of his principal disciples on September 15, 1832, has continued to gain strength and extend its influence day by day. Both the history and the doctrines of this religion present so many remarkable features, that the subject has, almost from the first, attracted a great deal of attention, not only in the East but in Europe, and latterly in America; and the literature dealing with it, even in English, is very extensive; while the Arabic and Persian writings, manuscript, lithographed and printed, connected with it are so numerous and, in some cases, so voluminous, that it would hardly be possible for the most assiduous students to read in their entirety even those which are accessible in half a dozen of the best-known collections in Europe.

An exhaustive treatment of the subject is therefore impossible, and we must content ourselves with a sketch of the most important outlines of the history, doctrines, and literature of the religion in question.

1. Antecedents.—In order to understand properly the origins and developments of Babi doctrine, it is, of course, essential to have a fair knowledge of Islam, and especially of that form of Islam (the doctrine of Shi'a, or 'Sect of the Twelve' Imams), of which Persia has from the earliest Muhammadan times been the stronghold, and which, since the 16th cent of our era, has been the State religion of that kingdom. Information on this subject must be sought elsewhere in this Encyclopedia under the appropriate headings; but, even for the most elementary comprehension of the early Babi doctrine, it is essential to grasp the Shi'ite doctrine of the Imamate, and especially the Messianic teaching concerning the 'Imam al-Mahdi.'

According to the Shi'ite view, the prophet Muhammad appointed to succeed him, as the spiritual head of Islam, his cousin Ali ibn Abi Talib, who, being married to Fatima, was also his son-in-law. Ali's rights were, however, usurped in turn by Abi Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman; and though he was elected Khalifa after 'Uthman's death, he was assassinated after a brief and troubled reign of five years (A.D. 656-661). His eldest son, Ali-Hasan, the second Imam, abdicated five or six months after his accession. He was followed in a line of infant Imams by his son Mu'awiya. His younger son, al-'Usayn, the third Imam, attempted to regain his temporal rights by a rash revolt against the Umayyads, but perished on the fatal field of Karbala (Kerbela) on Muhammad 19, A.H. 61 (Oct. 19, A.D. 680), a day celebrated with wailing and mourning in all Shi'a communities, especially in Persia. The nine remaining Imams all lived in more or less dread of the Umayyads, and afterwards of the 'Abbasid Khalifs, and many of them died by poison or other violent means. The Talmud (Aboda za'ira, 18b, ed. Dalman, Aram, Gem, p. 137) shows that 321 as applied to the sacrifices of the heathen was changed to 321 ('dung').

of the faithful on the spiritual guidance of the Imam of the Age, thus became the two most characteristic and essential dogmas of all the various Shi'ite sects. 'Whosoever dies,' says a well-known Shi'ite tradition, 'without recognizing the Imam of his time, dies the death of a disbeliever.'

Now, according to the 'Sect of the Twelve,' the Twelfth Imam, or Imám Mahdi, was the last of the series. But since, according to their belief, the world cannot do without an Imám, and since this last Imám, who succeeded his father in A.H. 329 (=A.D. 757-4), disappeared from mortal ken in A.H. 329 (=A.D. 940-1), it is held that he never died, but is still living in the mysterious city of Jahlūla, or Jahlūla, surrounded by a band of faithful disciples, and that at the end of time he will issue forth and fill the earth with justice after it has been filled with iniquity.' This Mesianic Advent is ever present in the mind of the Persian Shi'ite, who, when he has occasion to mention the Twelfth Imám, or Imám Mahdi (also entitled Husayn Allahshāh, 'the Proof of God,' Baqiy- yatullah, 'the Living,' Sayyid al-Kāmil, 'the Lord of the Age,' and Qā'im, 'Ali Musa',dān, 'He who shall arise out of the house of Muhammad'), always adds the formula {الله} فرجه! (May God hasten his glad Advent!).'

Now, in connexion with Báb doctrine, it is to be noticed first of all that the 'Manifestation' (بیان) of Mirzâ 'Ali Muhammad the Báb took place, as already said, in A.H. 1290, exactly a thousand years after the succession of the Imám Mahdi to the Imámāte, or, in other words, at the completion of a millennium of 'Occultation' (غیاب). For the Imám Mahdi, according to the Shi'ite belief, appeared in public once only, on his accession, when he performed the funeral service over his father, the last of his line, the son of the Imám's brother, and the first of his followers. During the first 69 years of the millennium of 'Occultation,' however, his instructions and directions were communicated to his followers, the Shi'a, through four successive intermediaries, each of whom bore the title of Báb, or 'Gate.' This period is known as the 'Minor Occultation.'

It was in this sense, then, that Mirzâ 'Ali Muhammad, at the beginning of his career, declared himself to be the Báb, or 'Gate,' viz., the gate whereby communication, closed since the end of the 'Minor Occultation,' was re-opened between the Hidden Imám and his faithful followers. He did not invent this term, nor was he even the first to revive it, for it was used in the same sense by ash-Shâlahînî, a Messiah of the 10th. cent. of our era, and by others. So far as recent times are concerned, however, it was the Shaykhi school, founded by Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsâ'î (b. A.D. 1733, d. A.D. 1856) which revived the idea that amongst the faithful followers of the Twelfth Imám there must always exist one, whom they entitled Shá'í-i-Kâmil, 'the Perfect Shí'ite,' who was in direct spiritual communication with him. Neither Shaykh Ahmad nor his successor Sayyid Kāmil of Rishk (d. A.D. 1843-44) made much use of the title of the Shá'í-i-Kâmil of the Perfect Shí'ite' was practically idle, and the idea connoted by that title. To this Shaykhi school, sect, belonged not only Mirzâ 'Ali Muhammad himself, but Mullah Husayn of Bushrawayh, Qurra'at-ul-Ayn, and many others of his first and most zealous disciples. On the death of Sayyid Kāmil his followers were naturally impelled by their doctrine concerning the 'Perfect Shí'ite' to seek his successor. There were two claimants, Mirzâ 'Ali Muhammad, who on May 23, 1844, within a short time of Sayyid Kāmil's death, announced himself to be the 'Báb,' and whose followers were consequently called 'Bábís'; and Hájjí Muhammad Karím Khán, a scion of the Qajar Royal Family, who was recognized, and whose descendants are still recognized, by the con-

2. History of the movement during the life of the founder.—The first period of Báb history begins with the 'Manifestation' on May 23, 1844, and ends with the martyrdom of the Báb at Shiráz on July 9, 1850. The detailed history of these six years will be found in the translations of the Traveller's Narrative (Camb. 1891) and the New History of the Báb (Camb. 1893), while a fairly complete bibliography of earlier works on the subject, both European and Oriental, is given in the former work (ii. 173-211). In the JERAS for 1889 (vol. xxi. new ser, pp. 485-526 and 851-1009) are also discussed critically various matters connected with both the history and the doctrines of the sect. If the three chief historical controversies (discussed in Part II) have been settled by members of the sect, the earliest and most instructive is that written between 1850 and 1852 by Hájjí Mirzà Jání of Kâshân, who must have finished it only a little while before he was put to death among the twenty-eight Bábís who suffered martyrdom at Shirín (Shiraz) on Sept., 1852. Of this work the only complete manuscript, so far as the present writer can ascertain, which existed (until he caused it to be transcribed for himself) was Suppl. Pers. 1071 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. One of the MSS brought to Paris by M. le Comte de Gobineau, the talented author of Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale. Another MS in the same collection (Suppl. Pers. 1070) contains the first third of it, while the New History (تاریخ جدید) is a reduction made (about A.D. 1875-1890) by Mirzâ Husayn of Hamadân, containing many additions, but also remarkable for some extremely important omissions and alterations. There is thus sufficient material for an edition of this most important document, which the present writer is now (1908) printing. The Traveller's Narrative, the third of the three principal systematic accounts compiled by the Báb, is given by the Báb in two passages of the Persian Bāyān (Wahid ii. 7, and vi. 12). See Trav. Narr. ii. 218-220.
Bábí, their history, is not only later, but deals less with the early history of the movement than with the biography and writings of Bahá'u'lláh, to whose son 'Abdu'lláh (also called 'Abdu'l-Bahá') its authorship is ascribed. The accounts of Bábí history, however, recorded in the Bahá'í scripture (and by the Lámmál-Mulk in the Nášibullát-Tawáríh and by Ríyá-qul-Khán in his supplement to the Rawtát-u-Safá') must, as a rule, be used with great caution, but exception must be made in favour of the late Sayyid Jamál-dín al-Afghání's article on the Bahá'í in the Burtamí Burtamí of the Arabic encyclopedia the Dárálratút-Má'aríf (Bei- ruti, 1831), and of a more recent history compiled in Arabic by a Persian doctor named Zá'im-d-Dawla, and published at Cairo in A.H. 1321 (A.D. 1890-1).* From both of which, in spite of the prejudice against the Bábís which they display, important facts may be gleaned.

A very brief summary of the events of this first period (A.D. 1844–1850) is all that can be given here. The Bábi himself, who was only twenty-four years old at the time of his Manifestation,† and not thirty when he suffered martyrdom, was a captive in the hands of his enemies during the greater portion of his brief career, first at Shiráz (August–September 1845—March 1846), then at Isfahán (March 1846—March 1847), then at Makkát near the holy place of Mecca, and finally, under the supervision of his step-mother, in the prison at Chiríq, where he died. He enjoyed the greatest freedom at Isfahán, where the governor, Mintehbir Khán, a Georgian eunuch, treated him with consideration and even favour; but he was able to continue his writings and to correspond with, and even receive, his followers during the greater part of his captivity, save, perhaps, the last portion. He himself, however, took no part in the bloody battles which previously broke out between his followers and their Muslim antagonists. The chief of the latter, the three were in Mázandarán, at Shaykh Tabarsi, near Báfrúsh, under the leadership of Mullá Husayn of Bushraywáy and Hájí Mullá Muhammad 'Ali of Báfrúsh (autumn of 1848 to summer of 1849); at Zanján, under Mullá Muhammad 'Ali Zanjání (May–December 1850); and at Yazd and Níriz, under Aghá Sayyid Yáhíyá (summer of 1850), while a second rising at Níriz seems to have occurred in 1852.§ Amongst other events of this period was the issue of the famous Baha'í, a periodical important not only to the Bábi, but to others who have preserved detailed accounts, is the martyrdom of 'the Seven Martyrs' at Tihrán, which also took place in the summer of 1850.§ During the later period of his career Mirzá 'Ali Muhammad discarded the title of 'Báb' (which he conferred on one of his disciples) and announced that he was the Qá'im, or expected Imám, and even more than this, the Nágút (ناغوت) or 'Point.' It is by this title (Hazrat-i-Nágút-i-Úlá, 'His Holiness the First Point'), or by that of Hazrat-i-Rabbíyíl-Á'ít, 'His Holiness my Lord Most High,' that he is generally spoken of by his followers, though latterly the Bahá'ís, desiring to represent him as a mere forerunner of Bahá'u'lláh—a sort of John the Baptist—seem to have abandoned the use of these later and higher titles. But from the Báb's own later writings, such as the Persian Bayán, and the Persian and Arabic Bayáns, as well as from what is said by Mirzá Jání and other contemporary writers, it is clear that he was regarded as a great Prophet in a very full sense, as will be shown when the doctrines of the Bahá'ís are discussed, when the term 'Point' (Nágút) will also be explained. The circumstances attending the execution of the Báb at Tabríz on July 9, 1850, and especially his strange escape from the first volley fired at him,* are fully recorded in the DECLARATION, not specially mentioned, and need not be recapitulated here. His body, however, being exposed for several days, was recovered by his disciples, together with that of his fellow-martyr Mirzá Muhammad 'Ali of Tabrız, wrapped in white silk, placed in a coffin, and concealed for some seventeen hours in a little shrine of the Imám-záda-i-Má'súm between Tihrán and Bákhtá-Karim. At a later date it was transferred to 'Akka* (St. Jean d'Acre) by order of Bahá'u'lláh, where it was placed in a shrine specially built for that purpose.

3. Period of Subh-i-Ezel's supremacy (A.D. 1850–1868).—Before his death the Báb had nominated as his successor a lad named Mirzá Yáhíyá, son of Mirzá Buzurg of Nír, and half-brother of the afterwards more famous Mirzá Husayn 'Ali, better known as Baha'u'lláh. Mirzá Yáhíyá was, according to Mirzá Jání, only 14 years old at the time of the Báb's 'Manifestation,' so that he must have been born about A.H. 1246 (= A.D. 1830–1831). He died when he was a child, and he was brought up by his step-mother, the mother of his elder half-brother Baha'íl, and was of about the same age as 'Ali a.s. his senior.‡ Mirzá Jání, our oldest, best, and most unprejudiced authority (since he was killed in 1852, long before the schism between the Ezelis and Bahá'ís took place) reports Bahá'u'lláh as saying that he did not then know how great a position Mirzá Yáhíyá was destined to occupy.

At the early age of 15, about a year after the 'Manifestation,' he was so attracted by what he heard of the Báb and read of his writings, that he set out for Khurásán and Mázandarán, met Janáb-i-Qá'im (i.e. Mullá Muhammad 'Ali of Báfrúsh) and Qurrátull'Ayn, and, with Baha'úlláh, attempted to join the Bahá'ís who were besieged at Shaykh Tabarsi, but was prevented by the governor of Anúl. In the fifth year of the 'Manifestation' (A.H. 1260 = A.D. 1849), shortly after the fall of Shaykh Tabarsi, the Báb, having heard of Mirzá Yáhíyá's youth, zeal, and devotion, declared that in him was fulfilled the sign of the Fifth Year given in the tradition of Kúmáyil, 'A Little Light, a Young Martyr,' and commanded him to address the Bahá'ís under the title Subh-i-Ezel ('The Dawn of Eternity'), sent him his own rings and other personal possessions, authorized him, at such time as he should see fit, to add 8 wihdás (or 'Unities') of 19 chapters each to the Bayán, and appointed him his successor. On the Báb's death, therefore, Subh-i-Ezel, as we shall now continue to call him, was recognized with practical unanimity by the Bahá'ís as their spiritual head; but, owing to his youth and the sealed life which he adopted, the practical conduct of the affairs of the Bahá'í community was committed chiefly to his half-brother Bahá'u'lláh, or Janáb-i-Bahá, as he is called by Mirzá Jání. There seem to have been some rival claimants, notably Mirzá Asadulláh of Tabrız, entitled Dayún, † who was, according to Gobineau (p. 277 f.), drowned in the Shírúf, in the 'Arab by some of the Bahá'ís who wished to put an end to his pretensions; and, according to Mirzá Jání, certain other persons, such as the 'Indian believer' Sayyid Básir, Agá Muhammad Káriá'í, and a young confectioner entitled 'Dínábí' (دينابی)
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The records of the Baghdad period are comparatively scanty, but the propaganda went steadily on, though conducted without a pretense of foreign to the early days of the sect. About a year after his arrival at Baghdad, Baha'u'llah retired alone for two years into the highlands of Turkish Kurdistan, living chiefly at a place called Sarkalih, and occasionally visiting Sulaymaniyah.

The Bahá'ís' prospect in his retreat was looked upon as a kind of preparation and purification; by the Ezels, as due to annoyance at the opposition which he encountered in his plans from several prominent Bábis of the old school. Subh-i-Ezél, a man of great modesty and reserve, had lived in great seclusion both before and after this event, and the disputes which appear to have occurred at this period seem to have been chiefly between Baha'u'llah and his adherents on the one hand, and Mullá Muhammad Ja'far of Nizará, Mullá Rajá 'Ali Qáhir, Sayyid Muhammad of Ispáhán, Sayyid Jawád of Kerbelá, and the like on the other. Ultimately, owing to the hostility of the Persian Consul at Baghdad, Mirzá Buzurg Khán of Qazvin, and Mirzá Husayn Khán Mu'stakirí-Dawúla, the Persian Ambassador in Constantinople, the Turkish government was induced to expel the Bábís from Baghdad, where their proximity to the Persian frontier, and to the Shi'ite shrines of Kerbelá and Najaf, afforded them great opportunities of proselytizing among their countrymen. Their departure took place in the spring or early summer of 1864. They were first taken to Constantinople, where they remained for four months, and thence banished to Adrianople, where they arrived about the end of the year above mentioned. There four of their number died (Dec. 1864-August 1868), and there it was that in A.H. 1293 (A.D. 1866-67) Baha'u'lláh publicly announced that he was the 'He whom God shall manifest,' foretold by the Báb, and called on all the Bábís to recognize him as such, and to pay their allegiance to him, not merely as the Báb's successor, but as him of whose Advent the Báb was a mere herald and forerunner.

This announcement, which naturally convulsed the whole Bábí community, was gradually accepted by the majority, but was strenuously opposed not only by Subh-i-Ezél but by a considerable number of prominent Bábís, including more than one of the original 18 disciples of the Báb known as the 'Letters of the Living' (حرفان حي). The strife waxed fierce; several persons were killed; charges of attempted poisoning were hurled backwards and forwards between the two half-brothers; and at length the Turkish government again intervened and divided the two rival factions, sending Subh-i-Ezél with his family to Famagusta in Cyprus, and Baha'u'lláh with his family and a number of his followers to 'Akka in Syria, which places they respectively reached about the end of August 1868. To check their activities, however, and provide the government with the services of a band of unpaid informers, they caused four Bahá'ís with their families and dependents to accompany Subh-i-Ezél, and four of the Ezels to accompany Baha'u'lláh. All of the latter were killed, one before they left Adrianople, and the other three soon after their arrival at 'Akka. Of the Bábís, there were one dying on the way, and one in 1872, while the third escaped to Syria in 1870. The fourth, Mushkin Qalám, a celebrated calligraphist, remained in Cyprus for some time after the British occupation, but finally left on

*Bahá'u'lláh and Subh-i-Ezél both escaped death on this occasion, though the former was arrested, and a price was set on the apprehension of the latter. Both ultimately escaped to Baghdad, where they arrived about the end of 1852, Bahá'u'lláh, who was imprisoned in Tihrân for four months, arriving soon after his half-brother. For the next eleven or twelve years (1853-1864) Baghdad was the headquarters of the sect, of which Subh-i-Ezél continued to be the ostensible head, and is even implicitly acknowledged as such by Bahá'u'lláh in the Kitáb-i-Áqdas, composed by him in 1861-1862. In Traveller's Narrative (ii. 54 ff.), Subh-i-Ezél's retirement is represented as taking place in 1862, but on pp. 55 and 62-63 of the translation, which contains the official Baha'i version of these transactions, it is implied that the omission of Subh-i-Ezél was a more blind, that Bahá'u'lláh was from the first intended, and that his 'Manifestation' took place in A.H. 1290 (=A.D. 1853), which the Bábí calls the year of 'after a while' ( Fateh Adjáden, for Bahá'u'lláh, while, = 8 + 10 + 50 = 68, and the year 'after' is '69). Ostensibly, however, his claim to be the 'He whom God shall manifest' dates from A.H. 1293 (A.D. 1877), the end of the Adhrá'ím period, which agrees with Nabil's statement that he was fifty years old when he thus manifested his truth, for he was born in A.H. 1293 (=A.D. 1817). For further details see the Traveller's Narrative, ii. 329-334.

See J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 914-945.  

Traveller's Narr. ii. 61 f., 556 f. Nabil says that he was 38 years of age when he witnessed this, and 40 when he returned.

See Traveller's Narrative, ii. 365-366.

Sept. 14, 1856, for 'Akka, where the present writer met him in April 1890. The Fāmagusta exiles numbered in all thirty persons, of whom full particulars are preserved, in consequence of the allowance to which they are entitled, in the State Papers of 1901. They are epitomised in the Traveler's Narratives (ii. 576–589). Subh-i-Ezel and some of his family are still (1908) residing at Fāmagusta, while descendants of some of the other exiles are also living in the island in various capacities. Concerning those banished to 'Akka the same detailed information is not available, but their number appears to have considerably exceeded that of the Ezels.

4. Period of Bahā'u'llāh's supremacy (A.D. 1868–1892).—The secession which divided the Bābis into the two sects of Bābis and Ezels, though its beginnings go back to the earlier period of which we have just spoken, now became formal and final, and henceforward we have to consider two opposed centres of Bābi doctrine, 'Akka in Syria, and Fāmagusta in Cyprus. Although there is much to be urged in favour of Subh-i-Ezel's position, it cannot be denied that practically his influence is very slight and his followers very few. When the present writer visited him in 1890, apart from his own family only one of his adherents, an old man named 'Abdu'l-Ahad, whose father was among those who published the Bayan in 1850, was resident at Fāmagusta. In Persia very few Ezels were met, and those chiefly at Kirmān. One of Subh-i-Ezel's sons-in-law, Shaykh Ahmad of Kirmān, was a man of considerable talent and learning, but he was put to death at Tabriz in 1896 on a charge of complicity in the assassination of Nāṣīrū'd-Dīn Shāh in May of that year. He was the author of the Hashi Bihisht, a lengthy treatise on the philosophy, doctrine, and history of the Bābi religion, from the polemical portions of which directed against Bahā'u'llāh excerpts are cited in the Traveler's Narrative (ii. 351–373). Subh-i-Ezel is still (July 1898) alive and well; but, interesting as he is historically and personally, he can no longer be reckoned a force in the world, though as a source of information about the early history and doctrine of the Bābis he is without a rival, and speaks with a freedom and frankness not to be found at 'Akka, where policy and the 'expediency of the time' necessarily play a much larger part. Subh-i-Ezel may, in short, in his isolation possess a position of great interest, if in no importance, in the history of the Bābis, filling the place of an historian of the church-stories of Kirmān, such as Sir Charles Cobham met there in 1874. But his views, as has been pointed out above, still remain a matter of some difficulty to be worked out from the sources. Perhaps the most hopeful work of Subh-i-Ezel is his collection of letters, certainly one of the best preserved and most interesting of Bābi literature. He is also the author of a work entitled Ta'rīkh-i-iṣlah, and of a treatise on the Bābis and their history, which he is now engaged in completing.

The claim of Bahā'u'llāh to be a new and transcendent 'Manifestation' of God steadily and rapidly gained ground among the Bābis, and involved a complete re-construction of the earlier Bābi conceptions. For if, as Bahā'u'llāh declared, the Bābi was a mere precursor and harbinger of his advent, then, in the blaze of light of the New Day, the candle of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn of Tabriz should not be left unburnt, for he was entitled to merit attention, and, indeed, became invisible. The Bahā'is, as a rule, show a marked disinclination to talk about the Bahā' or his early disciples, or to discuss his life or doctrines, or to place his writings in the hands of the inquirer, while latterly they have avoided calling themselves Bahā'is, preferring to be known simply as Bahā'is. The Bahā's doctrine is scattered in their eyes, only preparatory, and his commentary only preparatory too. Bahā'u'llāh was entitled to modify or abrogate them as seemed good to him. The real question at issue between Ezels and Bahā'is was admirably described by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, lately British Minister at Tehran, as entirely similar to that which divided the respective followers of St. Peter and St. Paul in the early days of the Christian Church—the question, namely, whether Christianity was to be a Jewish sect or a new world-religion. The old Bābi doctrine, continued unchanged by the Ezels, was in essence Shi'ite; for, though the Bahā'is put themselves outside the pale of Islam by rejecting the finality of the Qur'ān and the mission of Muhammad, as well as by many other innovations both in doctrine and practice, their whole thought is deeply tinged with Shi'ite conceptions, shown, for example, even by their heterodox views as to the 'return to the life of the world' of the Prophets Muhammad, his daughter Fāṭima, and the Twelve Imāms, and their identification of their own protagonists with one or other of these leaders. A wholly different spirit pervades the teachings of Bahā'. His religion is more practical, his teaching more ethical and less mystical and metaphysical, and his appeal is to all men, not especially to Shi'ite Muhammadans. His attitude towards the Shāh and the Persian government is, moreover, much more conciliatory, as is well seen in the celebrated Epistle to the King of Persia (Lawḥ-i-Sultān) which he addressed to Nasirū'd-Dīn Shāh soon after his arrival at 'Akka. This letter, one of the most extraordinary in Persian literature, and entitled 'Epistles to the Kings' to several other rulers, including Queen Victoria, the Tsar of Russia, Napoleon III, and the Pope.*

For a long time during this period full materials are not available, but generally speaking it may be said to consist, so far as 'Akka itself is concerned, of alternations of greater and less strict supervision of the exiles by the Ottoman government, gradual development of organization and propaganda, and the arrival and departure of innumerable pilgrims, mostly Persians, but, since the successful propaganda in the United States, including a good many Americans. In Persia, where the religion naturally counts most of its adherents, the influence has been sporadic and spasmodic, to which the Bahā'is, in accordance with Bahā's command, 'It is better that you should be killed than that you should kill,' have patiently submitted. Among these persecutions may be especially mentioned, since the execution of Mirzā Bādi in July 1890, the following. About 1880 two Sayyids of Isfahan, now known to their co-religionists as Sultānšāh Shāhuṣāh ('the King of Martyrs') and Mahbūbābā Shāhuṣāh ('the Beloved of Martyrs'), were put to death by the clergy of Isfahan. In October 1888, 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Ashiraf of Abābā was put to death in the same

* In JRAS, 1897, pp. 761–787, the present writer published a tr. of a memoir on the secession at Zanjāk, written for him by an old man.

† Probably in the summer of 1849 (see Trans. Naut. iii. 292).
§ Extraordinary letter, translated into English, will be found in JRAS, 1889, pp. 650–672.
place, and his body mutilated and burned.* In the following seven years, or eight Babís were put to death with great cruelty, at the instigation of Aghá-yi-Náṣífí, in the villages of Sháhir, near Isfahán. One of these was Muntaka-bi-ní-Akh труд, near Isfahán, was stabbed to death in broad daylight in one of the chief thoroughfares of Isfahán (Ashabad) by two Shi'ite áli's sent from Mashhad for that purpose. The assassins were sentenced to death by the Russian military tribunal before which they were tried, but this sentence was commuted to one of hard labour for life. This was the first time in the fifty years during which the sect had existed that condign punishment was meted out on any of their persecutors; their rejoicings were proportionately great, and Bahá'u'lláh made the event the occasion of two revelations in which Russian justice was highly extolled, and Bahá'u'lláh's followers were enjoin not to forget it. In May 1891 there was a persecution of Bábís at Yazd, in which seven of them were brutally killed (May 18), while another, an old man, was secretly put to death a few days later. In the summer of 1903 there was another fierce persecution in the same town, of the horrors of which some account is given by Nápir-i-Subûh in his Five Years in a Persian Town (London, 1906).

One of the most interesting phenomena in the recent history of the Bahá'ís has been the propaganda carried on with considerable success in America. This appears to have been begun by a Syrian convert to Baháísm named Ibrahim George Khayyú'lláh, who is the author of many English works on the subject, and is married to an English wife. He seems first to have lectured on the subject in Chicago, and in 1897, during his visit to the town, he 'began to preach the fulness of the truth which Christ and the Prophets foretold over seven years ago.' § Born in Mount Lebanon, he lived twenty-one years in Cairo, and was then converted to the Bahá'í doctrine by a certain 'Abdu'll-Karim of Tbríz. Afterwards he settled in America and became naturalized as a citizen of the United States. The propaganda which he has been able to carry on has been of considerable interest: the fact that thousands of American Bahá'ís, a considerable American literature on the subject, and a certain amount of actual intercourse between America and the American Bahá'ís, is entitled Kitáb-i-Aqdas, the Most Holy Book: 'Whosoever lays claim to any authority regarded by the partisans of his brother as bringing him under the condemnation equally called a liar and a calumniator.' The dispute has been darkened by a mass of words, but in essence it is a conflict between these two sayings, viewed in the light of the supernatural claim—which Bahá'ís claim—and does advance. On the one hand, Bahá'u'lláh's Testament explicitly puts him first in the succession; on the other, being so preferred, he did 'lay claim to an authority' regarded by the partisans of his brother as bringing him under the condemnation equally called a liar and a calumniator.' The dispute has been darkened by a mass of words, but in essence it is a conflict between these two sayings, viewed in the light of the supernatural claim—which Bahá'ís claim—and does advance. On the one hand, Bahá'u'lláh's Testament explicitly puts him first in the succession; on the other, being so preferred, he did 'lay claim to an authority' regarded by the partisans of his brother as bringing him under the condemnation equally called a liar and a calumniator.' The dispute has been darkened by a mass of words, but in essence it is a conflict between these two sayings, viewed in the light of the supernatural claim—which Bahá'ís claim—and does advance. On the one hand, Bahá'u'lláh's Testament explicitly puts him first in the succession; on the other, being so preferred, he did 'lay claim to an authority' regarded by the partisans of his brother as bringing him under the condemnation equally called a liar and a calumniator.' The dispute has been darkened by a mass of words, but in essence it is a conflict between these two sayings, viewed in the light of the supernatural claim—which Bahá'ís claim—

*Cf. True Narr., p. 139, and 400-406.

† Bahá'í Calendar, 1919, p. 413 f. The texts of the revelations were published by Baron Rosen on pp. 247-250 of Collection Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, vi. (St. Petersburg, 1913).

§ It was at the 'Parliament of Religions,' held at Chicago in 1893, that the Bahá'í doctrines first began to arouse considerable attention in America.
but missionaries, including the aged and learned Mirza Abü'l-Fazl of Galpâyangan, were sent out in the beginning of 1902 to the United States to oppose him,* and at one time he professed to be in the United States. 

6. Doctrine.—A full discussion of Bábí and Bahá'í doctrine, even were the time ripe for it, would far exceed the limits of an encyclopedia article. Before proceeding to set forth such a sketch of its most salient features as is possible within these limits, we must call the reader's attention to one or two general considerations.

(1) The Báb's own doctrine underwent considerable development and change during the six years (i.e. 1844-50) of his residence between the 'copyright' and his death, and to trace this development it would be necessary to examine all his writings and statements in a more careful, detailed, and systematic manner than has yet been done. To mention only a few of the chief substantive works which issued from his pen, Persians, Bahá'ís, Travels, and the Jami'átul-Haramayn, both composed in the year of the 'Manifestation.' Then there is the Jami'átul-Haramayn ('Seven Proofs'), and a number of Commentaries (Tafzílas) on different súras of the Qur'án, notably the Commentary on the Chapter of Joseph (Džat al-Ma'ab, and the Summarized Commentary on the súras entitled respectively al-Baqara, at-Kauthar, al-Yâs, etc., all of which belong to the earlier period before the Báb openly professed Bábí doctrine.) These works contained the hidden Imam, but the Imam himself, nay the 'Point' ('Nûjûm) of a new Revelation. Of his later writings, to all of which, as well as to those of His 'Abbasí (explained above) are clearly applied, the Persian Bayán is, perhaps, the most systematic, but as it was published in a much more careful, detailed, and systematic manner than has yet been done. To mention only a few of these later Bábí treatises on metaphysics and political science, and he who has read even one or two of them will be inclined to agree with Gobineau's judgment, 'le style de Mirzâ Allé-

(2) As there has never been anything corresponding to a 'Church Council' among the Bábís, the greatest divergence of opinion has been caused among them even on the Sublime Bayán's Hayrâmâyán, both composed in the year of the ' Manifestation.' Then there is the Sublime Bayán ('Seven Proofs'), and a number of Commentaries (Tafzílas) on different súras of the Qur'án, notably the Commentary on the Chapter of Joseph (Džat al-Ma'ab, and the Summarized Commentary on the súras entitled respectively al-Baqara, at-Kauthar, al-Yâs, etc., all of which belong to the earlier period before the Báb openly professed Bábí doctrine.) These works contained the hidden Imam, but the Imam himself, nay the 'Point' ('Nûjûm) of a new Revelation. Of his later writings, to all of which, as well as to those of His 'Abbasí (explained above) are clearly applied, the Persian Bayán is, perhaps, the most systematic, but as it was published in a much more careful, detailed, and systematic manner than has yet been done. To mention only a few of these later Bábí treatises on metaphysics and political science, and he who has read even one or two of them will be inclined to agree with Gobineau's judgment, 'le style de Mirzâ Allé-

(3) It must be clearly understood that Bábism is in no sense a metaphysical or ecstatic, and stands, therefore, in the sharpest antagonism to Sufism. However vague Bábí doctrine may be on certain points, it is essentially dogmatic, and every utterance or command uttered by the 'Manifestation' of the period (i.e. by the Báb, Babá'u'lláh, Babá'u'lláh, Abdu'lláh Effendî, and Muhammad 'All respectively) must be accepted without reserve. Tolerance is, indeed, inculcated by Babá'u'lláh: 'Associate with others in every religion, and harmony is one of the commands given in the Kitâb-i-Aqdas. His utterances as follows: 'The Báb, as well as the Babá'u'lláh, has preached unto His servants is Knowledge of the Daybreak of His Revelation and the Dawning-place of His Command, which is the Manifestation of His light, is the Work of Creation and Command. Whosoever attaineth unto this hath attained unto all good, and whosoever is detrared therefrom is of the children of darkness, even though he professeth the good deeds.' In other words, works without faith are dead. The most immediate fold of the Bábí teaching is inclined to tolerance; according to the Babá'u'lláh, no unbelievers were to be suffered to dwell in the five principal provinces of Persia, for they were, as far as he was concerned, treated as subjects to restrictions, and kept in a position of inferiority. The Bábís are strongly antagonistic alike to the Súfís and to the Muhammadans, for quite different reasons. In the

* Several American papers describing this mission are in the present writer's possession. One (The North American, Feb. 16, 1902) gives portraits of Mirzâ Abü'l-Fazl, his companion Hassan Effendi, and the latter's wife of whom the writer says, 'and heads its leading article 'Astonishing Spread of Babism.'

According to the Bábí conception, the Essence of God, the Primal Divine Unity, is unknowable, and entirely transcends human comprehension, and all that we can know is its Manifestations, that succession of theophanies which constitutes the series of Prophets. In essence all the Prophets are one; that is to say, one Universal Reason or Intelligence speaks to mankind successively, always according to their actual capacities and the exigencies of the age, through Abraham, Moses, David, Christ, Muhammad, and now through this last Manifestation, by which the old Bábís and the present Ezdíls understand the Báb (whom they commonly speak of as Haẓrat-i-Nu'tá, 'His Holiness the Point'; Haẓrat-i-Rabbíqü'l-A'áli, 'His Holiness my Lord the Supreme,' etc.), while the Bahá'ís are, of course, a mere forerunner, or herald (mubashshir), comparing him to John the Baptist, understand Bahá'u'lláh. In essence all the Prophets are one, and their teaching is one; but (to use one of the favourite investigations of the Bahá'ís) just as the material, expanding the same science, will speak in different, even in apparently contradictory, terms, according to whether he is addressing small children, young boys and girls, or persons of mature age and ripe understanding, so will the Prophet regulate his utterances and adjust his ordinances according to the degree of development attained by the community to which he is sent. Thus the material Paradise and Hell preached by Muhammad do not really exist, but no more accurate conception of the realities which they symbolize could be conveyed to the rough Arabs to whom he was sent. When the world has outgrown the teaching of one Manifestation, a new Manifestation appears; and as the world and the human race are, according to the Bábí view, eternal, and progress is a universal law, there can be no point in the world, or last of the Prophets and seal of the Prophets, as the Muhammadans suppose. No point of the Báb's doctrine is more strongly emphasized than this. Every Prophet has forfetold his successor, and in every age a successor has come, been rejected by the majority of that Prophet's followers. The Jews rejected their Messiah, whose advent they professed to be awaiting with such eagerness; the Christians rejected the Paraclete or Comforter whom Christ forsook in prophecies supposed by the Muhammadans to have been fulfilled by the coming of Muhammad; the Shi'ite Muhammadans never mention the Twelfth Imam, or Mahdi, without adding the formula 'مُدَيَّرُ الْفَضْلِ' ('May God hasten his glad Advent!'), yet when at last after a thousand years the expected Imam returned (in the shape of the Báb), they rejected, reviled, imprisoned, and finally slew him. The Báb was determined that, so far as it lay in his power to prevent it, his followers should not fall into this error, and, indeed, the Bábí and Bahá'í creeds are, for quite different reasons. In the

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Bab, Babis

say that if any one shall appear claiming to be 'He whom God shall manifest,' it is the duty of every believer to put aside all other business and hasten to investigate the proofs adduced in support of this claim, and that, even if he cannot convince himself of its truth, he must refrain from repudiating or denouncing him who appears as an impostor. It is this provisions, no doubt, which have always given so great an advantage to every fresh claimant in the history of Babism, and have placed what may be called the 'Stationary Party' (e.g. the followers of Subhi-i-Ezeld, and, later, of Mushtag-i-Ma'll) at so great an disadvantage.

From what has been said above, the Western reader may be tempted to think of the Babi doctrine as embodying, to a certain extent, the modern Western rationalistic spirit. No mistake could be greater. The belief in the fulfilment of prophecies: the love of apocalyptic sayings culled from the Jewish, Christian, and Muhammadan Scriptures and traditions; the value attached to talismans (especially among the early Babis); the theory of correspondences, as illustrated by the mystical doctrine of the Unity and its manifestation in the number 19, and the whole elaborate system of equivalences between names, based on the numerical values of letters, point to a totally different order of ideas, and are, moreover, ingrained in the true Babi doctrine, as distinguished from the same doctrine as presented to and understood by most American and European believers. Even the practical reforms enjoined or suggested by the Bab are generally based on some quite non-utilitarian ground. Thus the severe chastisement of children is forbidden, and consideration for their feelings enjoined; but the reason for this is that when 'He whom God shall manifest' comes, he will come first as a child, and it would be a fearful thing for any one to have to reproach himself afterwards for having harshly treated the augst infant. This and other similar social reforms, such as the emancipation of the position of women, are not, as some Europeans have supposed, the motive power of a heresism which has astonished the world, but rather the mystical ideas connected with the 'Manifestations,' 'Unities,' numbers, letters, and fulfilment of prophecies, which to European rationalists appear so fantastic and fanciful. But, above all, the essence of babism, or a Babi, is a profound devotion to the 'Person of the Manifestation,' and a profound belief that he is divine and of a different order from all others. The Bab, as we have seen, was called by his followers 'His Holiness my Lord and the Supreme,' and Baha'llah is called not only 'the Blessed Perfection' (jan'nl-i-Mubarak), but, especially in Persia, 'God Almighty' (fath ta'alla). Then also there are differences of opinion as to the degree of divinity possessed by the 'Person of the Manifestation,' and not all the faithful go so far as the poet who exclaimed: 'My heart call thee God,' and I am filled with angry wonder as to how long thou wilt endure the shame of Godhead!'

Something more must now be said as to the 'Point,' the 'Unity,' and its manifestation in the number 19, and other kindred matters. The idea of the 'Point' (nabq) seems to rest chiefly on two (probably spurious) Shi'ite traditions. Knowledge, say the sayings, is a gift which the ignorantly made multiple. It was this 'point of knowledge'—not detailed knowledge of subsidiary matters, but vivid, essential, 'compendious' knowledge of the eternal realities of things—to which the Bab's exalted and profound tradition is ascribed to Ali, the first Imam, and it is alleged to have declared that all that was in the Qur'an was contained implicitly in the Sarnat'el-Fatika, or opening chapter of the Qur'an, and that this in turn was contained in the Bismillah which stands over it, this in turn in the initial (B) of the Bismillah, and this in turn 'in the Point which stands under the (B)'; and, 'Ali is said to have added, 'I am the Point which stands under the (B).'

Now the formula

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\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم}
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('In the Name of God the Merciful, the Forgiving') comprises 19 letters, which, therefore, are the 'Manifestation' of the 'Point under the (B),' just as the whole Qur'an is the further 'Manifestation,' on a plane of greater plurality, of the Bismillah. Moreover, the Arabic word for 'One' is Wahiid (\(\text{واحد}\)), and the letters composing the word Wahiid \((w=0; i=1; h=8; d=4)\) give the sum-total of 19. This 'first Unity' of 19 in turn manifests itself as \(19 \times 19 \times 10^3\) or 301, which the Babis call 'the Number of All Things' (\(\text{عدد كل شيء}\)), and the words \(\text{كل شيء}\) ('All Things') are numerically equivalent to \((20 + n = 30 + n = 300 + n = 10) = 300\), to which, by adding 'the one which underlies all plurality,' 301, 'the Number of All Things,' or 19, is obtained.

To the number 19 great importance is attached by the Babis, and, so far as possible, it is made the basis of all divisions of time, money, and the like. Thus the Bab year comprises 19 months of 19 days each, to which intercalary days 'according to the number of the H (2), i.e. 5, are added to bring the solar year (which they proposed to restore in place of the Muhammadan lunar year) up to the requisite length. The same names (Baha, Jotul, Jamul, etc.) serve for the months and the days, so that once in each month the day and the month (as in the Zoroastrian calendar) correspond, and such days are observed as festivals. The year begins with the old Persian Yaxar-ruz, or New Year's Day, corresponding with the Vernal Equinox, and conventionally observed on March 21. The month of fasting, which replaces the Ramadan of Islam, is the last month of the year, i.e. the 19 days preceding the Ayr-ruz. The Bab's idea of a coinage having 19 as its basis has been abandoned, along with many other impracticable ordinances, some of which are explicitly abrogated in the Kitab-i-Aqdas or others of Babullah's writings. The 'Unity' is also manifested in the divine attribute Hayy (حی), 'the Living,' which equals \(8 + 10 = 18\), or, with the 'one which underlies all plurality,' 19. The Bab accordingly chose 18 disciples, who, with himself, constituted the 'Letters of the Living' (حروف حي) or 'First Unity.' The choice of Mirza Yahya, 'Subhi-i-Ezeld' ('the Dawn of Eternity'), by the Bab as his successor, was probably also determined by the fact that the name Yahya (야하야, \(\text{يایه} = 36\)) was a multiple of 18, on which account Subhi-i-Ezeld was also called Wahiid (واهد), which is numerically equivalent to 28 (the number of the letters constituting the Arabic alphabet), and signifies 'unique,' i.e. manifesting the Unity.

The importance attached by the Babis to the numerical equivalents of words is seen elsewhere,
and especially in their habit of referring cryptically to towns connected with their history by names of an equivalent value. Thus Adryanople, called in Turkish Edirne (أديسأ), is named Arzú-e-Sirr (أرزوع، سير). ‘the Land of the Mystery,’ both words, Edirné and Sirr, being numerically equivalent to 260. So Zanján (زنجأن, = 111) is called Arzúl’A’la (أرزوع، عالى), and so on. Other strange expressions with which the Báb writings (especially the earlier writings) abound constantly puzzle the uninitiated reader, who will have to discover for himself that, for example, the expression ‘the Person of the Seven Letters’ (دوست الخمس) is one of the titles of the Báb, whose name, ‘Ali Muhammad, consists of seven letters. Even in Bahá’u’lláh’s works such obscure terms occur as al-Baqiat’-l-Hamárát, ‘the Red Place,’ which means ‘Akáka, and the like.

The Báb laid down a number of laws, dictated in many cases by his personal tastes and feelings, which have partly survived. Some are heretical prohibitions of eating and the cutting of onions (though these are still observed by the Zelús), his regulations as to clothing, forms of salutation, the use of rings and perfumes, the names by which children might be named ‘in the Bayan,’ the burial of the dead, and the like. The laws enacted by Bahá’u’lláh in the Kitáb-Áqdas, with the exception of the law of Inheritance, are simpler and more practical, and the whole tone of the Bahá’í scriptures (which, of course, according to the Bahá’í view, entirely abrogate the Báb’s writings) is more simple, more practical, and more concerned with ethical than metaphysical questions. Historically, there is much to be said in favour of Subh-i-Ezél’s claim, since he was certainly nominated by the Báb as his immediate successor, and was equally certainly so recognized for a good many years by the whole Bahá’í community; while, assuming the Báb to have been divinely inspired (and this assumption must be made not only by every Bahá’í but by every Bahá’í), it is difficult to suppose that he could choose himself the one who was destined to be the chief opponent of ‘Him whom God shall manifest.’ Yet practically it cannot be doubted that the survival and extension of the religion formed by the Báb were secured by the modifications effected in it by Bahá’u’lláh, for in its original form it could never have been intelligible, much less attractive, outside Persia; and even there, when once the ferment attending its introduction had subsided, it would probably have sunk into the insignificance shared by so many Muslim sects which once played an important rôle in history.

At the present day there are a few Bahá’ís of the old school who call themselves ‘Kullu-hayis,’ and decline to enter into the Zelúl and Bahá’í quarrel at all; there is a small, and probably diminishing, number of Zelús; and a large, but indeterminable number of Bahá’ís, of whom the great majority follow ‘Abdás Efendí (’Abdu’l-Bahá), and the minority his brother Muhammad ‘Ali. Latterly the followers of Bahá’u’lláh have shown a strong desire to suppress the term Bahá’í, and call themselves Bahá’ís, and to ignore or suppress the earlier history and literature of their religion. Alike in intelligence and in morals the Bahá’ís (or Bahá’ís) stand high; but it is not certain that their triple triumph of Islam in Persia would ultimately contribute to the welfare of that distracted land, or that the toler-

Since they now advocate would stand the test of success and supremacy.

Literature.—An exhaustive treatment of the literature of this subject would be beyond the scope of this article. I. BÁBí SCRIPTURES, all in Arabic or Persian, regarded by all or by certain sections of the Bábís as revelations, and including: (a) Writings of Mirzá ‘Ali Muhammad the Báb (a.d. 1844-1850).—These were divided by the Báb himself into five grades (Shú‘íni-Khanum), viz. verses (qiyát, supplications (náyih), commentaries (tabbár, scientific treatises (Shú‘áíní-Támíyya, or tarjumun-r-ríḍil, or `tajḍíd), or ‘Outpourings,’ recently published in the original Persian, and in Fr. and Eng. translations, by Miss Laura Barney and M. Hippolyte Dreyfus. (b) Writings of Mirzá Muhammad ‘Ali, the brother and rival of ‘Abáís Efendí. II. DEVOTIONAL, DOCTRINAL, AND APOLOGETIC WORKS in Arabic and Persian of the Bab, Subh-i-Ezé,Subh-i-Bahá, ‘Abáís Efendí, and Mirzá Muhammad ‘Ali, of which in recent times a considerable number have been published in English by American believers and a smaller number in French by the Bábí literature of the old Bábís, such as Mullá Muhammad ‘Ali of Bárúshír and Bahá’ís in general, and are the main and the most important part of the Bahá’í literature in manuscript. Mirzá ‘Abdú’l-Fadl of Gulpiyúghá, a devoted fol-

* See the Traveller’s Narratives, ii. 355-457, especially the definitions from the Persian text given on p. 354, concerning the ‘five grades’; see also JAQS, xiv. (1929) 463 ff. For description of this collection of the writings of ‘Abáís-Támídd, see JAQS, 1892, 453-457.
lower of Bahá'u'lláh, composed, about A.D. 1857, a Persian tract entitled "Iltidati'll-Tabiri," in which he endeavored to prove to the Jews that the advent of their expected Messiah was fulfilled by the manifestation of Bahá'u'lláh. The same subject also was published in Cairo a Persian work of 731 pages entitled Kitabul-Far'id, in which he replied to attacks made on the Bahá'ís by Sir Robert Spence Watson, and also wrote a Persian work, published in Cairo a Persian work of 731 pages entitled Kitabul-Far'id, in which he replied to attacks made on the Bahá'ís by Sir Robert Spence Watson, and also wrote a Persian work, published in Cairo a Persian work of 731 pages entitled Kitabul-Far'id, in which he replied to attacks made on the Bahá'ís by Sir Robert Spence Watson, and also wrote a Persian work, published in Cairo a Persian work of 731 pages entitled Kitabul-Far'id, in which he replied to attacks made on the Bahá'ís by Sir Robert Spence Watson, and also wrote a Persian work, published in Cairo.

In the preface to this work, the Bahá'ís claim that the work was written in 1857, long before the death of Bahá'u'lláh, and that it was published in Cairo in 1857. This claim is not supported by any other published source.

The book is a collection of letters and documents written by Bahá'u'lláh and his followers. It contains excerpts from Bahá'u'lláh's writings, as well as letters and documents written by him and his followers. The book also includes excerpts from the writings of various Persian and Arabic authors, including Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who is considered the founder of the Baha'i faith.

The book is divided into several sections, each dedicated to a different topic. The sections include:

1. Historical Works written by believers (such as Bahá'u'lláh's own writings, as well as works by his followers).
2. Traveller's Narratives, and part of the history of the Baha'i faith.

The book is intended to provide a detailed account of the early history of the Baha'i faith, and to provide evidence for the claim that Bahá'u'lláh was the Messiah prophesied by the Prophet Muhammad.

The book is an important source for understanding the early history of the Baha'i faith, and is a valuable resource for students of religious history.

The book is available for purchase online, and can be accessed through various online retailers.
it its flavour, but would be lost in the river. Similarly the Supreme Soul, or in other words the Deity, is beyond accident, while the human soul is afflicted by sense and passion.

Withdrawal from worldly life is prudent, but not necessary. The real 'world' from which the disciple must withdraw is forgetfulness of God, not clothes, or wealth, or wife, or offspring. All created things are derived from one material source, or, as he says, the tree is derived from the seed. But the evolution of the former from the latter requires the interference of an evolving Cause, or the interposition of the Creator.

**Introduction.**—At the present moment it is an exceedingly difficult task to give a short comprehensive account of the Babylonian religion. In the first place, in spite of much diligent research, particularly in the course of the last two decades, the results of the excavations a t Mari, which, as the earlier aspect of the essential character and historical evolution of this religion. In an objective account, such as is here demanded, these differences must necessarily be referred to. We have to deal, in the first place, with the following question: Are we to hold, with Winckler especially, that the religion of the Babylonians and their theory of the universe in general are to be regarded, at the time when our sources begin, i.e. about B.C. 3000, as essentially complete—a fixed system, based upon astronomical principles, which we find nowhere in the pre-historic? Or, are the undoubted traces of the systematizing of the religion, which are found in our sources, and its close connexion with an astral scheme, only the product of a comparatively late period? Was it only in the post-Babylonian, the Hellenistic, period that the system was perfectly completed, instead of having taken place, as Winckler supposed, in the earliest known historical period? The present writer feels compelled, from his study and interpretation of the sources, to adopt an intermediate theory between the two extremes just mentioned. It seems to him undeniable that there was among the Babylonians, even at an early date, a tendency to reduce the world of the gods to a single system, and to carry out the law of correspondence between terrestrial and small, heavenly and earthly, time and space, the macrocosm and the microcosm. At the same time, he does not feel inclined to exclude the element of historical evolution from the actually known period of Assyro-Babylonian history to the same extent as Winckler does. In particular, it seems to him that the close connexion between almost all the chief deities and heavenly bodies and the proportionate distribution of the cosmos among them rest on a secondary element in our sources, which it is still possible to follow to the historical period. The present writer further feels inclined to ascribe a more individual character to the several Babylonian divinities than is done by Winckler, and to harbour a strong suspicion of the theory that even in ancient times the several divine forms were regarded in Babylonia as only partial manifestations of a single Deity, so that the latter had to be substituted for each other. Moreover, to a far larger extent than Winckler is disposed to admit, we seem to have to deal in the Babylonian religion with unrecognised differences, due partly to widely varying local cults, which once existed, and partly to the combination of Sumerian and Semitic elements already mentioned, as well as to the varied survivals from older stages of the Babylonian religion. We cannot, then, speak of a finished scheme as present in the Bab. Weltanschauung and consequently in its religion. At the same time, it must be conceded that Winckler's construction of a Bab. Weltanschauung has in many ways, in spite of its one-sidedness and evident exaggeration, made possible a better understanding of the religion of the Babylonians.

**BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS.**

[H. ZIMMERN.]

**I. History:**—The principal places of worship and the character of the Babylonian religion in general.—At the very commencement of the eoniform sources, about the year B.C. 3000, we find in the original documents—royal inscriptions and documents containing special information—references to a multitude of divine figures and names of temples. On closer inspection, these distribute themselves among various local cults, which possess greater or less importance, according to the political or religious eminence of the respective seats of worship. Now, seeing that in Babylon, in the earliest times, the seat of the supreme political power often changed, it is clear that the city-gods of different and successive capitals might, in turn, have supreme significance for the whole land—a significance which continued to persist long after the city in question had lost its political supremacy. In connexion with this change of the seat of political power, it must early have been felt necessary to harmonize the local cults, which originally differed widely, and to bring the gods of the different places of worship into some definite relation to each other. In this way would be formed a divine State and divine families—preferably in the triad of father, mother, son—after the model of the earthly State and the human family. Ah, and the number of the deities in the different parts of the cosmos among the several gods. The matter is still further complicated by the fact that in most cases, particularly in towns of South and Middle Babylonia, the cult of an earlier Sumerian pantheon was turned over to their Semitic successors. Here there must naturally have taken place new combinations of the original Sumerian and the imported Semitic religious ideas.

The most important seats of worship and their local deities which have to be considered are, proceeding from south to north, as follows: Er旦 with the cult of Ea, UrDU (Ur) with Sin (the moon-god), Larsa with Shaktash (the sun-god), Urk (Erch) with Anu and Ishtar-Nana, Lagash with Ningirsu, Nippur with Enki, Isin with Bel-Isin, Kish with Zimmora (Nimm) and Kuttu (Cuthun) with Nergal, Isinab (Babylon) with Marduk (Merodach), Borsip (Borsippa) with Nabu (Nebo), Sippur with Shamash, Akkad with Ishtar-Annuniti. In addition to these, we have in the Assyrian domain: Asshur with the god Ashshur, Ninua (Nineveh) with Ishtar at Nineveh, and in Mesopotamia Harran with Sin.

Among these cities or seats of worship, Ur, Nippur, and Er旦 must in the earliest times have been very specially prominent, since their gods, Anu, Enlil, and Sin, were the three fundamental deities of the historic cult of the Babylonian pantheon—a position which they retained (even if this was often a mere
form) down to the latest times. But Uru and Larsa must also at one time have held a chief place (as can be partially traced in the actual history), for their local deities, Sin and Shamash, play quite a pre-eminent part in the whole scheme of the Babylonian pantheon; but it is not until the second millennium B.C. that we find a systematic scheme of the pantheon, the connexion of heaven with Ann, the earth with Enil, and the water with Ea, corresponds entirely with the original nature of these three gods. Rather may it have been that, under the influence of the systematizing process which had set in, particular features connecting one of these gods with heaven, a second with earth, a third with water, were so utilized as afterwards to distinguish them sharply in these three directions, and to distribute the cosmical and other functions among them. In the case of Ishtar it is a question whether her cult had originally to do with the worship of the morning (and the evening) star, the planet Venus, or whether once more the astral character of Ishtar is not a secondary phenomenon, such as has happened to other astral deities, with indication of fertility in human, animal, and plant life. It is still less certain that the gods Marduk, Nabû, Ninib, Nergal, who in later times were associated on the one hand with phases of the sun, and on the other with the four remaining planets known to the ancients, had, to begin with, any solar or astral significance. There is much, on the other hand, to indicate that the connexion of these gods with the heavenly bodies did not belong to their original cult and nature, but that other features connecting them with nature and human life are the real key to their original character.

Accordingly, we are of opinion that it is impossible to postulate a purely astral basis for the Babylonian religion, either in its Sumerian or its Semitic elements. On the other hand, it must certainly be granted that at a relatively very early date, i.e., partially at least, in the period represented by our oldest sources, all the chief gods, and not merely those who, like Shamash and Sin, had their origin in the worship of the heavenly bodies, but also those who stand in connexion with the earthly, and that the Babylonian religion had assumed an astral stamp. This comes to light in all the outward forms of the religion, and finds particularly clear expression in the cults and the mythology. This widespread astral coin must undoubtedly be regarded as an inheritance from the Sumerians. In its origin it is connected with the remarkable conception of the world as a unity—another undoubted heirloom received from the Sumerians, which Wackernagel has set up as an axiom. According to this view of the universe, all phenomena in the macrocosm and in the microcosm, in heaven and on earth, are in a relation of mutual correspondence.

2. The chief figures of the pantheon.—Some of these have already been mentioned, but we must now proceed to notice and characterize them more fully.

Anu (Annum) stands at the head of the supreme divine triad—Anu, Enlil, Ea. Whatever may have once been the original Babylonian triad, this was interpreted as meaning 'heaven,' corresponding to the Sumerian anu, 'heaven,' and thus the deity was regarded as the heaven-god, over-against Enlil (the earth-god) and Ea (the water-god). He was thought of as enthroned in heaven, especially on the northern pole, which is eternally at rest. Here he reigned as king and father of the gods, who, for their part, had their homes in the stars which circle round the pole. Even the evil demons are in the last resort subject to him. The chief seat of the worship of Anu was Uruk; but in later times he had also a temple at Babylon, in common with the storm-god Adad. But, at least to us, this was but a later development from our sources, his cult retired strangely into the background. On the other hand, he continues to play a certain part in the mythology, where he is regarded as the supreme dispenser of all life and fortune.

Enlil (Ellil)—a name which used to be generally misread Bel—is the second god of the highest triad. Here he is regarded as the lord of lands, as contrasted with the lord of heaven. As the ruler of the mythical (cosmic) great mountain of the world (earth-mountain), where he had his dwelling-place, he bears the frequent epithet of the 'great mountain.' His wife is called Ninlil, also Belû-mâtâtû, 'the lady of Belû,' or 'the lady of the gods,' the mother-goddess of fertility. He was the chief seat of worship was the city Nippur, with the temple E-kur, whose remains have been excavated by an American expedition. The worship of this deity must have held a specially important place in the earlier Babylonian period. This can be gathered, not only from the direct evidence of the excavations at Nippur, but also from the rôle which, down to the latest times, Enlil plays in the Bab. mythology (cf. the story of the Flood) and hymns. For, although in later days much which had been ascribed to Enlil was transferred to other gods, particularly to Marduk of Babylon, this very fact proves that at a certain period Enlil must have occupied the chief place.

Ea is the third god of the highest triad, and, as such, ruler of the water-depths. The pronunciation of the name as Éa has not yet been quite fully established. Perhaps, judging from the 'A's in Damasciusthe, the name ought rather to be read Ac or something similar. His seat of worship was Eridu in the plain of Babylonia, lying near the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The cult of Ea must also once have enjoyed the highest reputation, as is indicated by the after-effects in the myths (cf., again, the story of the Flood) and the literature of exorcism. Owing to the fact that at a late date the cult of Eridu came, in a way that is not yet quite clear, to be combined with the cult of Babylon, Ea as the father of Marduk remained an object of living worship to the latest period of the Babylonian religion. He was regarded as the ruler of the earth, and as the eldest of the gods who stands nearest to mankind, and is thus most ready to help in difficult situations, and who, as the wise god, the lord of wisdom, has always the necessary means of assistance at hand. In particular, he helps by means of his own element, the healing water of the streams and the underground springs, which play an exceedingly important part in exorcism—the peculiar domain of the Ea-cult. Here he is assisted by his son Marduk, who in this connexion is to be regarded as Ea's substitute. Ea was regarded as the chief deity of Eridu, whose identification with the god of Babylon was only secondary. Ea's wife is Damkina.

Sin, the moon-god, the first of the second triad of gods consisting of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar (or also Sin, Shamash, and Adad), is the city-god of Babylonia.
Ur (OT Ur) in South Babylonia, where his temple, E-gal-kalrugal ('house of light and stool'). But the Sin-entu had a strong hold at an early date also at Harrān in Mesopotamia. For even as early as the sources derived from Boghazkoi (middle of the 2nd mill. B.C.), Sin of Harrān is mentioned. Here also a name readily applied to him is Bel- 
Elephant. In Harrān the name is always called Ningal, 'the great lady,' 'the queen.' His son is Shamash, the sun-god (in Harrān, Nusku specially appears as the son of Sin). According to the one view at least, Ishtar is regarded as his daughter. The correspondence of Sin and Ishtar is always connected from the very first with the worship of the moon, for the name Sin was actually used by the Babylonians as an appellative for the moon. Moreover, in the hymns addressed to Sin his character as moon-god is quite clear; and it may be noted in this connection that the moon-god is regarded as a pre-eminently benignant and well-disposed deity. Also connected with the moon is Sin's rôle as the god of oracles, although in this respect he is somewhat overshadowed by Shamash, the sun-god.

Shamash, the sun-god, comes next to Sin in the series of deities, and is regarded as his son—a circumstance to be explained perhaps by a later sun-cult having displaced an earlier cult of the moon. In the case of Shamash also the name of the deity was displaced by the Babylonian and a common Semitic name for the sun, so that here also the connexion of this deity with the great star of day is at all events original. The sun-god, moreover, of Babylonian religion is always of the male sex; whereas in South Arabia, e.g., the sun was worshipped as a goddess. The seats of worship peculiar to Shamash are: in Southern Babylonia, Larsa; in Northern, Sippar. In both of these places his temple was called E-babadur, 'clear shining house,' that which 'is as the dwelling of heaven.' His wife or mistress is Aja, 'the bride. As son of Sin he is also regarded as the brother of Ishtar. As children of his we find mentioned Kettu, 'justice,' and Mesharru, 'rectitude'—personifications of qualities which belong to Shamash pre-eminently as the supreme divine judge. There is further associated with him his charioteer, Bune. In many hymns Shamash is celebrated as the sun-god, who every morning favours mankind with his light, who is the dispenser of all good and the enemy and avenger of evil. He is especially noted above, as the supreme judge in heaven and on the earth, to whom all legislation is ascribed (cf. the introduction to the laws of Hammurabi and the relief figure of Shamash on the stele containing this code). As sun-god he was at the same time the supreme oracle-god, in whose name all soothsaying was carried on, and who was the patron-god of the gild of soothsaying priests which held so important a place in Babylonia. Ishtar, often placed third in the triad of divinities, is in Sin and Shamash the most prominent female deity in the Babylonian pantheon. Starting with local cults in which, as a female deity, she occupied the chief place, Ishtar came in the end practically to absorb all other goddesses of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon, so that her name became equivalent to that of Bab., appellative for 'goddess.' Whether her cult, like that of Sin and Shamash, was from the beginning connected with star-worship—especially that of Venus—cannot be decided with certainty, although this connexion of Ishtar with the planet Venus is one of the oldest and best known in the planetary goddesses of the Semitic peoples. Venus and her character as 'queen of heaven' may go back to remote antiquity. The name Ishtar, whose origin and etymology are still matter of dispute, does not enable us to come any definite conclusion on this point. As little can we tell what is the later influence on the Astarte figures of the other Semitic religions, which are in name and character closely related to the Babylonian Ishtar. Possibly we ought rather to assume a greater antiquity for her character as the goddess of fertility. Her principal seats of worship, besides Haran and Babylon, were as Nanã, Akkad (here worshipped as Amunnītu), Nineveh, and Arbela. Here too, as is indicated by the very names Nanã and Amunnītu, we have undoubtedly to do with what were originally independent deities. But there was soon a general connexion in the course of time to be connected and identified. This no doubt also accounts for the way in which, in the later Assyro-Babylonian religion, quite heterogeneous elements are combined in the figure of Ishtar. Her many-sided origin is again reflected in the varying genealogical relation in which she is placed to the other gods. Thus she appears at one time as the daughter of Annu, at another as the daughter of Sin. The following are the most prominent of the varied qualities of Ishtar. In the earliest period she is the goddess of the star-worship, then she is expressly the goddess of war and of the chase. In this aspect she is hailed with predictably by the Assyrian kings who were lovers of war and the chase. The character of a mother-goddess appears to have been attached to the person of Ishtar only after the figures of other mother-goddesses, particularly Niūlit (Eilīt-ile) and Dumukina, had been assimilated by her. In respect of astral connexion, we find Ishtar associated not only with the planet Venus but also with the brightest fixed star Sirius. Her sacred animal is the lion, but perhaps the dove also belongs to her. In the countless hymns addressed to her Ishtar is hailed as goddess in all the aspects mentioned above. But these Ishtar-hymns sometimes reach also a relatively high ethical level, glorifying her as the righteous and merciful, the helper of mankind, who frees from curse and sickness, and forgives sin and guilt. A unique feature in Bab. mythology is the relation between Ishtar and Tammuz (see below, under 'Tammuz').

Marduk, the national god of Babylonia, is, from the point of view of his significance in the Bab. mythology, most closely connected with the fate of the city of Babylon. Just as Babylon came to the front politically at a late date as compared with the other cities of Babylonia, but thereafter always overshadowed the whole in importance and power, so also Marduk is a younger figure in the Babylonian system of deities, and yet he finally comes near to absorbing all the other gods. The meaning of Marduk's name cannot be explained. His temple in Babylon was called E-sagila ('lofty house'), with the temple-tower E-tekemangki ('house of the foundation of heaven and earth'). Mention is found of his wife Sarpanitu ('the silver-gleaning one'), of his brother Ea, and his sister the earth-daughter Nisaba. But this connexion of Marduk with Ea and Nisaba is undoubtedly accounted for by an assimilation of the local cults of Erish and Borsippa and their gods Ea and Nisaba with those of Babylon. On the other hand, an original and separate Marduk cult at Babylon appears to be present in the fact that his chief feast, the later general New Year festival of Babylonia, fell at the time of the spring equinox. This fact, along with many other phenomena,
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leads us to conclude that Marduk was essentially a deity who, as far as the year is concerned, was conceived as embodied in the spring sun bringing new life and light to the earth every morning sun by day. At a still earlier date, perhaps, he was regarded as only a god of vegetation, who had his chief form of manifestation in the reviving vegetation of spring-time. On the other hand, the rôle of arbiter of destiny, which Marduk assumes at this New Year festival, would seem to have been first taken over from Nabû. The same holds good with regard to further features, which came later to be regarded as essential characteristics of Marduk, although certain original features might have survived into this assimilation. Thus, the character of Marduk as the god of healing and the helper in all sickness and need—the rôle he accordingly plays in the literature of exorcism—is derived, as we saw in the case of Ea, from the cult of Eridu. The same source, in all likelihood, is responsible for the emphasis laid on Marduk as the wise and prudent among the gods. In like manner, the rôle of creator, ascribed to Marduk in the Babylonian mythology, was only secondary and transferred to him from the more ancient god Bel. In like manner, his spouse Sele, was called by preference Bēltūt, 'lady.' In the extant hymns to Marduk naturally all the features are reflected which were finally ascribed to him as the supreme being, the king of all the gods. Like the hymns addressed to Ishtar and Shamash, the Marduk-hymns belong to the noblest and relatively highest ethical products of the Babylonian literature.

Nabû (OT Nebho), the city-god of Borsippa (Borsippa), occupied, it would seem, in the more ancient period before the recognized capital, a more important position than later, when in the system of the Babylonian priesthood he was regarded merely as 'son' of Marduk and as 'recorder' of destiny at the New Year festival. He is termed Semitic, and signifies 'announcer.' What kind of 'announcer' it was, that is of destiny—whether that of destiny—is in view uncertain. His later function, already mentioned as recorder, writer of destiny, at all events favours the notion that the determining of destiny belonged originally to him, and was perhaps transferred to Marduk. Nabû is regarded not only as the writer of destiny, but in general as the god of the art of writing and of science. Among other essential qualities of Nabû we have to note that he often appears as a god of vegetation—probably one of the most original traits in his nature. On the other hand, Nabû probably owes his connexion with a planet—later Mercury, in the pre-Babylonian period possibly Jupiter—to priestly speculation, which drew all the deities into its astro-mythological system. The same reason will account also for sporadic references associating him with the darker half of the year, in opposition to Marduk, the god of the bright half. The temple of Nabû in Borsippa bore the name Ṣiklatum ("perpetual house"), with the temple of Marduk the name Ṣiklu ("heaven and earth"). Nabû's wife is called Ṭashmētu, a personification of an abstract idea, 'audience,' without much living content.

Ninib is merely the conventional pronunciation of the name of the chief god of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Unfortunately we are still in ignorance as to the real phonetic reading of the name. Lately, indeed, we have got nearer the goal by the discovery that the Aramaic reproduction of the name of this god was composed of the consonants *-na-ṣ-μ; but equation is still divided as to the Babylonian prototype of this Aramaic equivalent. Ninib originally belonged to the cult which had its seat at Nippur. Here he was regarded as the first-born son of Enlil, and the third of a triad composed of Enlil, Ninib, and Nisaba, with whom we encounter in a similar fashion in most of the old Babylonian seats of worship. His essential character is that of a mighty hero, who victoriously casts down all opposing powers—the aspect under which he which was afterwards taken over by the Assyrians as specially the god of war and the chase. In this aspect Zamaa of Kish closely resembles Ninib, and is occasionally directly identified with him. At the same time, Ninib is a god of healing—a quality which is specially ascribed to the god Gadlu, the Babylonian equivalent of the guardian patronus of the healing art. He is further regarded as a god of the fields—a trait which brings him into close contact with Ningirsu, the city-god of Lagash, a deity who in later times was very often directly identified with Ninib. Here again, perhaps, as in the similar case of Nabû, it is possible that this relation to vegetation is one of the oldest features in the character of Ninib. On the other hand, the solar and astral traits in Ninib may again be due to his introduction into the priestly astro-mythological system. As far as his solar character is concerned, it is still doubtful whether he is to be regarded as connected with the morning and spring sun, or rather to be thought of as associated with the sun of noon and summer. The planet associated with him is called Kaimatan (Kawān)—the name in the Babylonian period at least for Saturn, but perhaps in the earlier period for Mars. In the heavens of fixed stars he was localized in Orion, and it is very likely that the conception of the constellation of Orion as a warrior goes back to the elevation of the war-god Ninib to the skies.

Nergal is properly the city-god of Kutû (OT Cuthah), where his temple bore the name of E-sšiltum. The (Sumerian) name Nergal is unfortunately of uncertain signification. Though the pronunciation is fixed by its reproduction in the OT and on other grounds. Nergal has quite a peculiar position in the Babylonian pantheon and mythology, being expressly the god of the under world, ruler of the realm of the dead, and as such the husband of Erech-figalp, the sovereign lady of the under world (although goddesses with other names—Las (Laz) and Manittu—are associated with him as city-goddesses of Cuthah). It is very questionable, however, whether this relation of Nergal to the realm of the dead is original, and not a later development due to some other trait in his character, or some peculiarity of the city of Cuthah. Thus Nergal is also a god of plague and fever, and as such stands very close to Iris, the plague-god proper, and is often identified with him. Like Ninib, he also appears as the god of war and of the chase. Again, in the same way as Ninib, he also appears as a benevolent god of the fields, granting fertility. It is possible, as was suggested in the case of Ninib, that in this relation to vegetation he was to be connected with the spring feature of his character. On the other hand, the solar and astral associations may in his case also be secondary. For the connexion of Nergal with
the sun, the destructive influence of the noontime and midsummer sun would be the determining factor. As far as connexion with the planets is concerned, he was, at least in the Babylonian period, associated with Mars, but possibly at an earlier date with Saturn. In the firmament of fixed stars, Adad is represented in the constellation of Leo (which was known in the Babylonian age), as we meet elsewhere with the lion as the symbol of Nergal.

Nusku (or Nashku), the meaning of whose name is still uncertain, became the chief god of the cult-god of Nippur, where he appears as the great pleni-

potency of Enlil. Besides, he is met with in the sphere of Sin of Harran, and is here occasionally introduced directly as the son of Sin. As to his nature, we are at least certain that he is a god of light. Frequently his name even alternates with that of the fire-god Girra (Gibil). Hence, like the latter, Nusku is ethically regarded as the enemy and conqueror of all evil and the promoter of all good. As thus connected with the moon-god Sin, Nusku is specially associated with the sickle of the crescent moon.

Girra (the Sem. form of the Sumer. Gibil) is the personification of fire, the fire-god proper of the Bab. pantheon. As such he, is, for instance, the god of smith-craft; he is also the god of the holy sacrifice. He is also assumed, like Adad, an ethical aspect, as the terrible god, who destroys evil by his purifying fire.

Rammcan (also called Adad) is the special stormand thunder-god of the Babylonians. Both forms of his name, Rammcan and Adad, of which the latter is the more common in Assyria, are of Semitic origin, and may refer to the roar of the thunderstorm. It is likely that the designation Adad is not native to Assyro-Babylonia, but goes back to the Western Semitic Hadad. But in the latter case of Adad, as such texts as of very old standing in the Babylonian pantheon, being found even in the Sumerian period, when he seems to have borne the name Ishkur. The great importance assigned to the storm-god in the Babylonian pantheon is evident not only from the role which he plays in the myths (e.g. the story of the Flood), but also, e.g., from the fact that, in the official lists of the gods, he often occupies the third place in the second divine triad, namely, Sin, Shamash, and Adad.

As storm-god he was naturally hailed as the giver of the beneficent rains; while, on the other hand, by withholding rain he could bring drought and famine on the land. In his aspect as thunder-god he is readily viewed as one who by his thunder and lightning destroys the host of the enemy. His symbol is the thunderbolt, his sacred animal the ox. In Babylonia, among other seats of Rammcan-worship, there is mention of Karkara and Khallab; in Assyria, at the ancient capital Ashur, a temple was consecrated to him in common with Anu, who is represented as his father. Rammcan also appears with Shamash as the god of oracles. The name of his wife is given as Sha'ta.

Tammuz is a deity who occupies an altogether unique position in the Bab. pantheon. He does not belong to the number of the great principal gods. His cult must, notwithstanding, have enjoyed great prestige. This is indicated by the fact that the Tammuz-cult survived in the lands adjoining Babylonia on the west, and in the post-Babylonian age of Persia and Babylonia, as well as of the Sumer. Dummuzi, and signifies literally 'real child'; the older form is Dumu-zu-ba= 'real child of the water-depths.' He is described as the god of the green plant-growth, which is produced and nourished by fresh water. For Tammuz is essentially the god of vegetation, whose revival in spring and withering in midsummer this deity personifies. Our sources do not, so far at least, enable us to decide whether (as in the Egyptian Osiris-cult and probably in the later Tammuz-Adonis-cult outside Babylonia) the native Bab. Tammuz-cult saw in that deity a figure of human life with its growth and decay. Yet it is quite possible that the experience of life for man after death. One of the main features of this cult is the mourning for the premature death of the youthful Tammuz, which found expression in the weeping for him by nude female pupils—a custom witnessed to by a number of hymns referring to it. There are also traces of a joyous festival in honour of the revivification of Tammuz. The myth of Tammuz brings him into close connexion with Ishtar, making him her rival or rather her lover. True, it is Ishtar also at whose door, according to the Gilgamesh epic, lies the responsibility for the yearly mourning for Tammuz. But side by side with this appears another conception, for instance in several Tammuz-hymns and in the so-called 'Descent of Ishhtar to Hades,' according to which it is Ishhtar that follows Tammuz to the depths of the under world and seeks to bring him up again. The sister of Tammuz, Geshtinanna, is also found playing this part.

Ashshur, the national god of the Assyrians, also deserves special mention. Originally the local god of the city bearing the same name, the old capital of Assyria, Ashshur thus gained the position of supreme god of Assyria. As such he appears at the time of the Assyrian supremacy especially as a god of war, who during campaigns gives the Assyrian kings victory over their enemies, and calls them to hold sway over all nations. It is easy to understand how all that was attributed originally to the supreme gods of Babylon—such as Anu, Enlil, and Marduk—came to be transferred, not only in the pantheon, but also in the beliefs and mythology, to the chief god of Assyria. Thus, e.g., he undertakes the conflict with the sea-monster Tiamat, which plays so large a part in the Bab. Creation epic.

Finally, mention must be made of the names Igigi and Anunnaki—designations for the Bab. deities as a whole, in their arrangement as gods of heaven and gods of the earth (under world). In the astral sense, in particular, we have to understand by the Igigi the gods who were thought of as embodied in the stars, placing above the horizon; while the star-gods, who had sunk below the horizon, were regarded as Anunnaki.

Alongside of the great gods, properly speaking, whose chief representatives have been described above, the Babylonians included in their religious system a great number of lesser divinities. These again were divided into those who manifested a character positively good and well-disposed to mankind, and those who showed a disposition positively hostile to man, and a desire to injure him. To the good spirits belong, among others, the guardians of cattle, the gods of father (Anu), of whom it was supposed to be assigned to every man. The evil demons by a favourite conception make their appearance in groups of seven. They play a very important part in the literature of exorcism, as all misfortune and sickness against which the exorcisms were directed were traced back to their evil influence. In the same category with these evil demons were placed the spirits of the dead, the ghosts, to whom all kinds of hostile action towards the living was attributed.

3. The myths and epics.—In the study of the Babylonian religion we have at our command a considerable treasure of myths and epics. The following is a list of those which are most important for our purpose, and thus far best known from the excavations: the Creation and cognate
myths, the Adapa myth, the story of the Flood with the other Atrahasis myths and the myth of the primeval kings, the Ira myth, the Labbaa myth, the Zî myth, the Etana myth, Nergal and Ea, is the descent to the Gilgamesh epic. Most of these literary remains, although derived, in the form in which we now have them, for the greater part, from the library of Ashurbanipal. But internal and external evidence shows that their composition belongs to a much earlier period. In the case of some of them we have even actual copies of an earlier date (c. 2000-1500 B.C.).

(a) The Creation.—This part of the Babylonian mythology—partially known to us, even before the re-discovery of ancient Babylonia, from the Greek tradition of Berossus—receives fullest treatment in the cuneiform mythological literature in the seven-tablet epic Enuma elish, so called from its opening words. The contents are briefly as follows: Before the heavens and the earth were made, the primeval father Apsû (sea) and the primeval mother Tiamat (sea) and the beings of the primeval ocean) along with their son Mimmu were in existence. From these in a succession of generations sprang the gods. Apsû and Tiamat, disturbed in the peace they had up to this time enjoyed, and according to the continual tradition of affairs, devise a plan against the new world of gods. Apsû perishes at this stage. But Tiamat vigorously prosecutes the scheme, and chooses for herself a new husband and assistant in the person of Kingu, to whom she gives the tablets of destiny. She attracts a section of gods to her side, and creates a number of monsters—the eleven—to help her in the battle against the gods. The contest at once begins. After several other gods have attempted in vain to overcome Tiamat, Marduk at last succeeds in foiling her plot. But Tiamat stipulates that, if he is victorious, the highest place among the gods shall in future belong to him. In a solemn conclave of the gods this condition is accepted, and homage is done to him as the future king of the gods. Then comes a detailed and most vivid picture of the preparations for the battle of Marduk with Tiamat and of the battle itself. Marduk proves victor, and puts an end to Tiamat. He then turns his attention to the gods in her train, overcomes these also, and makes them prisoners. In the north Tiamat is still at large, and the son she has created to assist her, and finally her husband Kingu suffers the same fate. Marduk then returns to the corpse of Tiamat and cuts it in two parts, from which he fashions the heavens and the earth. Then follow the several acts of creation. Accounts have been discovered of the formation of the heavenly bodies, and, after a large gap, the beginning of an account of the creation of man. The whole concludes with a hymn to Marduk as the creator-god. It is worthy of note that this version of the Creation myth is clearly adapted to the position of Marduk as city-god of Babylon, the role of creator being ascribed to him, although in other versions and at other centres of worship it was filled by such gods as Anu, Enil, or Ea. The creation of the world by Marduk forms at the same time the festal legend of the Babylonian New Year festival, the creation of the world being evidently paralleled with the annual reviving of nature in the spring. Alongside of this highly detailed version of the Creation myth we possess a shorter one, both of which, Egyptian and Babylonian, have been transmitted in two versions, differs from the other particularly in this, that it knows nothing of the battle of Marduk with Tiamat, but describes the world as arising—here also out of the ocean—without conflict, in quiet and in peace.

(b) While, as yet at least, we cannot prove the existence in Babylon of a so-called Paradise legend proper, we have in the myth of Adapa a story which seems intended to explain the mortality of man as opposed to the immortality of the gods. Adapa, a son of Ea, has received from his father a high degree of wisdom—hence his designation 'the superlatively prudent ('Atrahasis') —and a gift of eternal life. On account of an act of violence committed by him, he is cited to appear before the throne of Anu, the god of heaven. Adapa here had the opportunity, by partaking of the food and water of life which Anu offered him, of acquiring immortality for himself. But, acting on a prior counsel of Ea, he rejected the offered gifts, and thus forfeited eternal life.

(c) Between the Creation and the Flood the Bab.

mythical chronology, at least as we know it from Berossus, the cuneiform original supplies as yet only sporadic traces,—interposes a list of ten primeval kings, of whom the hero of the Flood, Utanapishtim-Atrahasis (in Berossus, Niuturâu), is the last. The inscriptions hitherto have yielded no details concerning any of these kings except the seventh in Berossus's list, Evedoranchos. According to them, Enmeduranki—the native form of the name—was king in Sippar, the city of the sun-god Shamash. The latter adopted him as his son, associate, and heir, and superintended the soothsayer's art. Hence Enmeduranki was regarded by the Babylonians as the ancestor of the highly esteemed soothsaying priests.

(d) It is most likely the same Atrahasis as the hero of the myth on the Flood that meets us in another mythological story. This myth tells how all kinds of plague, blight, pestilence, famine, and sickness were sent upon men by Enil, the lord of gods, on account of their constantly repeated transgressions. But Atrahasis, who also appears in the underworld as Ea, the god of Wisdom, was saved by his intercession in securing the cessation of the judgment. The connexion of this with the Flood myth is probably that the Flood was thought of as the last great judgment of Enil on men because of their continual relapses into sin—a judgment from which there was no escape except for Atrahasis himself.

(e) It is not so certain whether the myth of the destroying god Ira should be placed in the same category, i.e. among the judgments preceding the Flood. In the myth on Ira, a myth of Shem's son, Jushtab (or Adapa), God in his command traverses all lands, and works a frightful carnage among men.

(f) The Bab. Flood narrative, like that of the Creation, was long known from the pages of Berossus. In the original recovered by the excavations, the story forms part of the Gilgamesh epic, although there are clear indications that it once existed independently. The chief features of the story are briefly as follows. The gods in solemn assembly determine to send a flood in order to punish men for their sins (this is plainly stated, at least at the close of the narrative). The god Ea, who had been present at the council, reveals this design to a protecté of his, Utanapishtim—also called Atrahasis, 'the superlatively prudent'—of the city of Shurippak, and commands him to build a ship for his safety, and to take living creatures of every kind with him into it. Utanapishtim carries out the command, builds his ship according to a scale supplied by the god, and introduces his family and relatives, as well as all kinds of animals, into his vessel at the beginning of the flood, whose advent had been previously indicated to him by a divine sign, he enters the ship himself and closes the door, entrusting the steersman with the guidance of the vessel. Early in the morning, the flood breaks forth, accompanied by violent storms and thick darkness. The gods themselves are afraid of the
flood, and ascend to heaven. The mother of the gods laments over the destruction of her human offspring; the magician has induced her to the flood in the concave of the gods. Six days and six nights the flood rages. But on the seventh day the sea is calm and the storm ceases. Utanapishtim opens an air-hole, and the light falls on his cheeks. Then land begins to appear, and the ship grounds on the mountain Nibir. After seven days, Utanapishtim lets a dove fly from the ship. But she comes back because she finds no resting-place. The same happens with a swallow, which Utanapishtim next sets free. At last a raven, which sees the third bird liberated, does not return, having settled down to feed. Then Utanapishtim brings out all that are in the ship, and offers a sacrifice, whose sweet smell the gods perceive with pleasure. Then follows a scene in which the mother of the gods and Ea wrangle with Enil for having caused the flood. Enil himself, however, is enraged that all men did not perish, and that one, Utanapishtim, with his family, has been saved. In the end, however, he changes his mind, and even endows Utanapishtim and his wife with the divine nature, and restores to them the realm far distant, to the 'estuary of the streams.'

We do not purpose here to discuss the real meaning of the Babylonian Flood myth—a subject on which the opinions of students are very much divided. Many say, however, that in all probability no actual historical occurrence is even reflected in it; it is more likely that we have to do with a nature myth whose background is formed by events in the daily and yearly course of time.

(a) The subject of the Lábbu myth is the raging of a fabulous lion-like monster, allied with a mythical water-serpent, against men on the earth. After vain attempts on the part of other gods, one god finally succeeds in overcoming this lion (labbu), and thereby procures for himself divine supremacy, as Marduk did after his victory over Tiómat.

(b) The Zú myth relates how the tablets of destiny, whose possession ensures the supreme power, were once stolen from Enil by the storm-god Zú. Here, again, the supremacy is procured by the hero. Meanwhile the tablets are in the hands of the lady of heaven, Ishtar. However, Ishtar promises to deliver the tablets to Zú. And, in the case of Tiómat and of Labbu, it happens that various gods make vain attempts till at last—for so we may complete the defective text—one of them is successful.

(c) The Etana myth has for its principal figure Etana, a primeval hero, who seems to be regarded as the founder of the kingship on earth. In order to bring about the happy birth of his son, who is to be the first king on earth, he applies, by the advice of Shamash, to the eagle for help to bring from heaven the medicinal herb which shall secure a safe delivery. Etana, seated upon the eagle, undertakes a journey, described with epic fulness of detail, to the highest heaven, to the throne of the queen of heaven, Ishtar, where the wonder-working plant is kept. But when he has almost reached his goal, Etana is overcome with fear, and drags the eagle down with him till both fall on the earth. Unfortunately, the conclusion is wanting, but presumably it was to the effect that the child, in spite of the deadly fall of Etana, came happily into the world and became the ruler of the land. The same myth further tells how this eagle, as an enemy of the serpent, once devoured its brood, in return for which the serpent plucked its wings and left him in a pitiable condition in a ditch. This eagle has henceforth taken part to heaven with Etana; hence we may assume that, after his misfortune with the serpent, the eagle regained his lost powers.

(j) The myth of Nergal and Eresh-kigal tells how Nergal effected a violent entrance into the under world, the world of the dead, but afterwards became her husband and king of that realm. The visit of Nergal to the lower world was occasioned by a dispute, caused by Nergal, between Eresh-kigal and the gods of the upper world. In his passage he is accompanied by twelve seven-headed serpents. After

(b) The following are the principal points in the so-called Descent of Ishtar to Hades. Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, directs her steps to the realm of the dead, which, so far as its appearance and inhabitants are described, presents the darkest colours. On arriving at the door of the realm of death, she imperiously demands entrance from the doorkeeper, and, on the command of Eresh-kigal, this is granted. At every one of the seven doors, however, an article of clothing is taken from her by the doorkeepers, so that finally she has to enter the kingdom of the dead perfectly naked. Here she is imprisoned by Nantaru, at the command of her mistress Eresh-kigal. Coincident with Ishtar's descent to the lower world, all the lower world, all the inhabitants of the lower world, men and animals. In this extremity Ea interposes. He creates a messenger, Sinushum-III, and sends him to the under world, with the result that Eresh-kigal, although against her will, commands Nantaru to sprinkle Ishtar with water and set her free, and even causes the whole of the under world, restoring her garments as she goes. The conclusion of the mythical narrative then refers, in a way as yet not very clearly understood, to Tammuz, the youthful husband of Ishtar, whose worship, which seems to be connected with the cult of the dead.

(b) The Gilgamesh epic is, so far as we can now judge, the most extensive epic poem of the Babylonians. It is especially rich in mythological matter, and hence, in spite of its being for the most part a heroic epic, its main contents deserve to be indicated here. The story is as follows. Gilgamesh is the ruler of the city of Uruk. His yoke rests heavily on the citizens. In answer to the prayer of the people of Uruk, the goddess of the earth, Inanna, or Ishtar, sends down to earth, in order to destroy a pest. However, in the case of Tiómat and of Labbu, it happens that various gods make vain attempts till at last—for so we may complete the defective text—one of them is successful.

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BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

also called Khasiatra (Atrakhaïs), 'the superlatively wise'—the hero of the Flood. But the way is exceedingly difficult. First it leads through the uncultivated steppe, where lions have their dens; then it goes through the dark mountain Mashu, whose entrance is guarded by two terrible serpents, as Nergal and Anuforth, who accepts him to pass. When he emerges on the other side of the mountain Mashu, Gilgamesh comes to a wonderful park of the gods, lying on the seashore, where the goddess Sabitu, covered with a veil, sits on the throne of the waters. Gilgamesh receives directions as to the way to Utnapishtim, and is advised to apply to his boatman in the neighbourhood that he may ferry him over the sea and the 'water of death' to his great ancestor. Gilgamesh follows this counsel, finds the boatman, and after all kinds of adventures, especially in crossing the 'water of death,' he reaches Utnapishtim. That hero imparts to the new arrival instruction regarding the meaning of human life, and, at his request, gives him a detailed account of the events surrounding the Great Deluge, his present dwelling-place at the close of the Flood. It is, in fact, the Babylonian account of the Deluge, shortly sketched above, which is here interwoven as an episode into the Gilgamesh epic. At the close of this narrative, Utnapishtim and his wife have a child, and, when he grows up, the latter, in order to assist their guest to 'life,' but only with very imperfect success. By direction of Utnapishtim, the boatman then caues Gilgamesh to bathe at the place of purification, and thereafter embarks with him to restore him to his home. Gilgamesh luckily finds in the deep waters a wonder-working plant mentioned by Utnapishtim, to which he gives the name 'when grey-haired, the man becomes young again.' This he intends to take with him to Uruk, to eat it, and to return to the condition of youth. But on the way the wondrous plant is snatched from him by a serpent. Great lamentation follows. Finally, along with the boatman, he reaches Uruk, but without the plant. The conclusion of the epic then relates how Gilgamesh, by means of necromancy, enters into communication with the spirit of his dead friend Eabani, and obtains information from him regarding the nature of the realm of the dead.

4. The realm of the dead and belief in a future life. The ideas of the Babylonians regarding a life after death are expressed in numerous passages in the mythological literature containing descriptions of the realm of the dead: e.g. the Descent of Ishtar to Hades, the IIind, Xth, and XIth tablets of the Gilgamesh epic, the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal, and a variety of sporadic passages. On the other hand, certain pictorial representations, the so-called Hades reliefs, which were formerly regarded as pictures of funeral rites and of the Babylonian hell, cannot, according to later investigation, be viewed in a similar light. The Bab. realm of the dead is depicted in the above passages as a dark place under the surface of the earth, full of dust, wherein the dead, clothed in winged raiment, spend a shadowy existence, having the dust of the earth as their food. The approach to this home of the dead appears to be situated in the western region of the earth, and is effected through seven gates, and therefore seven walls. The entrance is guarded by sentinels. The fate of the dead in the lower world seems to vary according to different circumstances—those, for instance, who fell in battle obtain a relatively endurable lot (drinking pure water)—or according to the degree in which they are provided with offerings by surviving relatives. The worst fate, according to Bab. notions, that could befall a dead person was to remain unburied. The judg-

ment, too, which the Anunneki pronounced at the entrance of a dead man into the under world no doubt determined largely the conditions of his sojourn there. The ruler of the realm of the dead is the goddess Ereshkigal, also called Akalatu, who is enthroned in a palace as queen. Her husband appears sometimes as Nergal and sometimes as Anu.
even used to educate in this kind of soothsaying. There have also come down to us very minute instructions in writing the divine words used in practising the art in question. The patron of the soothsaying priest was Shamash, although Adad's name is frequently coupled with his as occupying a secondary place.

From a religious point of view a much higher stage than this act of soothsaying in the narrower sense exists is to be found in oracular responses of a comforting and encouraging character, which were given by priests and especially by priestesses, in the name of the deity. But the extant literature, though this important role was certainly be dated earlier than the 7th cent., the time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

The art of exorcism occupies a similarly important place in the Assyro-Babylonian religion. The priest-exorcist found his sphere of work especially in cases of sickness, where the function of the physician was only gradually evolved from that of the exorcist. It was the duty of the latter to remove the illness which was supposed to lie on the sick person, and to drive out the hostile demons who were held to be responsible. But in addition to cases of actual sickness, the exorcist was called in whenever there was any suspicion of enchantment by evil demons or human beings—witches and wizards—who were conceived to act as the instruments of demons. In the same way it fell to the exorcist to assist in cases of certain monial actions, such as the consecration of temples, the erection of pictures of the gods, etc., and also at the worship of the dead—in short, on every occasion on which men believed they had to fear the interposition of hostile divine powers, and whenever according to the means of his charms he would be able to counteract the activity of evil spirits. The means used by the exorcist in the ritual consisted, in the first place, in the repetition of incantations, a huge mass of which have been handed down to us in the Babylonian and Assyrian literatures. In addition, there were a great many ritual actions, such as sprinkling with water, smearing the body of the patient, the practice of symbolic ceremonies such as the burning of all kinds of objects, and the like. Another important role was played also by the penitent who was the subject of exorcism. He had to take a multiformal part in the whole proceeding, by recitation and various other actions, such as casting himself on the ground, kneeling, etc. As in the case of soothsaying so in the case of exorcism, it is possible that in some instances the ritual was in use, of which we possess extensive fragments in the form of texts relating to liturgical arrangements. Ea and Marduk appear as the chief gods of the exorcist cult. Eridu, the seat of Ea's worship, is regarded as the home of the rites of exorcism.

6. Hymns and prayers.—The Bab. hymns and prayers to the gods reach a much higher religious level than the extensive literature of soothsaying and exorcism. Here again a large literature is at our disposal, although much of it is unfortunately as yet in a very fragmentary condition. This hymn-literature, as we are now able to prove from identical copies belonging to the old Bab. period, emanated preponderantly from this very early date. From that time they were handed down with little variation, through thousands of years, to the latest times of the cuneiform inscriptions. We obtain from these hymns valuable insight into the religious ideas of the earliest Babylonian period. On the other hand, they can hardly be used as sources for the knowledge of the development of the religion of the later epochs. For this we have rather to take account of the prayers and hymn-like invocations which are frequently introduced in the royal inscriptions of Bab. and Assy. rulers, and whose date can thus be exactly fixed. It must be admitted, however, that the hymns of the later periods, so far as yet known, is almost exclusively of a liturgical character. Further, by far the greater number of the hymns in question belong to the ritual of exorcism, although the connexion of a hymn with this cult must often have been only secondary. As to form, the Bab. hymns consisted, as was to be expected, characterized by a strongly marked rhythm. This strikes the eye at once from the fact that the verses each occupy a separate line, and often half-verses are indicated by the writing in the margin. Thus a hymn is made on the eye by the frequent combination of two verses into a double verse. Similar phenomena are found in the other poetical literature of the Babylonians, in the myths, epics, incantations, etc.

Most of the liturgical pieces, so far as they are not formulae for exorcism, consist of festival hymns in honour of a god or goddess. These were sung by the priests or priestesses on the particular feast days, and were intended for the glorification of a particular deity—often through the medium of a ritual prescription, as in the case of the myths. Thus we possess a series of New Year hymns, which were intended to be sung at the New Year festival, Marduk's festival in the spring. So there are a number of hymns to Tammuz, which no doubt were used especially on the occasion of the festival in the spring rejoicing for his return. In the case of many other hymns, such, for instance, as those to Sin, Shamash, or Ishtar, there is little doubt that these also were intended mainly for festivals in honour of these deities. On the other hand, the numerous incantation hymns, as is at once indicated through their frequent introduction into the exorcistic liturgies, were destined for the mouth either of the priest or of the penitent, to be employed for purposes of exorcism. These incantation formulae, like the act of exorcism itself, exhibit a fixed type, the different successive acts of the ritual finding expression in the hymn, now in a shorter and now in a longer form. In the case of the priest we have the recitation of his credentials, the description of the action of the demon, the prayer to the god who overcomes the hostile demon, and finally the act of exorcism proper. In the case of the penitent, there is the confession of sin, the singing of a lament, the repetition of a penitential litany, and, finally, the offering of a prayer of thanks. Thus we have the complete ritual for the divine help received. So far as their contents are concerned, we constantly encounter, alike in the festal hymns and the incantation formulae, the most elevated religious and ethical conceptions to be met with in the whole Babylonian literature.

7. Temples, priests, sacrifices, rites, festivals.—The inscriptions, from the earliest to the latest period, all go to show how numerous were the temples which the Babylonians and Assyrians erected for the worship of their gods. Not only had every city-god his chief sanctuary at his special seat of worship, but also all the gods belonging to the same group with him, as well as a multitude of gods outside it, had temples erected for their worship, at least in all the larger cities. The structural plan of the Babylonian temple can to a certain extent be gathered from the numerous inscriptions of Bab. and Assy. kings relating to temples built by them. Lately our information has been extended by the discovery of the Nippur temple, and from the number of ground-plans that have been unearthed. Allowing for all kinds of variations in detail, the general type of building seems to have been as follows: A large rectangular
Babylonians, especially in connexion with the cult of Ishtar; but women make their appearance in the cult more especially as discharging the function of hierodoulai or temple-prostitutes.

At all periods of the Assyro-Babylonian religion the sacrificial system was the same. Much can be gathered about Bab. sacrificial customs not only from numerous notices in the inscriptions, but also from pictorial representations of sacrificial scenes. Very frequently the sacrifice is regarded, quite in accordance with its original idea, as a gift, supplied by the god with food or drink, or (in the case of the 'incense-offering') causing him to smell a sweet odour. But in other passages the idea clearly evolves that the animal sacrifice is a substitute for a human sacrifice that would otherwise have to be offered to the gods. At the same time, there is not any certain trace of actual human sacrifice either in the literature or in the pictorial representations. The offerings came to be regarded to a large extent as simply a temple-du, and as means of support for the numerous priests. The materials of the offerings were chiefly metal vessels to contain water, mead, honey, butter, milk, oil, grain, and fruit. The animal sacrifices usually consisted of oxen and sheep, but other domestic animals were also offered, as well as fowls and fish, and even wild animals. For the 'incense-offering' cypress wood, and flour, cane, and myrtle were used. In the case of the animal sacrifices, definite parts were reserved for the god, while other parts became the portion of the priests. Strangely enough, the blood of the sacrificial victim does not seem to have played any conspicuous part in the Bab. ritual. In addition to the offerings proper, it was customary at all periods of Bab. antiquity to bring the most varied gifts to the temple as votive offerings.

Side by side with sacrifices and votive offerings, there was a great variety of other rites in the Bab. religion. Among these an important place is held by the propitiatory rites practised by the exorcising priests, who have been referred to in the section on 'Soothsaying and exorcism.' Then we have also the mourning customs connected with the cult of the dead. These included such practices as the beating of the thigh and the breast, the plucking out of the beard, and the mutilation of the body by means of knives. The supreme occasions of the cult were naturally the festivals. Of these by far the most prominent was the Babylonian New Year festival. This feast was in earlier times held in honour of other gods. But when the Marduk-cult of the capital, Babylon, came to the forefront, the New Year feast became at once the chief festival of Marduk and the greatest and most important festival in the Bab. calendar. It was celebrated on the first days of the month Nisan, at the time of the spring equinox. One feature of it was a procession, in which the image of Marduk was taken in a gold and ivory encased ship-car along the festival street from his temple, E-sagila, to the house of the New Year festival, and thence back to his temple. Neighbouring towns also brought the images of their gods to Babylon to join in this procession. At the time of the festival the gods were supposed to sit in solemn conclave, under the presidency of Marduk, in the chamber of destiny, in order to determine the fates for the coming year. Among other festivals mentioned in the Bab. literature, a special place belongs to the lament for Tammuz in connexion with the month of the year called after him. Prominent also is the feast of Ishtar in the following month, Ab. Among the days of each month the 7th, 14th, 21st, 25th, and also the 19th were supposed to be specially unlucky, and there was there a general suspension of business on these days.
GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF THE BABYLONIAN RELIGION.—It is very difficult
to determine the date of origin and relative standing of Babylonian religious thought. This
is due to the fact that we are for the most part dependent on official documents, such as royal
inscriptions, liturgical collections, etc.; we have very few documents of a private and individual
nature to draw on. However, we can get some insight into the religious ideas which the people connected with the external and traditional ritual forms and doctrines. But we may regard it as practically certain that in course of time, even when external religious forms were adhered to, the attitude towards them underwent important changes. This may be assumed, in particular, for the later Assyrian and the New Bab. period, and it finds support in isolated expressions in the inscriptions.
Again, it is difficult to judge whether, and to what extent, there existed a simple unio mystica among the people, alongside of the learning and partially conscious deception of the priestly speculation.

The presence among the Babylonians of this simple piety, a child-like trust in the divine bundle of ages, and the literature of the prophetic element, is already evident even in the earliest period—by many deeply religious passages in the hymns and prayers, as well as by other indications, e.g. the religious ideas which find expression in the formation of Bab. proper names. The religious sense of the Babylonians was thus not confined to a certain limit. They never attained to a stage at all corresponding to the ethical monothelism of the Hebrew prophets, or to the even more elevated Ahura Mazda religion of the Persians. A pure divine monotheism, the noblest representative in the Babylonian religion was hampered by the strong predominance of the magical and superstitious element, which all at times played such a great part in it. At the same time, the Babylonian religion is a historical factor whose importance in its own genus must be fully recognized. Even the strong emphasis laid on the astral element led, in movements historically connected with it, to many pure and elevated ideas, if also to much that was abstruse and superstitious.

11. ON SPECIAL POINTS.—In addition to the general accounts reviewed above, there are the following four works which consist exclusively of editions of the original texts.

BACKSLIDING.—A falling from grace after identification with religion, a reversion to sin and worldly ways after conversion, or a return to old habits after reformation. The term historically has several times shifted the centre of weight of meaning. One can distinguish perhaps four different qualities of interpretation, although the various meanings will much overlap. (1) The first is that before it acquired any special technical significance. This applies, for example, to the use of "backsliding" (Greek) in the OT, although the more special sense is recognized in the New Testament, backsliding, took on the meaning of apostasy (q. v.), or of "perverseness" (q. v.). (2) The second stage in its use was that in which it assumed a theological meaning. It was at the time of and following the Calvinist and Arminian controversy that the distinctly practical human interest in the idea was drafted off in the direction of scriptural theology. If the idea is to be understood as a concept, how can it be otherwise than that the chosen of the Lord shall perseverse to the end? The Arminians said, however, that if the will of man is in any sense free, if the artifon of salvation is any true salvation, and if the efforts of the righteous have any value, there must be not only the possibility, but the danger of falling away. The Arminians busied themselves in explaining away such passages as Ro 2:17-30, which formulate a doctrine of predestination and election, and in softening the 'impossibility of repentance on the part of those who fall away,' as presented in He 6:12 (cf., e.g., Tillotson, Works (London, 1820), vi. 65 ff.) It is an interesting fact that Calvinists have been almost as diligent in preaching the need
of perseverance as have the Arminians. Jonathan Edwards, for example, writes:

'As persons are commanded and counselled to repent and be converted, though it is already determined whether they shall be converted or no; after the same manner, and with the same propriety, persons are commanded and counselled to persevere, although no such determination has been made as to the contempt they shall persevere. By their resolutely and steadfastly persevering through all difficulties, opposition, and trials, they obtain an advancement, growth, and soundness of knowledge, and, by their steadfastness and backsliding, they procure an evidence of their unsoundness and hypocrisy' (Works, N.Y. 1830, iv. 351-371).

(3) Another change in meaning was that in which the idea assumed an evangelical flavour. After pronounced conversions came to receive a high degree of emphasis among Protestants as the desirable, if not the only, method of regeneration, the danger of backsliding came to be accepted as a matter of course, and was made the subject of the most zealous admonitions and sermons (cf. Baxter, Works [London, 1830], iv. 351-371). The need of a 'renewal' after backsliding was a common experience, and the frequency of such an occurrence may be regarded as the occasion of the formulation of the notion of the 'second experience' or 'sanctification' (q.v.).

(4) Later there has arisen the psychological interpretation of the term. Even at the height of the evangelical movement and in the first half of the nineteenth century, the ground-work was being laid for an explanation of the lapses from the lively experiences at the inception of the religious life. Among the causes of backsliding usually specified in treatises and theological dictionaries were: 'the cares of the world, improper connexions, inattention to secret and closet duties, self-conceit and dependence, indulgence and listening to and parleying with temptations.' As early as 1835 there was published a new work, The Backslider, the chief point of which seems to have been to show the differences in the temperamental and other characteristics of the hero and heroine of the tale, which would account for the constancy of the one and the backsliding of the other; and a reviewer in the Christian Register (1836), vol. ii. pp. 198-206) expresses the conviction that we shall succeed in the attempt to arrange the present multifarious mass of mental phenomena, and evolve the first principles to which they must all be referable, 'as is being done during the present month.' The appeal by analogy to the success of Mr. Louis in the investigation of the causes and conditions of diseases. Recently, something of a study has been made, of a statistical and psychological character, upon backsliding (see Starbuck, Psychology of Religion, 1899, pp. 354-391).

It appears that nearly all persons who experience conversion are sooner or later beset with difficulties. When the character of these difficulties is catalogued, they are clearly the same in kind, essentially, as those which ordinarily belong to adolescent development when not attended with conversion. It is worthy of note that the frequency of troubles is slightly greater among those who have undergone conversion than among the others. One may look for the cause of this difference in several directions. In the first place, those who experience conversion are more open to suggestion and more impressionable, and accordingly more liable to have mental crises. Their emotional difficulties predominate, while intellectual doubts and questionings are more common among those whose growth is not attended by conversion. The difference seems to be due in part, likewise, to the fact that at conversion the ideal life and the past life are brought into conflict and from the adjustment of life to the new standard should be greater in the case of the conversion type.

Still another cause of backsliding is the persistence of old habits which for the time have lost their force, and are hidden from view in the presence of new bases of activity and interest. In like manner, the newly-acquired enthusiasm has partially spent itself, the old habits re-assert themselves. The difficulties usually continue until there is formed a new set of neutral habits which correspond to the conduct of life on the spiritual plane, and have become so deeply ingrained that life expresses itself naturally and easily through them. A very central condition underlying backsliding seems to be found in the natural tendency of human interests to ebb and flow. Nervous energy, when directed vigorously in a certain way, completely expends itself, and must then have a period of recuperation. Rhythms in the supply of available energy are fully recognized, as is shown in experiments upon continuous muscular activity, in the rise and fall of the tide and of the ebb and flow of the heart. It is a continuous object, in the successive presence and absence of a stimulus on the threshold of sensation, and in many like phenomena. It is observable in the spells of depression that follow an exceptionally busy day, and in subnormal temperatures following a fever. Persons very active in religious matters are apt to have ups and downs in their degree of religious enthusiasm. They have been found who have experienced wave-like fluctuations of religious interest at pretty regular intervals. If a rhythmic change of energy should be the rule of life, it may be expected that, following the great enthusiasm attendant upon conversion, there should be a decline.

The rise and fall of religious feelings may sometimes be the attendant of other natural rhythms. One person reports that during five successive years he was awakened to a religious enthusiasm during the winter, which declined during the summer; and many other similar, though less striking, instances are on record. It has been ascertained by Malling-Hansen that physical growth is accelerated during the months of April to July. The rise and fall of religious feeling may be conditioned somewhat by the rate of the metabolisms going on in the organism at different times of the year. It is an interesting coincidence that religious revivals are held most commonly during the winter.

There is a distinction between backsliding in so far as it affects the will-attitudes and that which centres in a fluctuation of warmth of feeling. While there are many instances of the former, due, perhaps, to the re-assertion of old habitual modes of reaction, the analysis of religious confession shows another type, in whom the changed attitude towards life brought about through conversion is fairly constant, in spite of the fact that the instability of their religious ardour suffers a decline. Their real religious status seems not to be affected even while they are inactive in the direction of the new life. These would seem to require a different spiritual regimen from those who backslide in the former sense.

The point of greatest practical significance, perhaps, in respect of the post-conversion experience, is that the new insight or mode of conduct, however genuine it may be, must, in order to be permanently beneficial, become incorporated in a new set of neural habits that the new life may be as natural and spontaneous as the old. The former
type of life which is still structurally a part of consciousness, must either be refined and co-ordinated with the new, or the newly acquired spiritual selfhood become so persistent as to impede the whole economy and so cast out the evil with the good.


EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

BACON, FRANCIS.—1. Life. The greatest of the two stars that shed their brilliance upon Elizabethan England,—great both in power and achievement within his chosen field of speculation, and in humility and the splendour of his intellect to be clearly seen and understood.

He was born in London on the 22nd of January 1561, his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward, Knight of the Shroud; his sister, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas, was a sister of the wife of Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, the Queen's Chamberlain. His mother possessed a large number of books, but allowed to this task of blackening the memory of his friend and benefactor. It is true that Bacon was bound, and had always professed, to place the life of his friend before the service of his country; but this is no reason why he should not, and should not, have saved the life of Essex, but he need not have lent a hand in viliifying his name.

Bacon has left a name that is a byword among popular moralists. Conscious of failure in his own time, he trusted his name and memory to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages, but the stain of some of his own conduct allows the splendour of his intellect to be clearly seen and understood.

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was expanded into forty essays, and in 1625 into fifty-eight, the final number. Within its own field, it is undoubtedly one of the great books of the world. Bacon was humanist and rationalist, and his

ebras; the delicacy and point of its criticisms upon life's

iverse, and the discovery of America and the invention of

for recourse to experiment to compel nature to answer

Venn has been widely used by philosophers and

Francis Bacon, a classic study of the nature and

published in 1629 as the de Significiis et Augmentis

his works were published in the following order:

few other works (Historia Ventorum, Historia

that date from an earlier, greater, golden age of man.

That shows us how, say Church, 'tis instinct with

and mutual help, as the common doctrine of the

had been written and re-written by Bacon no fewer

In 1627, Bacon began his political career, which he

and the 

he had reached the height of his maturer

the most important of these works were published

natural history—his Life of Henry the Seventh—

moral knowledge which dates from an earlier

moral and religious. When Bacon said, 'For as

the discovery of the New World, the rise of

the making of the world, and the invention of

in Nature and the New Atlantis—Bacon's scientific

was translated into Latin (the second book being

of the present time, and as Bacon desired it should be.

in 1609. That was the last of these, knowledge, that was to

moral knowledge which dates from an earlier, greater,

First, I found that I was fitted for nothing so well as

such as the dangers of fallacy which lie in

the nature of the sciences, and the discovery of things

intra, that is to say, for the intellectual, for the

which, if true, would be regarded rather as a means to

of Truth—Partus Maximus, 1648, and, six years

same time steady enough to fix and distinguish their

things or events, and the reason why the new

in the interpretation of nature, by which the old and

moral knowledge which dates from an earlier, greater,

and the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

the last years of his life, and who remained his

months, and this work was published in 1620.

the sciences, and the discovery of things or events, and

The science of the sciences, and the discovery of

the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

the last years of his life, and who remained his

that knowledge, that was to be the means of

And if true, would be regarded rather as a means to

of Truth—Partus Maximus, 1648, and, six years

the last years of his life, and who remained his

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and the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

addition to the study of the world, or the study of

the last years of his life, and who remained his

and the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

of Truth—Partus Maximus, 1648, and, six years

the last years of his life, and who remained his

The science of the sciences, and the discovery of

the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

the last years of his life, and who remained his

of Truth—Partus Maximus, 1648, and, six years

the last years of his life, and who remained his

that knowledge, that was to be the means of

and the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

the last years of his life, and who remained his

The science of the sciences, and the discovery of

the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

the last years of his life, and who remained his

of Truth—Partus Maximus, 1648, and, six years

the last years of his life, and who remained his

that knowledge, that was to be the means of

when he undertook the study of the world, or the study of

the last years of his life, and who remained his

The science of the sciences, and the discovery of

the New Atlantis. This theory was based on

the last years of his life, and who remained his
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Bacon suggests, a kind of interest before the principal is produced. The last part (6), Philosophia Scientia, or Scientia Active, was to be the final completion and crowning of the whole structure. Bacon wished therefore to lay the foundations of it to be left to others to finish; indeed, it could only be the work of many hands and brains. Bacon long hoped for royal support for his cause; he constantly writes as if he desired wealth and position only that he might have influence and authority in persons following his ideas. He was to be the bell-ringer, who is ‘first up, to call others to church,’ the man who sounds the clarion, but enters not into the battle. His hope was in a Society such as he describes in Nov. Atlantis, and such as the Royal Society became soon after his day—a body of workers directing their powers of observation and inference upon limited fields of inquiry, after the first great collection of facts has been made. In one passage he anticipates that the future judgment passed upon himself would be that he did no great things, but simply made less account of the things that were accounted great (Nov. Org. i. Aph. 97).

(1) It is unnecessary here to give Bacon’s classification of the Sciences in full, although it is important to remember he had set his method of science forth in the Advancement of Learning, the de Augmentis, and the Descrip. Gli. Intellectus, with certain variations. The ground of division is the radically false one of the human mental faculties, Mosaic Intelligences, Reason. Thus the branches of knowledge are classified under three heads: History (corresponding to Memory, and dealing with Individuals), Poetry (corresponding to Imagination, and also dealing with Individuals), and Philosophy (corresponding to Reason, dealing with General Actions or Universals). Poetry is merely feigned History. ‘As all knowledge is the exercise and work of the mind, so poetry may be regarded as its sport. In philosophy the mind is bound to things, in poetry it is released from that bond, and wanders forth, and lends what it pleased’ (complete ed. v. 593). The term ‘philosophy’ with Bacon covers all Arts and Sciences, as well as Philosophy in the narrow sense. Parallel to the three divisions of Rational or Acquired Knowledge are four Intellections, Tierce Intellection. Like Locke, Bacon regarded the mind as the ultimate and only source of natural knowledge; the notions of science are abstracted from sense-impressions by composition and division according to the Laws of Nature and evidence of the things themselves. Bacon repeatedly moderatorized his methods in his insistence on keeping close to nature, and in his suggestion that Natural History should take special account of aberrations and monsters, i.e., pathological or morbid phenomena, and also of the products of human arts, as well as the normal and unmodified phenomena of Nature. In other words, he insisted both on the unity of Nature, on the identity in substance of the natural and the artificial, and on the value to science of a knowledge of limiting cases and borderland phenomena (cf. also Nov. Org. ii. 28, 30). Philosophy or Science, with its three subdivisions—Divine Philosophy or Natural Theology, Philosophy of Nature, and Philosophy of Man—was to be preceded by a Prima Philosophia, a form of Metaphysics; the Sciences were to be like branches of a tree that meet in one stem, which stem grows for some distance entire and continuous before it divides itself into arms and boughs (complete ed. i. 540). It was intended by Bacon to deal with two sets of subjects: (a) the universal principles common to several of the sciences, and (b) the adventitious conditions of essences, such as Much-Little, Like—Unlike, Possible—Impossible. The second part was to be a kind of Theology; it was to give the reasons or grounds of the distribution of Much-Little, etc.—why there is much of one thing, little of another. In other words, Prima Philosophia, or the speculative part of Natural Philosophy, or that which was to inquire into the causes of the Sciences, Physics and Chemistry, and what efficient and material Causes, Metaphysics with the Formal and Final Causes. The latter Bacon therefore excluded from Physics, but not from Natural Philosophy itself. ‘The inquisition of Final Causes is barren, and, like a virgin conversated to God, produces nothing,’ he said in the De Aug. (iii. ch. 5). According to Fowler, Bacon meant not that the knowledge of them is useless, but that knowing the purpose or end of an object serves not help us to produce the object, which is the true aim of Science.

The Classification, with its wealth of subdivisions, details, appendices, should be studied, as showing the remarkable comprehensiveness, fertility, and penetration of Bacon’s mind. It has, as a whole, the effect of providing an adherence to the lines of the Sciences themselves, in many instances along different lines from those anticipated by Bacon, but it is still fruitful of suggestion in this age of specialists.

(2) The second part of the Instauratio, in which the Novum Organum belongs, and which remains incomplete, was to reveal the New Logic of Discovery. It was to differ from the ordinary Logic in three things—its end, its methods of proof, its principles of inquiry. Its end was to be, not arguments, but arts; its method, not syllogism, but induction; its principles, not the first notions of the mind, or the immediate data of the senses, but notions duly abstracted by the mind purified of its errors and prejudices, according to the evidence of things themselves (complete ed. i. 135 ff.).

Bacon’s influence on scientific method has lain chiefly in the fact that he showed so clearly and incisively the errors and the psychological sources of the errors to which inquirers are liable, and to which they lurk or fall subject. The mind must become as far as possible a tabula rasa, if it is to be a true mirror of Nature; to this end it must first be cleared of its prejudices or preconceptions. The famous doctrine of the Idola (or ‘phantoms’) of the mind (see Nov. Org. i. aph. 28, 30) is a better index of Bacon’s method, and no better example of it than the work of those as: (1) Idola Tribus, Phantoms of the Tribe, or those common to all men; (2) Idola Specus, Phantoms of the Cave, those which depend on the nature, character, or training of the individual; (3) Idola Fori, Phantoms of the Market-place, those which spring from words, the counters which men exchange so carelessly in society, but which so often are false coins, suggesting a value which does not exist; (4) Idola Theatris, Phantoms of the Theatre, which include the false philosophies, the Sophistical, the Empirical, and the Superstitious (see also the Redargutio Philosophiarum and the Cogitatio et Visum), which had held the stage of thought until Bacon’s time, and which, it was necessary to show, were mere vain imaginations, fantastic dreams, mere realities or copies of reality; this is the idea underlying the term ‘Theatre.’ But the mind, once cleared, would only grow another crop of weeds if left to itself (intellectus sub permissa). How the Tree of Knowledge is to spring, to branch, and to produce the fruits of the Method to show. It was to be purely mechanical: ‘My way of discovering sciences goes far to level men’s wits, and leaves but
little to their individual excellence, because it performs everything by the surest rules and demonstrations (Nov. Orig. i. Aph. 122). The steps are (a) the collection of facts in the Natural and Experimental History, (b) the arrangement of these facts according to Topies or Nature. Bacon thought it was possible to say that the many and varied combinations of a few simple natures or elementary qualities or forces. Given the knowledge of these, the book might be read by any one. Further, he seems to have thought that each nature is a limitation or 'mode' of some already more general nature, irrespective of the supposed simplicity of the former nature. This more general nature is the Form. At other times, however, the 'form' seems to mean the nature itself which is being inquired into, i.e. its essence, or simple state, when apart from the many other natures with which it is combined in things. Thus the 'form' of heat is something which is common to all instances of heat, diverse as these may be in other respects, and which is absent from all instances from which heat is excluded. (Nov. Orig. ii. Intro.) Bacon's 'form' sometimes means Essence or Definition, at other times Cause or Law of Production ('vera rerum differentiae,' 'res ipissima,' 'nature alia quae sit cum natura data, convertibilis et tamen sinit limitatio naturae notioris, 'form enumerantis,' 'lex actu perit,' etc., Nov. Orig. i. 75, ii. 1, 2, 4). Both of these conceptions are contained in the modern idea of Cause. Thus, in his own remarkable example of the working of his method, he shows that heat is a kind of motion, a motion of restrained or checked expansion, in the smaller particles of a body (Nov. Orig. ii. 20); this motion would be the 'form' of heat, i.e. its statement would give the definition of heat, and its production would mean the production of heat. Needless to say, it was the latter result, operation, that Bacon aimed at, although he held that Light-bringing experiments should be tried rather than Fruit-bringing, in the first instance.

(3) The third step in the Method is the arrangement of the Material, for a given nature or quality, into certain Tables as a basis for Induction—Tables of Essence or Presence, i.e. of instances which agree in the presence of the given quality, e.g. all cases and kinds of heat; Tables of Deviation, or of Absence, i.e. negative instances, or instances, analogies, or cases in which the nature is absent; and Tables of Degrees or Comparison, in which the nature occurs in varying degrees.

(4) The fourth step was to be the Exclusion of all those natures which are either absent when the given nature is present (by the first Table), which present when the latter is absent (by the second Table), or which increase when the given nature decreases, or vice versa (by the third Table). And it is on the application of Exclusion that Bacon places the main stress. Inductive Logic (Nov. Orig. ii. 20) expected that within a few years after the Experimental History had been formed, everything would be known about Nature! As a matter of fact, the Exclusion itself, for a single quality, would have been an ordinary procedure.

The two chief flaws in Bacon's Method are his erroneous conception of the simplicity of Nature, and his disregard of hypothesis, of the scientific imagination, as a source of 'probable' knowledge. Bacon looked for certainty, not probability. Yet he was not unacquainted with the Modern Platonizing or Idealist school of experiment, which had its own Vindiciatio Prima, or First Vintage—the example he gives of an anticipatory induction (Nov. Orig. ii. 20, on the Form of Heat); and secondly, in the aids to Induction, of which only one, the Modus Indagandi, or the 'Negative Instantiarum, or Prerogative Instances' (ib. ii. 21-51). These are instances such as throw light more readily or effectively than others upon the true nature of a quality; they include such well-known terms as 'Solitary,' 'Striking' or 'Glaring,' 'Parallel,' 'Limiting' or 'Borderland,' and 'Crucial' or 'Finger-post' Instances. It is impossible to say whether the principle of Representative Instances, and the illustrations he gives, has had more influence upon scientific procedure than his Method itself has had. For the rest, the laws expressing the Forms were to give the lowest principles of Induction, from which men were to rise, first, to Middle Principles, and then to the Highest Principles; from these, and from these only, the Deduction of new particulars and operations was to take place; they were to express the very heart or marrow of Nature. Such axioms, so derived and abstracted, would, Bacon believed, bring whole 'flocks of works' in their train.

Of the remaining parts of the intended Instatement, Bacon wrote only some chapters of a description of the Universe—the Natural and Experimental History of the Winds, of Life and Death, of the Dense and the Rare, the Sylva Sylvarum, etc.; but it was not a work for which he felt himself fitted, and much that he has collected is absurd, superstitious, or unverified report from unknown or untested authorities. Active science was not his part in life. But he undertook the work only because it was a necessary preliminary, and he could get no others to do it for him. It remains true of his Method as a whole, that it was neither so novel as he believed nor so effective as he hoped. No discoveries were made by its use, and the great scientific masters that followed him employed the imagination much more than his doctrine allowed. Nor can it be otherwise; science is further than ever from Bacon's ideal, viz. that of a method which any one whatever may learn and apply. At the same time, Bacon stands, along with Aristotle, as one of the 'masters of those who know;' he stimulated, if he did not awaken, the passionate devotion to Nature and to the pursuit of truth which has been a characteristic of European science since his day. Directly or indirectly, he initiated the study of mental, moral, and social phenomena by scientific and experimental methods. He laid the foundation-stone of English Empiricism, and of the French Enlightenment. A more specific tribute is made by Francis, i.e. (Bacon, p. 91): 'Inductive Logic, that is, the systematic analysis and arrangement of inductive evidence, as distinct from the natural induction which all men practice, is almost as much the creation of Bacon as Deductive Logic is that of Aristotle.' And of both Dean Church says: 'The combination of patient and careful industry, with the courage and divination of genius, in doing what none had done before, makes it equally stupid and idle to impeach their greatness' (Bacon, p. 294). While ignorant or unappreciative of many of the great discoveries of his predecessors and contemporaries, Bacon's remarkable catholicity of interest and impartial judgment enabled him to anticipate, or at least to foreshadow, many of the most recent generalizations of science.

Moral Philosophy Bacon still regarded as the Handmaid of Theology; and neither in his division of its parts (de Augmentis, bk. 7) nor in the practical rules and wisdom of the Essay he is ahead of his time. In Theology he was whole-hearted with the Modern Platonizing or Idealist school, in which founded toleration both by his voice and by his pen, but he preferred Atheism to Superstition (i.e. Romanism). Theoretically, he insisted on the complete separation between Theology and Philosophy or Science, between Faith and Reason, between the Rational and the Natural, just as in Psychology also
he recognized in the soul of man two principles or parts, the one divine, inspired, immortal, the other animal, created, perishing—a doctrine adopted from Telesio, but with Aris...
Some examples of these totemic badges are as follows. Among the Onahals, a North American tribe, the Buffalo clan wear two locks of hair in imitation of horns; the members of another Buffalo clan wear a crest of hair about two inches long, standing erect and extending from ear to ear; this is their totem badge, and it is made for each clan member of the bird clan among the same people leave a little hair in front, over the forehead, for a bill, and some at the back of the head, for the bird's tail, with much over each ear for the wings. The Birdmen of New Zealand knock out the upper front teeth in order, as they say, to be like oxen; the Mangangas chip their teeth in order to make them resemble those of a cat or a crocodile. Tatungas, cattariss, and the like are now often of a merely ornamental character, but it seems certain that originally they were always denoted something more specific: the fact that they are very frequently made at initiation ceremonies is significant. The tribal badge, as indicating kinship with a god, was probably a religious emblem from the beginning. It is found among all races as well as on the different parts of the body, but below the feet, and is not, like the totem badge, that which indicates being under the special protection of a totem-god; this is the totem dress. It is represented in a great variety of forms, but the principle underlying each is the same, namely, that of effecting a resemblance as close as possible to the totem-god, and thus ensuring his protection. Association of ideas, not reason, is what guides men in the stage of undeveloped civilization in these things. It is at the great crises of life, such as initiation, marriage, and death, that these badges are assumed; for example, among many savage peoples, when a youth is definitely made a member of his tribe by being initiated into the tribal mysteries, he is dressed or painted or otherwise made to resemble the totem—or god, as the case may be—by some means or other. It is that, says, he is brought into closer contact than usual with it. The custom of which Lucian gives an example is probably connected with this:∗

"When a man intends to go on a pilgrimage to Hierapolis, he offers up a sheep and eats some of its flesh. He then kneels down and draws his head over his own head, and prays at the same time to his god."

3. Secret Society badges.—Of an entirely different character are the badges worn by certain savage peoples to indicate membership of a secret society. Among the most striking examples of this category are the leaf or flower badges of the various *tiamato* associations which exist in the Borneo islands and the neighboring Torres groups. Here the badge is usually worn on the head, the distinctive flower or leaf being stuck in the hair. To assume the badge without being a member of the *tiamato* is an offence to the power against the society, and is punished according to the offense and position of the society offended.

4. Analogous customs among Semites.—What has been said may be paralleled by analogous customs among races within the Semite area. While direct evidence for the existence of the totem badge among the Semites is lacking, there are a good number of data to be gathered from various sources which suggest that examples of

2. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
3. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
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5. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
6. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.

This must at one time have existed among them. Thus among the Arabs every tribe has its *waqam* ('tribal mark'), which is branded on its cattle; this is paralleled by the custom of the Bechuanas, who mark the ears of their cattle with an incision which resembles the open jaws of a crocodile, one of their totems. It is also said that the Romans used to put the image of the child — whatever its origin — was likewise a badge of ownership, which was branded on the ears of the cattle. The same custom, though the badge was different, was practised by the ancient Iceniadens, as regards the Romans, Columella gives the following testimony: 'His etiam diebus maturi agni, et religi fœsus pecudum, nec minus majora quadrupedia character signari debent.' These, and many other examples that might be given, doubless all descend from similar origins.

Such analogous instances among peoples, some of whom still use totem badges on their persons, suggest the probability that originally the *waqam* among the Arabs was branded on the tribesmen as a mark of tribe, as this is the custom of the Bechuanas. The fact that, according to Lucian, all the Syrians bore *stignata* of religious significance on their wrist or neck.** Just as the cattle were marked with the badge of ownership, so, one may reasonably surmise, in earlier days men were marked with the badge of tribe in order to distinguish them from the heathen and to protect them. According to Haherlandt, among the Semites generally it may be said that all marks upon the body, within the categories referred to, were badges of relationship either to a god or to a fellow-creature. The nature of these relationships differed, of course. In a large number of cases, as we have seen, it denoted ownership; but it is probable that both types of relationship go back to a common original, viz. the totemic badge.** Perhaps one may conceive the sequence of ideas and practice to have been, roughly speaking, something of this kind. The totem formed the background from this arose the totem mark, or badge of kinship with the totem; the next step would be the development of totem gods, necessarily conceived of as tribal ancestors, to whom the worshippers would dedicate themselves by stigmatization; closely related to the latter would be the mourning custom known as 'cuttings for the dead,' which was a remnant of part of the ritual connected with ancestor-worship. Thus the badge of kinship became the god's mark of ownership. Regarding the worshipers between the god and his worshippers there were always reciprocal duties; and return for worship, and all that this implied, the god was bound to look after his people and provide for them: therefore, a question of covenant, and the stigma became thus the badge of covenant between the god and his worshippers. This is brought out by the fact that the ultimate Semitic root is the same for 'mark' and 'covenant' (cf. the *tiamato* or *tiamato* associations which exist in the Borneo islands and the neighboring Torres groups.)

The Semites are a people with very few of these marks, and all that are mentioned are of a very small size. The only examples that can be given are the following:

2. ibid., p. 77 ff., where many examples are given.
3. de la riviere, xii., 2, quoted by A. L. J. Michelon, Die *Frauenfeste* (1883).
4. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
5. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
6. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
7. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* (1884), p. 217; Breckhart, Notes on the Beduins and Wahabyis (1885), p. 142; see, in the latter work, the plates containing a large number of these marks.
Arabic shurt, 'a mark,' and short, 'a covenant'; cf. Acts 20:27. On the analogy of this badge of covenant between a god and his people arose that of a covenant between man and man. Among the Arabs, when two men made a covenant, they inflicted a wound in their flesh, either in the hand or arm, and drank blood from it. This practice whereby blood-drinking constituted the central act, but the mark left on the person of each party to the covenant was the visible badge of the covenant.

What has been said may be illustrated by someOsiride mark on the stone. We shall not expect to find here any reference to marks which could be considered as definitely totemic, for it is only remnants of the later stages, referred to above, that we come across in the OT; at the same time, the existence of animal names of clans and men suggests the probability that totemism existed among the early ancestors of the Israelites. Circumcision was the badge of the covenant between Jehovah and His worshippers (cf. Gn 17:11). Originally it must have denoted something else. This is proved by the very wide meaning of the name. It is derived from a great variety of peoples, and more especially by the fact that there are strong reasons for the belief that the rite came to the Israelites through Egypt; but to the Israelites it became the distinguishing mark of Jehovah’s ownership. Belonging to the same class is the practice of tattooing by a great variety of peoples; and more especially by the fact that there are strong reasons for the belief that the rite came to the Israelites through Egypt; but to the Israelites it became the distinguishing mark of Jehovah’s ownership. Belonging to the same class is the practice of tattooing by a great variety of peoples, and more especially by the fact that there are strong reasons for the belief that the rite came to the Israelites through Egypt; but to the Israelites it became the distinguishing mark of Jehovah’s ownership.

The most extraordinary use of badges is exemplified in the various forms of the ‘Jewish badge’ worn by the Jews during the Middle Ages. This first originated among the Muhammadans; by the Pact of Omar (640) all Jews living in Muhammadan countries were compelled to wear a circular device on their upper garments. In later times Jews in Egypt were compelled to wear bells on their garments, and a little calf carved of wood; the latter, according to Lane-Poole, was to remind them of the Golden Calf. In the 14th century, the badge took the form of a yoke, and in Tripoli, a parti-coloured turban marked the Jew. It was, in the first instance, the Muhammadan precedent which was followed when in Christian lands the Jewish badge was introduced. It appears that this badge was already in use in some lands before the central authority in Rome put forth an ordinance on the subject applying to all Christendom; thus in France the badge was in use in 1208; but it was made universal by a decree, prompted by Innocent III., of the fourth Lateran Council (1215), and it applied to Muhammadans as well as to Jews. The reason given for the decree was the need of preventing inter-marriage and concubinage between Christians and non-Christians.

In accordance with this the badge was everywhere enforced; but it differed in size, shape, and colour in different countries. In France it was a circular piece of cloth, usually yellow in colour, sewn on to the outer garment. The alternative of a yellow head-dress was permitted, while Jewesses wore a distinctive veil. The age at which Jews had to begin to wear the badge varied in different parts of France, at some places seven years, at others not until fourteen. The badge could be worn on the breast, or left shoulder, or on the girdle, or even on the hat. In France, Spain, and Italy the customs were similar; in these countries, too, exemptions from wearing the badge were often permitted, usually in consideration of a money payment. In Germany the badge took the form of a special hat, the ‘Judenhut.’ It was pointed

 claimed Jehovah’s ownership were the ‘sign’ on the hand and the ‘memorial’ between the eyes, mentioned in Ex 13:16 (cf. Rev 20:4). These must originally have been marks cut into the hands and forehead, and were preserved perhaps in their original form only by the prophetical order; later on, the ‘sign’ became a form of a priestly robe (see Jer. 23:11, etc.).

* Lineally descended from these, too, is perhaps the badge referred to in Job 31:25 (‘Lo, here is my mark, let the Almighty answer me’). The word used here for ‘mark’ comes from the root meaning ‘to wound,’ and it is the same as that used in Deut. 27:18. Reference is here to those who are true to God, and therefore belong to Him.

A mark of an entirely different character is the badge of the masonlayer, mentioned only once in the OT, in reference to Cain.

Jewish Badges. — One of the most extraordinary uses of badges is exemplified in the various forms of the ‘Jewish badge’ worn by the Jews during the Middle Ages. This first originated among the Muhammadans; by the Pact of Omar (640) all Jews living in Muhammadan countries were compelled to wear a circular device on their upper garments. In later times Jews in Egypt were compelled to wear bells on their garments, and a little calf carved of wood; the latter, according to Lane-Poole, was to remind them of the Golden Calf. In the 14th century, the badge took the form of a yoke, and in Tripoli, a parti-coloured turban marked the Jew. It was, in the first instance, the Muhammadan precedent which was followed when in Christian lands the Jewish badge was introduced. It appears that this badge was already in use in some lands before the central authority in Rome put forth an ordinance on the subject applying to all Christendom; thus in France the badge was in use in 1208; but it was made universal by a decree, prompted by Innocent III., of the fourth Lateran Council (1215), and it applied to Muhammadans as well as to Jews. The reason given for the decree was the need of preventing inter-marriage and concubinage between Christians and non-Christians.

* Continuous with the onomastic Christian Judaism seu Saracenum seu Judaei seu Saracenorum Christianorum multivariis significativitatem. Nec iturg tam damnato communia exsequi exsequi per veheminentem propter seminario hujusmodi exsequi; atque eos posuerunt habere diffinatum, statimque ut tales utrisque sexus in omni Christianorum et in omni prope quattuor habitus publico ab alios publico disingratius.

In accordance with this the badge was everywhere enforced; but it differed in size, shape, and colour in different countries. In France it was a circular piece of cloth, usually yellow in colour, sewn on to the outer garment. The alternative of a yellow head-dress was permitted, while Jewesses wore a distinctive veil. The age at which Jews had to begin to wear the badge varied in different parts of France, at some places seven years, at others not until fourteen. The badge could be worn on the breast, or left shoulder, or on the girdle, or even on the hat. In France, Spain, and Italy the customs were similar; in these countries, too, exemptions from wearing the badge were often permitted, usually in consideration of a money payment. In Germany the badge took the form of a special hat, the ‘Judenhut.’ It was pointed
at the top, and the brim was often twisted into the shape of a pair of horns. Red was the usual colour, in later times green. But the wheel-badge, of yellow or saffron and of various sizes, was also worn in Germany in the 15th cent. by the men, while the Jews were obliged to wear two blue stripes on their veils or caps. In the Arabic alphabet the letter S (="signum") appeared in the yellow circle. In Switzerland the badge took the form of a piece of red cloth shaped like a pointed hat; later on it became a wheel fixed on the back. * In Crete the circle was also marked upon the houses of Jews, a custom which is in vogue even at the present day.† In England it would almost seem as though the badge was at first introduced as a safeguard for the Jews. The Earl of Pen- brok, who was regent during the early years of the minority of Henry III., sought to encourage the settlement of the Jews again in England after their cruel experiences during the reign of John. It was to ensure their security, so that no one could plead that he had assaulted a Jew in ignorance, that Abigail, daughter of hereditary Jews in England, has this process of the Khilafate, the potentate of Islam. History which more often than not have been preserved or brought to light has been translated into English. The exchequer; survivals of former arrangements; tables of taxation; wills and deeds are preserved in a prominent manner. Originally these were white in colour, but later yellow was ordered. By the statute of Edward I., of Judaismo (3 Edw. i. 1274-1275),† which dealt exhaustively with the Jewish Question, Jews as well as Jews were forced to wear a badge, and its object now was to mark out Jews, who by this statute were prohibited from mixing with Christians. Thus it became, as in other countries, a badge of shame.§

There is no account of any cities which were entirely occupied with the subject of badges. Data have to be gathered from a great variety of sources. See the references in the footnotes above, which represent an attempt to search out the usage—which was natural at such times—in the illustrations of Ms. A. O. E. OSTERLEY

BAGDI.—A Dravidian, cultivating, fishing, and menorah of Central and Western Bengal, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 1,042,550. Their religion is a compound of orthodox Hinduism and survivals of animism and nature-worship. In the former stage, the regular Hindu deities are worshipped in a more or less intelligent fashion. But besides them there venerate Gušain Ėrā, the goddess of the Sādhu, the mountain-goddess of the hill races (see ORON). According to their own statement, their favourite deity is the snake-goddess, Manasā, whose image, represented with four arms, crowned by a tiara of snakes, and grasping a cobra, is drawn on the ground, and is flaunted in a tank—an apparently a rite of mimetic magic intended to remove her dangerous influence. They also parae the effigy of a female saint named Bahā'ī, who is said to be the daughter of the Rāja of Pachet, and who died a virgin in order to save the good of the people. Her worship consists of songs and wild dances, in which men, women, and children take part. The legend supplies one more instance of the development of local gods in India from actual historical personages, as illustrated by Lyall (Aristic Studies ii. 30 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Riley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, 1891, 411 ff.

W. CROOKE

BAGHDAD.—I. Sketch of history. In the history of Baghdad is the capital of the Eastern Khilafate, founded in A.D. 754 (A.H. 136) by al-Mansûr, second Khalif of the 'Abbasid dynasty, whose metropolis it remained, except for the period 830-862, when the court was transferred to Samarra, until the overthrow of the dynasty by the Mongol Hâlângh in 1258 (A.H. 650), after which the seat of the Khalil fâte was removed to Cairo. Baghdad remained in the hands of the Mongols, or Timurids, until 1507, when it was taken by Shah Isâḷ‰l, founder of the Safawî dynasty, from whom it was taken in 1534 by the Ottomans, in whose hands it has ever since continued, except for the brief period of occupation by the Persians.

The name Baghdad (Baghā-datā, *given by Baghā or God*) is one of the many cases in which the older name of a locality outlasts newer appellations. The name which Māşrâ gave his city was either his own, or Mutand al-Salâm, 'City of Peace.' Another appellation was al-Zâwâr, 'the Crooked,' on the analogy of similar names given to the chief cities of Islam. Of the older name there are several dialectic forms. Jews and Christians often called it Babel.

There is no account of a real history of this city which should be sought in historical works dealing with the Khilafate, or in the monograph of Guy le Strange, Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate, Oxford, 1900. We shall confine ourselves to its importance for the history of Religion and Ethics.

The accession of the Abid in the 19th cent. and the recognition in Islam of a principle which at the first had been vehemently repudiated—the hereditary right of the Prophet's family to the sovereignty (imāma). The rise of this is clearly due to the hereditary principle having been adopted by the usurper Mu'ašiyâh, founder of the Umayyad dynasty; when it was once recognized that the sovereignty belonged to one family, the majority of Muslims would be disposed to agree that that family should be the Prophet's. Only, since the Prophet's line was continued through a daughter, there was room for difference of opinion as to which of two families had the right to his inheritance. The law of the Qur'ān seemed to favour the doctrine that, where there was no mole issue, the father's brother succeeded, and on this theory the claim of the 'Abbasids was based. But to those who held that there could be succession through the female line the Prophet's heirs were the descendants of his daughter Fāthe and her husband 'Alī—the 'Alids, Ala'wî, or Fatimids.

So long as the name Baghā, or 'Bagdād, was in use, the Umayyads, these two families worked together, leaving the question between themselves to be decided later; but when the organizing genius of Abî Muslim had won the throne for the Abids, they fell out, and, the latter being in possession, the 'Alids were perpetually rising, but never produced in the Eastern provinces a leader capable of securing success; they were pacified by massacres, and were intimidated by torture and inundation. The principal factor in Baghdad politics till the coming of the Mongols, and in the fitna which decided the assassination of the last of the Khalifs of Baghdad the influence of 'Ald sentiment is noticeable. The Mongol general asked whether it was true that the execution of the Khalif would cause a general convulsion of nature. The jurists whom he consulted replied that, if such an act could cause a natural convulsion, nature would have been convulsed by the death of 'Ali and that of his son Husain.

The site of the 'Abbasid capital was selected with a view to avoid Syria, where the Umayyads were popular, and Arabia, where the 'Alids cause was strong; and to be near Persia, especially Khurasan, where the 'Abids had their chief adherents. And, indeed, the triumph of the Abid-

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* Abrâhîm, op. cit. p. 258.
† J. E. S. i. 370, see, too, the interesting plate given.
‡ See Budge, Selections, Stairs, and Records of the Jewish Exchequer (1902), p. xxxviii.

sid is sometimes regarded as the re-conquest by Persia of its ancient holy city. The unusual influence of the caliph, however, secured it, and the institution of a foreign bodyguard soon took all power out of the Khalif’s hands, and placed it in those of a Dailenite or a Turkish Sultan.

2. Literary importance of the foundation of Baghdad.—The rise of the new dynasty synchronised with the popularisation of paper, an invention nearly as momentous for the diffusion of knowledge as that of printing. It also broke with the earlier period of palaces amidst the ruins of the palace of the caliphs, and the inhabitants had shown a tendency to discard. The production of literary works proceeded apace, and the 3rd cent. of Islam produced polygraphs such as Isâkh of Mansûr and Jähiz of Baṣra. Translation from foreign languages was encouraged, especially Greek, Syriac, and Pahlavi; a royal library was founded by Ma’mûn (ob. A.D. 833), and his example was followed by other men of eminence, such as the vizier of Mutawakkil, al-Fâṭîh b. Khâlîkân (ob. 861). The respect which the creations of such men have naturally won on account of them at Baghdad, where indeed the dogma of the infallibility of the Greeks in all scientific questions had its adherents. Debates, in which religious questions were not absolutely avoided, were encouraged by literary viziers, and many of the works published with considerable fashionability (cf. Yâkût, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, ii. 46 and the Pahlavi Gujistak-Abâใกล, ed. Barthelemy, Paris, 1887). A public library with endowments for the assistance of students was founded in the 4th cent. A.H. by the vizier Sâbîr b. Ardashîr; and the building of colleges on a large scale characterized Seljûk rule in the 5th.

3. Islâmic religious buildings in Baghdad.—The founder of the city, Mansûr, built a mosque, known subsequently as al-Sâfîn al-Allîh, ‘the Old Court,’ beside by side with his Palace of the Golden Gate. This was subsequently enlarged by succeeding Khalîfs, and appears to have survived the sack of the city by Hulâgû, though no trace remains of it now (le Strange, op. cit. 32-37). Since the faithful of mosques counted as a mercenary force, apart from the needs of worshippers, they continued to be erected so long as the Khalîfate lasted; and the quarter called ‘the Baṣra Gate’ was said to contain 30,000 of these edifices (Saâdî, G blessing. I. 1.60). Buildings to the north of famous religious sanctuaries arose; such were the mosque of Abû Ḥanîfa and Mâsâ b. Ja’far, the tomb of Ma’rûf of Karkh, etc. Preachers and teachers built or had built for themselves hermitages, called ribâḥ, of which the number must have been very great; perhaps the most celebrated of these was the ribâḥ of the Sháikh Sh-Shuyûkî, built by order of ‘Amîd al-Trâkî for the Sâfî Abû Sa’d of Nisâbûr (ob. 1086; Ibn al-Athîr, annî 450 and 479 A.H.). And another of some note was founded by Abû al-Zanûm al-Zanumâni opposite the mosque of Mansûr, built for ‘Ali b. Mâshûd al-Zanûm (ob. 1060). The preacher ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Jahânî (q.v.) had a ribâḥ as well as a school. The works hitherto made accessible on the topography of Baghdad do not offer the same variety of names for mosques as is exhibited by the topographies of Cairo, but this is likely to be accidental. The doors of the mosques were used for placarding government notices (Ibn al-Athîr, A.H. 533), and the inside of the buildings sometimes served as the scene of public religious, e.g. the recitation of verses, and the narration of stories (Jâhîz, Hayyâwân, iii. 8: ‘Mosque of ‘Attûb’), or the publication of political intelligence (Ṭabarî, iii. 2216: ‘in the two public mosques of Baghdad’; 2224, ii. 2240, 5, etc.).

4. Religious history of Baghdad.—Shortly after the founding of the city an inquisition was started by Mansûr, in the view of suppressing the zindîs (see art. Atheism [Muhammadan]), and this was continued by his successors Mahdî and Hâdî (Abothî, xii. 100, xii. 74; Tabari, iii. 517, 548); on the accession of Hâdî al-Râshîd all criminals except those under this charge were released. After the taking of the city by Ma’mûn’s forces (A.D. 813) the dogma of the creativeness of the Qur’ân was adopted by the new Khalîf, who instituted an inquisition into the tenets of his subjects, and who rejected this doctrine: the inquisition was maintained by the two succeeding Khalîfs, and was finally stopped in the second year of Mutawakkil (A.D. 848-849), W. M. Patton, Ahmad Ibn Ishaq and the Minhâj, Leyden, 1897). The followers of the most distinguished nazarites in this period, Ahmad Ibn Ḥanîla, presently became a power in the city, and riots between them and the Shâﬁ’ites took place at various periods; they are first mentioned in the year 954, when the Râbulites endeavoured to have the Shâﬁ’ites exterminated on a variety of violent proceedings. A furious manifesto was fulminated against them by the Khalîf Râdî, charging them with anthropomorphism, and threatening them with the extreme penalty of the law unless they abandoned their system. Similar troubles continued at various times and places, and were eventually stopped by the Khalîf Râdî, immediately after his accession (A.H. 922, A.D. 934), had started an inquisition, having for its purpose the suppression of the sect which believed the deity to be incarnate in one Ibn Abî ‘l-‘Azâkîr al-Shâhmâghânî. His published letter on this subject is in part preserved (see Yâkût, op. cit. i. 288). One of this person’s followers refused to retract his opinion even when the alleged possessor of deity was publicly scourged. The sect was not extinguished by this persecution, as in the year 992 a fresh inquisition was instituted by the vizier Muhâllalâbî. The chief cause for religious riots, however, was the ceaseless dispute between Sunnites and Shi’ites, whose differences, in spite of the centuries that have intervened, are still a cause of trouble in India and elsewhere. The dispute was in origin, as has been seen, more political than religious; and although the founder of Baghdad massacred the Alids, some of the later Abbasîs were inclined to favour their cause, and it is asserted that Ma’mûn had the blood of several notable Shi’ites delivered to a member of their family. This was frustrated; and the perpetual risings of the Alids led Mutawakkil in the year 850 to destroy the grave of al- ‘Uzzaïn, and penalize visits to it, an act which was regarded by his son as justifying parricide. The process by which Shi’ism was transformed from a political movement into a religion is not quite easy to trace; but it seems likely that the fantastic beliefs which gathered round the person of Ali and his descendants, are still an infundamental, and the infusion of Indian and Persian ideas into Islâm, the conversion of the sect into a religious theocracy, is indubitable. The separation of Shi’ism from Sunnism, as a system with a code and a liturgy of its own, was due to the rise of the Fatimid dynasty of N. Africa, whose rulers after their conquest of Egypt proceeded to the work of codification, their practice having doubtless existed some time before. In the disputes between Turks and Dailenites which marked the 4th and 5th cents. of Islâm, the former theoretically favoured Sunnism, the latter Shi’ism, and that system connected with the name of the conqueror of Baghdad, Mu’izz al-Daula, in 902 ordered certain Shi’ite exterminations to be affixed to the mosque doors. These were erased by the populace; and on the advice of his vizier Muhâllalâbî he had a harmless formula substituted. The next
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year, however (965), he insisted on the observance of the fast of Muharram 10 in Shi'ite fashion; and this practice continued some time after his death, as the Shi'ites were often frequent guests in the house of the Imam. His successors appear to have been far less keenly attached to Shi'ite doctrine; and it is asserted by a good authority (Ravas'dUl of Hamadhan, p. 424) that 'Adud al-Daula went so far as to impose a 'roll-tax' on the Shi'ites, as being members of a tolerated religion. The practice of the fast appears to have become gradually restricted to the Shi'ite quarter of the city, which in 971 (perhaps for the first time) appears as Karkh, also at that time 'the quarter of the merchants.' In the first two centuries following, it was in vogue, but on subsequent occasions the Sunnites and Shi'ites appear to have been the chief combatants. In 973, when the dispute between Bakhtiyar and Suhrabtakian gave the Turkish party the upper hand in the time in Baghdad, the Sunnites, who were in possession of the 'Foed Market,' mounted a woman on a camel, and called her 'Aisha, and made two of their number represent 'Ali and Zahra respectively; they then made an onslaught on the wall of the Shi'ite quarter, the Kall'i in Camel, in which 'Aisha and her allies attacked the forces of 'Ali. In 1015 there was a riot between the two parties, resulting in the Shi'ites being forbidden to celebrate the fast by order of Fakhr al-Mulk; we find the Shi'ites still in occupation of the quarter called Karkh, whereas the Kall'i in Barley-gate were in possession of the Sunnites; in 1048 the Bâb al-Aznâj (Eastern side) and the 'Cobblers' are further specified as Sunnite abodes. The following year, owing to an armed force having attempted to prevent the Shi'ites from celebrating the Muharram lamentations, the latter began to fortify their quarter (Karkh) with a wall; and the Sunnites proceeded to do the same with their Kall'i-in quarter, which immediately adjoined the other. After considerable fighting the parties agreed to a truce, with the view of preventing government intervention; they proceeded, however, with their fortifications, and a fresh outbreak was caused by the Shi'ites building towers on which they inscribed the words 'Muhammad and 'Ali are the best of mankind;' whose authors shows gratitude, but whose denies is an unbeliever' —a formula which charged the Sunnites (with whom Abû Bakr is the second best of mankind) with unbelief. The Sunnites were headed by the Harbîs. The unshâkh Bâb al-Tîbiyon (according to le Strange's 'description of Baghdad;' the latter comes from a disturbed quarter), apparently a Shi'ite sanctuary, was in the course of these riots violated, plundered, and burned by the Sunnites, to avenge the death of one of their number. The Shi'ites in revenge burned the Sunnite institutions. The disturbances soon spread to the eastern city, where the dwellings of the sects were also divided. At the beginning of 1053 the Turkish mercenaries mixed themselves up with the dispute, and killed a member of the 'Ali family; in the riots which followed, a large part of the Karkh quarter was burned down, and the inhabitants moved to other parts of Baghdad. Karkh, however, remained the headquarters of the Shi'ites, and in 1056 we hear of a riot between them and their Sunnite neighbors which was quelled. One of the last to give way was a Gate Quarter. Something like a final reconciliation between the two parties was effected in 1105, when the people of Karkh, fearing a fresh persecution, gave the Sunnites free passage through their quarters to the Bab al-Sayyab, a place which had been forbidden for fear of giving offence to the Shi'ites; and the Sunnites in their turn granted some corresponding concessions. Karkh, however, remained the Shi'ite quarter after this settlement of the dispute (Sîhl Ibn al-Ta'âwîlî, ed. Margoliouth, p. 215).

Besides the disputes which led to riots, there were frequent disputes between the rival sects, and it would appear that all which were started had some representation at the capital. Attempts were at times made to suppress the discussions between them, but without permanent success.

The history of Muslim ritual was doubtless largely influenced by Baghdad practice, which itself was at times dictated by political motives. So we are told (Ibn al-Athir, annâ 494 A.H.) that the practice of crying aloud the formula called boumâz had been abandoned for years in the city of Kairun in North Africa, and that in Baghdad, because it had been adopted in the rival Khalifate of Cairo; the Khalil who re-introduced this practice adopted another which was also against the principles of the Shi'a. Islam in these matters is extraordinarily conservative, and innovations found little favour.

5. Standard of morality. — The Islamic principles of the relations between the sexes, embodied in the practices of polygamy, concubinage, and the wearing of veils, and seals, remain in the same state in the religious houses of a Muslim community too different from that of a Christian or Aryan community to admit of comparison. Thus we find a leading theologian at Baghdad having 148 concubines (Ibn Khallikan, i, 386) without offending public opinion. Such pictures as have come down to us of Baghdad society, as in the Arabian Nights, imply a state of affairs on which it would be painful to dwell; of the most elaborate of these descriptions (Ahn' l-Kásim, Ein Baghîdâr Sittenbild, of the 4th century; and A. Menf) few pages could be rendered into a modern language without injury. The dignity of the highest offices of state, the Khalifate and the Vizierate, did not appear inconsistent with the bandying of the grossest jests (see, e.g., Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Siane, i, 29). Allusions to immoralities not sanctioned by the Muslim law are also so common in the literature of the period, that we can only suppose the practices to have been widespread. Towards drunkenness popular opinion was more decidedly unfavourable; yet this vice seems to have been prevalent in fashionable circles, and scenes in which the leading men and their associates are all under the influence of liquor are common during the whole period. An example may be taken from the middle of the fourth century, which is recorded by Yâkit (op. cit. p. 106). Sâîd al-Mu'izz al-Daula to the vizier al-Muhallabi, who has all his secretaries and under-secretaries with him. The letter is urgent, but every man in the room has drunk deep. Torâhim the Sahbin has drunk no less than the others, but, having a stronger head than they, is able to write the necessary reply. We have another contemporary description of the wine-drinking of this vizier (Yatimat al-dohr, ii, 106), which took place twice a week; the chief judge of Baghdad with other judges took part on these occasions, when each 'received a gold cup weighing 1000 milliars or less, into which he would plunge his beard; after exhausting most of the contents, they would sprinkle the remains on each other and then dance.' On the 6th cent. not only has the Sîhl Ibn al-Ta'âwîlî introduced descriptions of wine-drinking into his encomiums on Khalîf (p. 162) and other distinguished persons (p. 86). From the 4th cent. onwards the history of Baghdad is frequently occupied with the yoppin, or robbers; and the Ihtîâmûshc, a kind of gangster, or disbeliever, is furnished with a list of thieves' tricks showing that their trade was highly specialized; the contemporary anecdotes of Tanûkhî indicate, however, that the metropolis was fairly well policed. The same
tales indicate that the practice of banking was fairly developed, implying the existence of a well-established code of rectitude in monetary transactions; they also show that there was a considerable amount of sympathy and mutual kindness between the poorer members of the community, but great disregard for the sanctity of human life, and an insufficient sense of responsibility in the domestic relations. Public opinion seems to have been ordinarily in favour of the kindly treatment of slaves (Jâhiz, Misrâ, p. 88), and against severe punishments.

Those dealing with the criminal classes the rulers of Baghdad employed spies, whose business it was to report at headquarters whatever seemed to them worthy of notice; certain rulers occupied themselves particularly with public morality; so the Khalif Mu'tamid (A.D. 898) issued an edict forbidding story-tellers, astrologers, or fortune-tellers to sit in the street or in the great Mosque; while book-sellers had to take an oath that they would sell no metaphysical or theological works. Similarly the Khalif Hassân (A.D. 946) ordered from the capital all singing-women and filles de joie, forbade the entry to the public baths except in decent attire, and ordered the demolition of various galleries in which games were played, and which permitted the players to look down into people's houses. The edict that the efficacy of these edicts was of no long duration. In the year 816 we read (Tabari, iii. 1068) of an interesting case of a voluntary organization of the peaceful citizens of Baghdad to repress crime and outrages; one of the leaders in this movement hung a Qur'an on his neck, and began by exhorting the inhabitants of his locality; and when he had obtained a hearing, proceeded to admonish all the inhabitants of Baghdad, high and low, beginning with the noblest family of all, the Banû Ḥâšîm; he established a register in which he inscribed the names of all those who undertook to observe his regulations and coerce those who disobeyed them. With the followers thus acquired he patrolled the streets of Baghdad, and put a stop to robbery and blackmailing. His proceedings were at first not approved by the government, but afterwards they increased and he was continued.

A less drastic method of dealing with the vicious propensities of the citizens was furnished by the efforts of the preachers, of whom we have noticed for all periods of Baghdad's history. The Nestorian Patriarch and the Hariri endeavour to represent them as shameless hypocrites, whose interest lay only in the collection, but there is no reason for believing this account to have been ordinarily correct. The earliest of these preachers whose sermons have come down to us is al-Ḥarîth b. ʿAbdallâh al-Muḥâsibî (ob. 857); they are practical in character, but are said to have attracted vast audiences, and to have produced ecstatic phenomena among their hearers. This is after the 8th cent. Islam that the historians call attention to the performances of the Baghdad preachers, for whom colleges (or, as we should say, chapels) were often erected. In 1091 the capital was visited by a preacher from Merv, Arâshîr b. Mansûr; he met with such signal success that, when the ground occupied by his hearers was measured, it was found to cover 157 by 120 cubits. The Khalîf himself at times condescended to attend these discourses, which were occasionally used for political or sedition purposes. In the latter part of the 9th cent. the preachers were not only accustomed to elucidate the morals of their co-religionists, but to convert members of other communities to Islam; and fabulous accounts are given in their biographies of their success in both endeavours. The preacher about whom we possess the largest amount of information is ʿAbd al-Qâhid al-Ḥâlî (ob. A.D. 1077). He as an agent in which the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of his converts were served. Money for the purpose was provided partly by four wealthy wives of the preacher, and partly by gifts taking the form of thank-offerings which came in from many regions whether his fame had spread; and others who followed this calling were financed in the same way.

7. Christian communities in Baghdad.—Religious toleration, as understood by the Muslim government, was practised by the Nestorian Patriarch and a Christian community began to gather in Baghdad almost immediately after its foundation. Perhaps the earliest scene which introduces Christians in this city is one recorded in the Chronicle of the Dynasts of Tell-Mahre, where the Jacobites in the year A.D. 778 refer to the Khalîf Mansûr the question of appointing a Patriarch for their sect. The Khalîf, ordinarily terrible, treats them with courtesy, and tells them to make the choice themselves; they select one named David, whom he appoints as Patriarch, investing him with the extreme penalty of the law any Jacobite who fails to acknowledge his authority. The Nestorian sect, however, was of greater importance than that of the Jacobites at the Abbasid capital. In the reign of the Khalif Harûn (A.D. 775), the monasteries of the Christian community, called Dair al-Rûm, was founded in the Shammasiya Quarter, where the chief Christian settlement, called Dar al-Rûm, was located. It was followed by the erection of many more churches and monasteries, several of which were destroyed when Baghdad was taken by Ḥâlîg; their names are collected by le Strange (op. cit. 208–212). The different sects had different churches, and kept apart in religious matters; only at some time the Nestorian Patriarch, whose residence was in Baghdad, came to be regarded as the official head of the whole Christian community, and as such he is described in the deed of investiture of the year A.D. 1138 (H. F. Amedroz, in JRAS, 1910, p. 448).

The sects there enumerated are four: the two already mentioned, the Melchites, known as the orthodox, and the Rûm, whom there is some reason for identifying with the Franks, or Roman Catholics. Owing, probably, to the superiority of Christian morality and education, the members of these communities had a tendency to monopolize all the higher and private places of the city. The Nestorian Patriarch's skill and trustworthiness were required. The humilitating and intolerant edicts of Omar I. had repeatedly to be proclaimed, owing to outbreaks of Muslim jealousy (A.D. 849, 853, 1091, etc.), but quickly into abeyance; Mutawakkil, who in the year A.D. 849 tried to enforce them, ten years later put into the charge of a Christian scribe the money for the building of his contemplated city, Ḥâfragh. Normally it would appear that the Christian Church (in some respects the word enjoyed high favour at the Khalîfs' and Sultan's court). The History of the Nestorian Patriarchs (ed. Gismondi, Rome, 1836) tells of the familiar intercourse enjoyed by the Patriarch Timotheus with the Khalif Harûn (A.D. 783–790) and his son the famous Harûn al-Ḥâshî. A specimen of their conversation is there given (p. 65): 'O father of the Christians,' said Harûn to the Patriarch, 'tell me briefly which religion is the true one in God's eyes. Without hesitation Timotheus answered: 'That religion, my lord, which does not correspond with the works of God.' The reply was regarded as felicitous, because the Khalif's request contained a dangerous trap; and the mere rumour that a Christian had spoken disrespectfully of Islam or its Prophet would have been sufficient.
to cause a riot (Tabari, iii. 2162). The singularly rule that punished apostasy from Islam with death remained unaltered (ib. 1434, A.D. 856); but, owing to the mild spirit of Abü Ḥānīfa's legislation, there was a tendency to mitigate the more barbarous regulations of 'the Pious Khalifs,' and the result was that these persecution against the Ahlus-Sunnah was abandoned and Al-Yusuf for the Khalif Hārūn is decidedly humane. The magnificence with which the Christian feasts were celebrated attracted many Muslims to take part in these occasions, and even attend services in the churches; if the poet Sibt Ibn al-Mudawwar mentioned that this may be believed (ed. D. S. Margoliouth, p. 400), he went so far as to fast fifty days in order to gratify his Christian friends. The monasteries were also visited by Muslims anxious to purchase wine, the sale of which in shops was, nominally at least, forbidden (ib. 240, 14-18); while the beauty of the youthful women attracted other visitors for a still less reputable reason (ib. 52). The form of immorality alluded to appears at times to have led to shameful persecution (Ya'qūb, op. cit. ii. 26, where the scene is Edessa).

8. Other religious communities.—The Jews enjoyed the same rights as Christians in Baghdad, and had a special quarter, with a bridge called after them. Numerous synagogues were founded, of which the largest was called Bar-Nushala (?) (Geogr. Gazetteer, al-Baladhuri, v. [1897]). References to the Jews are not very common in the historical and anecdote literature concerned with the city; they appear, however, to have had their share of the State appointments, and, indeed, in A.D. 1001 we read of one holding the very high posts of Vice-Sultan (wakil al-Sultan) and Manager of the Empire (Nizâm al-Mulk). They practised the medical profession, and probably various trades, including that of scribe; as early as the time of Mas'ûd (813-833) we read of a doctor who made his living by executing copies of the Old and New Testaments and the Qur'ān (Amedroz, in JRAS, 1907, p. 38). At times they were in possession of great wealth, and were notorious for the display of finery (Ghazâlî, Revival of the Religious Sciences, iii. 182). It was thought meritorious to refuse to teach them Arabic grammar even for large sums, as the proof passages came from the Qur'ān; and insulting language about them is used by poets (Sibt Ibn al-Mudawwar). They were a higher specie in Baghdad and the improvement in their condition, due to the greater toleration of the 'Abbâsid, seem to have been epoch-making for the Jewish community. Jewish literature from this time follows Muslim literature almost slavishly, the various departments of grammar, codification, philosophy, poetry, elegant prose, homilies, collections of anecdotes, all taking their rise from Arabic models; and since no Jewish non-Biblical MS earlier than the 'Abbâsid period has hitherto been discovered, it has been argued by linguists that the remaining departments of Jewish literature (notably the collections of Tradition) are based on Islamic models also (cf. JE ii. 435-8).

A community which produced some men of eminence in the scientific and literary world of Baghdad, chiefly in the 4th cent. of Islam, were the Sabians, who arbitrarily took a Qur'ānic appellation, properly belonging to a very different sect. The most distinguished member of it, the state-secretary Ibrâhîm, appears to have found in his two works (one on medicine and the other on botany) a home for his eccentric and heretical opinions and to have enjoyed the friendship of even such ecclesiastical dignitaries as the Registrar of the 'Aлīds, who honoured him with a memorial poem; while the familiar acquaintance with the Qur'ān which his professors esteemed was regarded as an mark of merit. His grandson, however, found it desirable to embrace Islam. The 'Magian', or Mazdayan, system enjoyed fewer privileges than the above-named sects, as intermarriage with them and the use of meat slaughtered by them were forbidden the Muslims; nor were they allowed to have acknowledged places of worship. Nevertheless it appears that some of them settled in Baghdad, and even enjoyed wealth. They were to be found (according to Jâlîzî, Mu'asir, p. 111) all over Baghdad and the other cities of Irâq, distinguished by their bare feet or their faceless shoes. Of other sects, usually offshoots of which have been mentioned, there are occasional notices.

LITERATURE.—To the references given throughout the article there may be added the historical romance (Arabic), Hardawî: al-Tali'a (14 al-Salih), by a modern writer, Jâmi' Lala al-Mudawwar (Cairo, 1905). D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BAHAIM.—See BAI&AElig;.

BAHELIA (Skr. vyādha, 'one who wounds').—A tribe of hunters and bowlers in Northern India, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 33,541, the majority of whom lived in the provinces of Bengal and North-Western Provinces. They are probably survivors of a non-Aryan race, who still practise their primitive occupation of hunting, trapping birds, and collecting jungle produce. They are, in name at least, all Hindus, but are never initiated into any of the orthodox Hindustani castes. They may however be classed with those groups of defiled ghosts, such as Kâlî Bîr, Pâhirâr, Hardeo or Hardaur Lâlā, the chelara godling, Kâlî Deo, and Miyan, probably the Musulman saint of Amroha in the Moradabad district. To these, sacrificers of fowls, goats, or pigs are made, with offerings of cakes, fruits, and grain. Parceled grain and milk are offered to the household snake at his festival, the Nâgapâchchavani, or Dragon's Fifth. Besides these they observe the ordinary Hindu feasts, and their religious ceremonies are superintended by a low class of village Brâhmins.

LITERATURE.—Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896, i. 109. W. CROOKE.

BAIDYA (Skr. vaîdyâ, 'one learned in the Veda,' esp. in the Ayur Veda, on which the Hindu system of medicine is based).—The Bengal caste of physicians, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 90,086, found under this name only in Bengal and Assam. They are a highly respected caste, claiming descent from a Brâhman father and Vaîśya mother. Their religion is that of the orthodox high-caste Hindu. The older families worship the Saktis, or Mother-goddesses. Some among the poorer classes follow the rule of Viṣṇu. Many have in recent years joined the Brâhmo Samaj. They were closely associated with the Neo-Vaishnavism preached by Chaitanya (q.v.) in Bengal (q.v.), and several of the best known Gursâns, or spiritual guides, of that sect are drawn from the hands of this caste. The business of a physician is naturally confined to men of high caste, because taking medicine from the hands of a Baidya is a sort of sacramental act, so that some orthodox Hindus in Bengal, when at the point of death, call in a Baidya to prescribe for them, in the belief that by swallowing the drugs he orders they obtain absolution from their sins. In the Deccan the Vaidás, who have adopted a name derived from the same Skr. root, are wandering Telugu beggars, who gather healing drugs and simples and hawk them from door to door. A béggar of this kind at Hindustan is of the vaguest type, their family-god being Vyânikoka of Giri or Timpati (q.v.), in North Aroét. But when they are on their begging tours they seldom carry his image with them. They never go on pilgrimage for fear of being forsaken by their patron. This may be the reason, except the Dusshâ in September, when they offer
boiled mutton to their god, and after laying it on his altar eat it themselves.

LITERATURE.—For the Bengal Baidya, Risley, Tribes and Castes, 1891, l. 49; for the Deccan Vaidyas, Bombay Gazetteer, xvii. 234f. W. CROOKE.

BAIGA.—A term of Dravidian origin, applied to designate the non-Brahmanic priests of the Gonds and kindred races along the hills of the Cont. Prov. and Bengal. It has been specially applied to a cultivating tribe, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 33,914, found in the Cont. Prov. and in Central India. The best account of them is that by Ward, who found them in the Mandla district of the Cont. Provinces. He describes them as the acknowledged superiors of the Gond races, being their priests and authorities in all points of religious observance. The decision of a Baiga in a boundary dispute is almost always accepted as final, and, from this right as children of the soil and arbiters of the land belonging to each village, they are said to have derived their title of Bhumiya (Sk. bhuma, 'the land').

In the central highlands of eastern districts of the Cont. Prov., are reported to be quite different from the Gonds, their vocabulary consisting almost entirely of Hindi words. Those who occupy the Maikal range of hills do not show the flat head and nose and thick dark long hair characteristic of the Gonds, but have longer heads, more aquiline features, and particularly small hands. It is thus possible that they may represent an intruding race from the Gangetic valley, who introduced the northern culture among the Gonds and gained the position of priests among that people, with whom they afterwards intermingled. Their religion much resembles that of the Gonds (q.v.), and they reverence the same gods, adding to the Gond pantheon Mai Dharti, or Mother Earth. There is a Man of the village is Thakur Dewa, the 'Divine Lord,' and he is honoured accordingly. But they fully believe also in the spirits which haunt the forests—the primary basis of the religion of the Dravidians of Northern India—and in the places which are regarded as more especially the haunts of these spirits, shrines (p^cL) are erected, each under the charge of a special member of the tribe. There is no special rule regulating the erection of these shrines, except that they are built at places where it is believed there has been a spirit manifest. It is customary for any person whom a man has been killed by a tiger or a snake, or has met his death in a sudden or tragic manner; and a special rite is performed to lay the ghosts of those who have died in an unexpected way. Some members of the tribe are supposed to be gifted with special powers of magic or witchcraft, and it is common for the Baiga medicine-man to be called in to bewitch the tigers and prevent them from carrying off the village cattle. The Gonds thoroughly believe that they are possessed of powers as such.

The religious rites of the Baiga are of the same type as those of the Gonds; at marriages, births, and deaths the customs of the two tribes are identical. In the Chhattisgarh District the Baiga worship centre round Dulka Deo, the deified bridegroom god, and Devi, the Mother-goddess, in her manifestation as Bhavini. They have a peculiarly brutal mode of sacrificing a pig in honour of Narayan Deo, who is identified with the Sun, and regarded as their household god. The wretched animal is crushed beneath a wheel under a beam, after having been cruelly tortured—this rendering the sacrifice more acceptable to the deity.

Further east, in the hill country of the United Provinces and Bengal, the Baigas do not form a special tribe, but are the medicine-men, local priests, and priests of the hill races. They are generally drawn from the wilder and more secluded tribes, who are supposed to have maintained the race traditions in the most perfect way. They discharge all the religious duties of these peoples, the functions of the priest being as yet differentiated from those of the exorcist or sorcerer only in the most imperfect way.


W. CROOKE.

BAIN.—I. Life and personality.—(1) Born in the part of Aberdeen known as Gilmourston, on the 11th of June 1818, Alexander Bain died at Ferryhill Lodge, in his native city, on the 18th of September 1863, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. Although he reached this long term of years, he was never a man of very robust constitution; on the contrary, from the time, in early days, when a serious breakdown in health occurred, he had to husband his strength, and to make the most of favouring circumstances. This he did by careful habits and regular life. As a student at Aberdeen, he worked as a handloom weaver—his father’s occupation. When he was a pupil at Gilmourston Church School, his ability was recognized; and as he was emerging into youth he had the good fortune to attract the attention of the Rev. John Murray, minister of the North Parish of Aberdeen, who introduced him as a promising youth to Dr. John Cruickshank, then Professor of Mathematics at Marischal College, and a patron of talented and aspiring young men. So, at a very early moment, Dr. Cruickshank took young Bain by the hand; and his interest in him was fully rewarded by the high position that the pupil achieved in most of the University classes. In 1841, Bain (having just passed from studentdom) received an appointment in the University as Assistant to Dr. Glennie, Professor of Moral Philosophy, who had fallen into ill health. In this capacity he had to conduct the class on the Professor’s approved methods, and to read the lectures of the Professor. He found it necessary, therefore, to master his subject in such a thorough manner as to be able to carry out his duties in a manner satisfactory to the Professor, and in the order of the class. In the interests of discipline, he made innovations little by little in the teaching, bringing the subject more up to date, and giving expression (in more or less guarded fashion) to his own views. This, when discovered by the Professor, was resented, and led, after three sessions, to Bain’s losing the post of Assistant. Thereafter he made his way to London, the goal of all ambitious Scotsmen, where, in 1848, he was appointed to an office in the Board of Health under Edwin Chadwick. In London he began to come into contact with great literary and political leaders—more especially with George Grote and J. S. Mill, who became his fast friends, and with whom he was closely associated in philosophical and other work. From London he returned to Scotland, where he wrote many literary productions for Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh; then went again to London, where he married and settled down for a time, producing there his two great philosophical works, The States and the Intellectual in 1856, and The Emotions and the Will in 1859.

These works raised him at once to the front rank of psychologists. Consequently, when the two Universities of Aberdeen (King’s and Marischal) were merged together (1860) and the University was reorganized in 1869, Bain was presented by the Crown, on the
recommendation of Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, then Home Secretary, to the Chair of Logic and English in the United University. For twenty years from this date—down, that is, to the year 1880—he occupied this Chair with great distinction, teaching, in the true sense, a significant subject as the Logic (including in the latter Psychology) and making his influence felt. These were years of enormous intellectual activity and literary productivity, when there issued from his pen in unceasing flow works on English Grammar, on Rhetoric, on Logic, on Psychology, on Ethics, and on Education; and also he originated the philosophical journal Mind, which he owned and financially carried on for sixteen years at considerable pecuniary loss; and when, in the Senate and the Council of his University, he pushed forward with unerring energy, and in the face of strenuous opposition, projects of University reform. Nor did his activity diminish when he resigned the Chair in 1880. There ceased only, at that time, his class-teaching. His writing of books went on, as well as his active interest in local affairs; and it was while he was Emeritus Professor that the students of the University, appreciating his genius and his faculty for practical work, and proud of his fame, elected him their Lord Rector for two separate terms of three years each. This entailed his constant attendance at, and presiding over, the meetings of the University Court, and his indefatigable piloting of University schemes to successful issue at a most important and electrically charged moment of the University's existence.

His professorial labours were in part rewarded when former pupils, in 1884, had his portrait painted by Sir George Reid, and presented as a lasting memorial to the University. Reward for services done, with the special gratitude, in the same time, or somewhat later—in particular, the presentation of his bust in marble to the Free Public Library, in 1892, in recognition of his long-continued and whole-hearted interest in the education of the masses, dating from his student days, and his early connexion, as lecturer and as secretary, with the Mechanics' Institute of the city. All the while, his pen continued active. New works appeared, old works were revised (often in large part rewritten); and, though the energy slackened by his age, he never was heard to say ever to have actually ceased, for, as late as 1903 (the year of his death), appeared his Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics, and to the end he retained a keen interest in the progress of Psychology and the movement of Philosophy. Passing by minor productions, his chief works are these:—The Senses and the Intellect (1855), The Emotions and the Will (1859), On the Study of Character, including an Estimate of Phrenology (1861), An English Grammar (1863), English Composition and Rhetoric (1886, enlarged 1887–8), Mental and Moral Science (1868), Logic (1870), Mind and Body (1872), A Higher English Grammar (1873), Education as a Science (1879), James Mill—a Biography (1882), John Stuart Mill—a Criticism, with Personal Recollections, (1882), Practical Essays (1884), On Teaching English (1887), Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics (1903), Autobiography (1904).

(2) His personality was striking; and a stranger soon felt, from his presence, that this was who he was. A dapper figure, somewhat under medium height, he had a well-knit frame, with expansive chest and broad shoulders; a finely formed head, with a brow marked by notable prominences at the temples; keen, piercing hazel eyes; short, straight beard; large, well-carved nose; thin lips, which gave the mouth the character of determination, and readily expressive either of satisfaction or of contempt; a face covered by a copious beard—all save the upper part of the chin, which, till his later years, was clean shaven; hands with long fingers, and particularly expressive thumbs, which bent back in a significant fashion; he walked strongly, and his gait was peculiar. While walking, he bent his body forward and placed a hand behind his back, as if steadying the movement, and fortieth accelerated his pace till it became a moderated run—indicative of mental activity, exhilaration, and the utter absence of self-consciousness and regard for outward appearance. Keen as a needle intellectually, he never spoke in public or wrote for publication without showing the logician's subtle power; and, in private talk, one could not help feeling that one was in the presence of a supremely observant and analytic mind—a modern Aristotle, noting and dissecting everything. Yet he was a man of very wide interests and of warm heart. He took an active part in many public duties—School Board, Mechanics' Institute, Free Library, etc. His feelings were always under control, and those who met him casually (and to whom he would be dry and reserved) pronounced him to be hard and unsympathetic (as, indeed, he not infrequently was, if he met condescending and commonplace people). But let genius or sterling character appear, no matter where (it might be in the humblest ranks of life), and he was immediately attracted. It was genuine worth alone that counted with him.

Readers of his works have often complained that his writings are devoid of emotion. They have ground for their complaint. Bain did himself an injustice here. Whenever he took up the pen, his feelings seemed to forsake him. But with a man of favouring disposition, this was not so. He felt, but his feelings were not many, but they were choice—looking to him for help or counsel, his real nature came forth. All his resources—his advice, his ideas, his MSS, his library, his patronage—were put at his disposal; and he spared no effort to further his interests and aspirations. Underlying all was true generosity of disposition. In like manner, in the small circle of his intimates, his gentler and more attractive qualities came out. He had wit and humour; and he possessed a fund of anecdotes, which he knew to telling. He was hearty in his friendships. It was a friend. On the other hand, he had his dislikes and his animosities. Like all true-hearted people, he was sensitive to insult and determined in his opposition. It was no light matter to arouse his vanity. He was a man of strong convictions and loved a controversy; and in debate he lit hard, but never took a mean advantage of an opponent. Meanness raised his indignation and contempt, and he had none of it himself. He was dominated by a sense of justice and of truthfulness (few men were so), and his judgment was ever balanced—a fact that comes clearly out in his published writings, as it did in his daily life. He had the power of judging apart from personal feeling, to a degree that is very unusual. Hence his criticisms were pre-eminently impartial. And if it mattered not whether he were criticizing himself or others. As he looked back upon it, his own work was viewed with a clear unprejudiced eye, and commented on and appraised accordingly—as may be seen in some striking cases. His criticisms, in like manner, his criticisms of others' work were frank and honest, and they frequently gave offence to friends. He had not learned the art of saying what he did not mean, and such an art he heartily despised. He had many fine qualities, which those who knew him best could best appreciate; and his defects not infrequently arose from these.
2. Position in Literature and in Philosophy.—In estimating Bain’s position in Literature and in Philosophy, we must keep his offices apart.

(1) First of all, let us take him as grammarian. The papers of his youth show his merit to be that of a subtle analyst and a clear expositor — scientific and methodological, and not afraid to express his views, even when they might be unpalatable; and when we remember the backward condition of the North of Scotland in grammatical attainments at the time when Bain came as Professor to Aberdeen, we can see the magnitude of the task that lay before him as he set forth to instruct in grammar. But the task was successfully accomplished, although not without difficulty. He had to get hold of the teachers, and these were apathetic, when not actively hostile. He solved the difficulty by indoctrinating his students, a large proportion of whom were to be teachers, with newer and progressive views, and thus by degrees revolutionized the teaching of English in Scotland, and made his name one to conjure with throughout the North.

(2) But his work as rhetorician is even more remarkable. Campbell and Blair had ruled supreme in this realm; but now a new impulse was given it, by the science of composition, and the effect for good was soon visible on all hands. It has sometimes been objected to Bain’s teaching that he did not produce stylists. It may very well be doubted whether the stylist is not a man born and not made. But, be that as it may, the objection is superficial. For style is wherever clearness of exposition is, and wherever there is a writer who has an intelligent appreciation of the shades of meaning in words and can give utterance to his thoughts in definite logical form and with exact expression, he produces by the abundance. Rhetoric was to him, first and foremost, an intellectual discipline, designed to secure clearness of expression; and for this end he was supremely critical. Not even Shakespeare, still less the minor poets, neither Bacon nor De Quincey nor Maenality nor Carlyle among our master prose writers, escaped his scalpel: all were subjected to analysis and dissection, so that the student might be warned against their faults, while encouraged to imitate their virtues. This cold, critical, dispassionate analysis which has been greatly objected to in the teaching of style; and perhaps it may be admitted that Bain made too drastic a use of it. But if it be the safeguard against that florid vacuous writing which so frequently passes for style, a little use of it must be tolerated with equanimity, if not actually excused.

(3) As an educationist, Bain holds a very high position. He held advanced views on University reform, and advocated the due recognition of the modern languages (as against the traditional monopoly of Classics), and the right of Natural Science to have an equal place in the University training with the older established subjects. But besides, he went outside University requirements and took a wide view of Education, raising the question of Education in general and the grading of subjects at the various stages of instruction. In this connexion he gave expression to very definite notions about the proper order of studies, and about how teaching should be conducted so as to bestiset the harmonious development of the individual mind. His contribution to this highly important subject are to be found chiefly in his book on Education as a Science.

(4) As logician, Bain holds a place with J. S. Mill. He was prettier to pretend to start afresh here, but simply to extend and carry on. This he succeeded in doing. His amendments and additions are noteworthy, both in Deductive and in Inductive Logic; but specially valuable is his carrying of logical principles to their practical issues and his splendid application of them to the sciences in detail (see bk. v. of his Logic). This stands him in Logic as Mill’s in the Logic of Science.

(5) But Bain’s greatest name must ever rest on his psychology. He was a reformer here in a supreme and lasting sense. One of the earliest in modern times to recognize the importance of bringing psychology into close relation with physiology, he devoted much attention to the elaboration of this position, and presented it in a striking fashion. From the standpoint of the cerebro-psychologist, he handled mind in all its processes —emotive, intellectual, and volitional. This led to his reconsideration of the various views of perception, which looked upon the mind far too much as if made up of self-contained compartments, where the processes worked in independence of each other, and in which the connexion with the body was slurred over or ignored; and it led also to his devising a natural-history plan for the description of mental phenomena—a plan where the physical embodiment of mental states was recognized as rigorously as the specifically psychical aspect of them. It is obvious that we have here the precursor not only of Wundt among psychologists, but of the whole part in more recent psychology, viz. psychology and the experimental determination (determination by experiments systematically carried out in the laboratory) of the workings of mind.

Next, Bain was supreme among his fellow-philosophers in the persistent application of Association and its laws to the interpretation of mind, and in the thorough treatment that these laws received at his hands (see also art. ASSOCIATION). He is first and chiefly an Associationist, and his whole strength lies in the production of problems of psychology —especially the problem of the Perception of an External (Material) World—are to be solved on Associationist principles. This stupendous task he accomplished in a way that, whether we be fully satisfied with the result or not, gives him a foremost place in the history of psychology. No one can know what modern Associationism is at its best who does not go to The Senses and the Intellect for information; but this must be supplemented by Bain’s most recent essays, the experimental determinations. The objection had frequently been made that his Associationist explanation is too mechanical, and neglects to take account of the activity of the mind. Here is his reply, given in Mind, in criticism of Wundt’s the part of Wundt in leading Philosophicw works, on Leading Philosophical Topics (pp. 59, 51).

I propose to remark upon the hearing of Wundt’s speculation upon the laws of Association, properly so called. Notwithstanding the stress put upon the action of the will, he still allows that will is not everything: he does not shun the associating links, and lay the whole stress of the exposition on the apperceptive volition. What he says as to the essential concurrence of emotion and will with the workings of Association we fully admit. No associating link can be forged, in the first instance, without the fire of emotion, and the rapidity of the operation depends on the intensity of the glow. In like manner, the links thus forged are dormant and inarticulate, until some stimulus of consciousness is present, whether feeling or will. . . . The subsequent rise or resurrection of ideas consequent on association is a fresh field of study. . . . Over and above these, with admission, there are forces at work, to which reference must be made—forces which work in the reproduction, and make it a success or a failure. Chief among these is the power of the will, but not to the exclusion of other influences. Even the addition of emotional excitement, which of itself counts for a great deal—that is, apart from circumstances in other respects—is not to the exclusion of other conditions, under which I include the number and nature of the associating connexions at work in a given case, bear a large part in the cause of resurrection. The will may come in with an overarching degree of effect, be a vehicle of a contagious linking, partly be a more strenuous attention, but for more than the mere research for collateral helpful indications, the proper wisdom favour the recall of a resembling image. But neither of
cases represents its habitual and all-powerful efficacy. Both, therefore, of its reproductive force are and narrow. The operation that represents Wundt's Apperception in its full sweep is that crowning example of voluntary power — the right of the State, and the duty of the individual of the social units, to legislate with authority. It would, if accepted and consistently acted on, produce good citizens and promote the general welfare. Where it is defective is in not recognizing the value of the individuality of mankind and in not making adequate allowance for the strength and potencies of the emotions in moral conduct. Appeals to ideality and the dignity of man appeared to him 'gross pandering to human vanity'; and he did not think that much practical good could come from that. Man, as he actually finds him, is too frail and erring, and, what is worse, too malevolent by nature (for Bain was insistent on the native malignity of human nature) to permit our catering with impunity to his self-concept. We must view him as he is, not blinking the disagreeable facts, and legislate accordingly; and, doing so, our Ethics must be sober and reasonable. Hence, his teaching lacks the glow which the Ethics that recognizes the Ideal as supreme unquestioningly possesses.

Next, Bain excels in his analysis of mental states and processes and his fullness of telling illustrations. We have only to look at his handling of the Sensations, or at his treatment of the Emotions, to see that he has subtlety and insight of a very exceptional kind. Even when dissenting from him, we must confess that he is penetrating and original and, although occasionally his arguments may not explain all the higher intellectual functions, he only says what we all admit, namely, that Association needs the control of will and feelings, in order to bring forth its more important thinking productions. In the absence of some degree of conscious intensity, Association can no more unite ideas, or restore the past by virtue of such united ideas, than the water will remain in the bottle of water without a full reservoir to draw from. The scheme of Wundt does not lead to the slinging of Association as a great intellectual factor. His Apperception would be nothing without it.'

Bain was, in the strict sense of the term, a metaphysician. Indeed, it was his claim to have purged psychology of metaphysics, and he had an invertebrate distrust of unbridled speculation. Speculation, indeed, was not absolutely forbidden; but it must be based on facts, and the data, and verifiable by appeal to experience again. Here he was the prototype of modern Pragmatism. In both, we have the same inductive spirit, the same determination to trust experience alone, the same regard to utility or the practical needs of man—experience the test, practicality the end. True, he could not avoid occasionally being himself, at least, half metaphysical; as, for example, when, at the end of his chapter on the 'History of the Theories of the Soul' in Mind and Body, he says:

'The arguments for the two substances have, we believe, now entirely lost their validity. ... The one substance, with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the moral—a double-faced unity—would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case. We are to deal with this as, in the language of the Athenian oracle, not confounding the persons nor dividing the substance.'

Nevertheless he regarded the higher philosophical thinking, as we find it, e.g., in Spinoza or in Hegel or in Kant, with great suspicion. Such metaphysical terms as 'personality,' 'self,' 'consciousness,' 'mind,' 'language,' 'the soul,' or, if you like, 'man,' could have banished from the language. He constantly protested his inability to read any meaning into them. He also refused, because of the ambiguity of the term 'self,' to accept 'self-realization' as adequate to express the ultimate ethical end. Moreover, the great metaphysical problems—those of the External World and of the Freedom of the Will—seemed to him to be in great measure mere word puzzles: they arose from our inability to find a formula or a linguistic setting fully adequate to express what we are conscious of in our experience.

Such, then, was Professor Bain as a thinker and as a writer. His attitude towards Metaphysics being discounted, he made a name in Logic and in Ethics, as well as in the spheres of Grammar and Rhetoric. But in the realm of Psychology he occupies a position all his own. It is here that his influence has been greatest, and it will continue. Not only has the professsed psychologist learned from him, but his principles have been the basis and the practical application to many sciences (such as Education), and they cannot be ignored by any teaching that has respect to experience and the nature of man as we actually find it. What is best in his
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system has been assimilated by philosophy, and is being carried forward to greater issues. That, perhaps, is the highest compliment that can be paid to a thinker.

LITERATURE.—A. BAIN, his works as enumerated in this article, have been quoted in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs, and the last paragraph, of the section: 'The Sects of the Indian Peninsula.' The last paragraph of the section: 'Vishnu.' The last paragraph of the section: 'Hinduism.' The last paragraph of the section: 'Hinduism.' The last paragraph of the section: 'Hinduism.'

BAINI (Skr. Vairgir or Vairagya, 'one who has subdued all earthly desires').—A sect of Hindus, which, at the Census of India, 1881, was represented by 763,235, of whom the vast majority are found in Bengal and Rajputana. The sect is usually restricted to those who follow the cult of Vishnu, or of one of his incarnations, especially those of Rama and Krishna. There is some evidence to prove that this worship, which is especially popular in Northern India, arose on the spread of the Raja-pur power which followed the overthrow of the Buddhist dynasties. The Bairagis 'probably represent a very old element in Indian religion, for those of the sect who wear a leopard's skin and paint their faces do so as personating Narasimha, the leopard incarnation of Vishnu, just as others bear the face of Krishna, as a sign of their devotion to Krishna. The priest who personates the god whom he worships is found in "almost every rude religion, while in later cults the old site has been less, because the use of animal masks," a practice still to be found in Tibet." (Rome, 'Punjabi Census Report,' 1901, 1, 131, quoting Trump, 'Akhgra, 95; Robertson Smith, Religion of the Hindus, Ashur, and Parsees, 48, 62.)

Though the particular cult followed by this sect is most influential in the Gangetic valley and in Rajputana, it arose in Southern India from the teaching of Ramanujacharya, who was born about A.D. 1017 at Srirupambhur, near Madras, in 1896. He taught the existence of a trinity of principles (padartha-trityam), viz.: (1) the Supreme Spirit (Para-Brahman or Isvara); (2) the separate spirits (Chit) of men; and (3) non-spirit (A-chit). Vishnu is identified with the Supreme Spirit; individual beings are the separate spirits; the visible world (adyatm) is non-spirit. All these have eternal existence and are inseparable; yet Chit and A-chit are different from, and at the same time dependent upon, Isvara (Monier Williams, 'Brahmanism and Hinduism,' 4, 1191 f.). But the sect did not attain much prominence in Northern India until the time of Ramananda, who was born at the close of the 13th, and preached in Northern India at the beginning of the 14th century. Indeed, it is only to the followers of Ramananda and his contemporaries that the sect is usually referred. His teaching marked the progressive popularization of Hinduism; and in particular the ascetic Orders, which had been previously monopolized by Brahman and Kshatriyas, were now opened to men of lower birth. In addition to this, the religious books published by the adherents of Ramananda were now written in Hindi, not in Skt., and thus Northern India was provided with a new national religion of a very clear and vigorous type.

Though this liberal movement marked a decided advantage, the Bairagis of Rama-

nanda have been outdone by the still more liberal teaching for which he provided the impulsion, and at the present day Bairagis may be regarded as representing the more conservative, orthodox school of Hindu theology. As a rule, they are followers of Vishnu in one or other of his incarnations, and they are all agreed in the veneration of both Krishna and Rama; but some sections pay more reverence to one, and some prefer the other. In Bengal, the veneration is represented by the Rama-vidi and Nara-vidi sects. The former are specially addicted to the worship of Rama, the latter to that of Krishna. Each has different sectarian marks, and each visits the sacred places, and studies the literature, connected with the deities which are special objects of their venera-

tion. In the Central Provinces the old rule that admission to the Order was gained only by a rite of initiation is now generally neglected, and many are married and have families. Thus the Order is gradually tending to become a caste (Russell, 'Concise History of India,' 1, 160). There are four sections, of which the most important are the Ramanuja or Sri Vaishnava, and the Nimbarka or Nimbarka. The former, the most ancient and respectable of the reformed Vaishnava communities, is based on the teaching of a remarkable and original man, known as Vishnu, the one Supreme God, though invisible as a cause, is visible as effect in a secondary form in material creation. They refuse to follow the example of other Mathura sectaries in worshiping Radha, the spouse of Krishna, whom they either completely ignore or regard merely as the mistress of the deity. This branch is also divided into the Tengalal or Southerners, and the Vadagali or Northerners, who differ in some points of doctrine, which, however, they consider to be of less importance than the fourfold division of the sectary mark to be made. Of the other sect, the Nimbarka, the doctrines, so far as they are known, are of a very enlightened character.

Grows (Mathara, 181 f.) writes: "Thus the Bairagis, who have thought by many scholars to have been directly derived from the Gospel, while another article in their creed, which is less known, but is equally striking, is the determination of the existence of a divinity whom they have served on earth: a state, therefore, that the Bairagis, as absolutely infallible teachers, claim the right to make. The one invisible and invincible God, who is the only real existence, is, they affirm, the only proper object of man's devout contemplation, and as such, it is the incomparable, the highest, and the eternal, that man can have to look up to. The Bairagis consider this divine doctrine, which they say is the only one that is right and true, as absolutely necessary for the redemption of the world. That, however, is the Bairagis, and that is the doctrine of the Divine Author. A printed page, however, conveys no meaning to any one but a scholar, and is liable to be misunderstood. So it matters little whatever Radha and Krishna were ever real personages; the mysteries of Divine love which they symbolize remain through the symbols disappear."}

Though the Bairagi, a follower of the mild-}

natured Vishnu, does not as a rule practise the Austerities of the Vaisnavite sects, the name Bairagi is applied to persons who, like Vidyasagar or Paramahamsa, who find them occasionally on the nailed couch, the Sarasa-saya, or 'arrowy bed' of Bhishma, as described in the Mahabharata (Bhishma parva, 119 ff., tr. M. N. Dut), VI. 285 ff., Kisan-Mohan Ganguli, is probably the most accurate, and the only work in which the real nature of the Divine Author. A printed page, however, conveys no meaning to any one but a scholar, and is liable to be misunderstood. So it matters little whether Radha and Krishna were ever real personages; the mysteries of Divine love which they symbolize remain through the symbols disappear."}

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in colour, and filled with blood, hair, and all manner of foulishness. After the lustral, done at an early period of the mourning, it is customary to present the funeral priest with a vessel full of black sesameum (tila), and a cow to whose tail the ghost may cling in crossing the hated waters—a belief, as Ward (Hist. Eng., i. 62) suggests, based on the usual burial of cows in Bengal, who cross rivers in this way. He doubts whether the Hindus ever imagined the existence of a Charon to escort the dead over the stream. But Risley (Tribes and Castes of Bengal, i. 339) says that the dead are believed to have crossed over the river with which 'the spirit pays the Charan (see Brâj) who ferries it across the Vaîtarâni.' This is an example of the world-wide belief that the departing soul on its way to the land of the dead must cross a river, which is sometimes spanned by a bridge (Tylor, Primitive Culture, ii. 94, Researches into the Early History of Mankind, 340 ff.). The legend of the Jauângs, that remarkable tribe which down to quite recent times, and perhaps still in some places, wears only aprons of leaves, tells that when the last man in the family, either because of age or infirmity, was about to die, she 'came suddenly on a rollicking party of Jauângs dancing naked, and, ordering them to adopt leaves on the moment as a covering, laid on them the curse that they must adhere to that costume for ever or die' (Dalton, Descriptive Etymology, 160).

LITERATURE.—To the literature mentioned throughout the art. add Imperial Gazetteer, new ed., 1908, vi. 381 ff.

W. CROOLE.

Bali.—The term bali, a Kanarese word corresponding to bari in Tamil and beda in Telugu, means an exogamous totemistic section, that is to say, a section of a caste or tribe worshipping a totem and strictly prohibiting marriage between those who have the same totem. The term is derived from an old Kanarese word meaning (1) way, road, (2) place, spot, (3) vicinity, nearness, company, (4) way, order, (5) race or lineage. It also means the navel. It is in use among the cultivating, fishing, and forest tribes and castes of the Kanarese tracts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and of the Mysore State. A bali is thus the name of an exogamous section. It may be named after some well-known animal, fish, bird, tree, fruit, or flower. The following are common names of baliis in the districts referred to: the elephant, the dog, the mouse, the deer, wolf, pig, monkey, goat, porcupine, tortoise, scorpion, the nõchampro (mesua ferrea), tumeric, the screw pine (pandanus odoratissimus), the honee tree (plerocarpus marsupium), the neral (eugenia jambolana), the scapant (acacia concinna), and many other local trees and shrubs. It is noteworthy that the section named after one of these baliis not only worships the animal or object after which it is named, but obeys strict rules to protect the animal or object from injury. Thus, a member of the elephant section may not wear ornaments of ivory, a woman of the nõchamporro section must never wear the flowers of the mesua ferrea, and tumeric must not be used in the marriage ceremonies of the tumeric section, though commonly applied to the bride and bridegroom in the weddings of many Indian castes. The mouse deer section will not kill the mouse deer, and the screw pine section will not eat the branches, pluck the leaves, or even sit in the shadow of the tree, by pouring oil on his hair, or totem, of these primitive people, or an image of the same in stone or wood, is usually to be found installed in a rude temple near the village site. Ordinarily the temple is a mere thatched shed of mud walls, surrounded by a small mud-wall enclosure. Here will be found the image of an elk, or a branch of the tree representing the object from which the bali takes its name. To this coco-nuts and other suitable offerings are constantly brought, with the object of securing its favours and protection. At certain seasons the members of the section assemble from the surrounding villages, and bring offerings under the guidance of the caste priest. Contact with more advanced castes and tribes, who are organized by family stocks, or kuls, is tending rapidly to supplant the baliis of the Kanarese country, which are forgotten or ignored as something of the past. Many sections of the system of family stocks named after an ancestor. It is not easy to induce these primitive people to describe their baliis in reply to inquiries. The offspring of parents who, under the system above described, must be members of different baliis, is sometimes allotted to the bali of the father, in other cases, of the mother. The practice varies with different tribes. It is probable that the earliest practice was to trace the bali through the mother, and that this system is gradually being supplanted by that of the Aryan custom of tracing descent through the father.

The bali, or totem, organization is a primitive system of which traces are to be found in India in many castes that stand high in the social scale. It is remarkable that the clan of the last king of the backward and the allied castes of undoubted Maratha origin, which have crystallized into separate castes, such as washerman, carpenter, blacksmith, or grain parcher, owing to the influence of occupation. Among these, in varying degree, is to be found the system of devaks, or marriage guardians, closely resembling the baliis of the Kanarese country, though the devak, by the progress of events, has in many cases ceased to regulate marriage, and no longer forms a bar to the union of two worshippers of one devak. The devak is usually some common tree such as the bel (eagle marmelot), hug (ficus religiosa), banyan, or the sami (prosopis spectaculis). In its commonest form it is the leaves of five trees, of which one, as the original devak of the section, is held specially sacred. It is worshipped chiefly at the time of marriage, which supersedes its former close connexion with marriages. It is also worshipped at the time of entering a new house. The installation of the devak is still an important part of the marriage ceremony in many castes in the Maratha country.

The existence of the bali in Southern India as an obsolescent system of totem-worship, and the survival of traces of a similar system further north, seem to point to a time previous to the Aryan penetration into the central portion of the Indian continent, when a wide-spread system of totemism prevailed among the Dravidian population.

LITERATURE.—See literature under Totemism.

K. E. ENTHOVEN.

BALLABHPUK (Skr. Bhattabhirupa, 'city of the beloved').—A suburb of Scarampore in the Hooghly District of Bengal (lat. 22° 45' 26" N.; long. 88° 23' 10" E.), famous for the ceremonies performed in honour of Vishnu in the form of Jagannâtha, 'Lord of the World.' Ward (Hindus, ii. 164 ff.) describes the rites of the Śiva-yâtra, or ceremonial bathing of the god, and the Râtha-yâtra, or car procession. In the first, held in the month Jyeshtha (May–June), Brahmins, in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, bathe the god in the Ganges, and pour oil on his head, while the elephant and the horse are recited. The worshippers prostrate themselves before the image, and depart after being assured by the priests that they shall not be subject to re-birth, but be admitted to heaven after the death of the body. About seventeen days after this the Râtha-yâtra is performed. The idol, after
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being worshipped, is placed in an enormous ear. Jagannâtha (see Jagannâthâ) is here accompanied by his brother, Balârastra, and his sister, Subhadra. This triad of deities is believed to be an adaptation of the Tiratna of the Buddhists, or of the Trisâla, or trident. The former, the Three Jewels, symbolizes Budhha, Dhharma, or Law, and Sangha, or the Congregation. It is, however, doubtful whether this symbol is formed in India (Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, 346). The modern triple image is probably due to a modification of the familiar Trisâla, or trident symbol (D'Alviella, Migration of Symbols, 254 ff.). As these idols are moved, an attendant fans them with a fan, sometimes to the holy Tirath. One of the object of the procession is that the triple deity should visit the temple of the god Râdhavallabh, 'lover of Râdha,' one of the forms of the erotic cult of Krishna. The visit lasts eight days, and the gods then return to their own temple. The rite is said to commemorate the sports of Krishna with the Gopis, or milkmaids. It really marks the association of Jagannâtha, a survival of Buddhism, with the cultus of Krishna and its adoption by Vaishnavism. The pilgrimage, the Roth-yatra, was almost identical with a Buddhist worship of Jagannâtha, as Fergusson says (Hist. of India and Eastern Architecture, 429). 'it is redolent of Buddhism, but of Buddhism so degraded as hardly to be recognizable by those who know that faith only in its older and purer form.' The idol car is found still in the Buddhism of Tibet (Waddell, op. cit. 319).

LITERATURE.—The most important references have been given in the article.

W. CROOKE.

BALUCHISTÁN.—The country of Baluchistán, in the widest sense of the word, comprises all the territory occupied by the Baluch and Brahân races and some minor tribes subordinate to or mixed up with them, and must be understood as including not only the Baluchistán Agency under the Government of India (that is, the Kishan of Kalat, Makrán, and Las Bela), but also the southern part of the Province of British Baluchistán, parts of the Districts of Dera Ghâzi Khan in the Panjâb, Jacobâbad in Sind, and the Province of Persian Baluchistán.

The two main races, the Baluch and Brahân, although differing from one another in origin, appearance, and language, are yet bound together as members of one social organization. The tribes of both races live in close contact, and their religious ceremonies are mostly indistinguishable. The universal religion among them is Muhammadanism. The few Hindu traders found scattered throughout the country are either themselves immigrants from India or the descend-

ants of recent settlers. The Baluches and Brahâns all profess to be Sunnis, or followers of the orthodox creed; but in practice they show great laxity, and follow many customs rather resembling those of the Shi'âhs and others, which no doubt go back to the days of paganism. They show the greatest respect for the 'Ali, Mansûr, and observe the full ten days of the Muhtarram fast, like the Shi'âhs, and not only the last day, as among the strict Sunnis. The observance of the five times of prayer prescribed for all Musalmân has till lately not been at all prevalent among the hill-tribes. It was considered sufficient for the chief of a tribe to say prayers for the whole body of tribesmen.

The Baluches all wear their hair long, and either hair nor beard, except to clip the ends of the hair in the Persian fashion, to show that they are not Shi'âhs. Many of their more civilized or orthodox neighbours say that Baluch orthodoxy consists of little else, and indeed deny them the possession of any religion except one of a negative kind. They are fond of repeating a Persian verse to the effect that a Baluch earns heaven for seven good deeds, and seven bad ones; committing robbery and murder. This is unjust; for although the tribesmen are addicted to raiding and the blood-feud, yet many of them have a keen sense of right and wrong, and their defects are those common to all races in the same stage of civilization. Their laxity has its good side, for it is accompanied by a tolerant spirit and an absence of the fanaticism so prevalent among their Afghan neighbours. As Sir D. Ibbetson has well observed of the Baluch, If he has less of God in his creed than in his moral nature, there is little that is so much to be desired. His truthfulness to his code of honour, and the respect shown to women and children (who are never injured in Baluch raids), are points in his favour which should not be forgotten. There are few Mullahs and Sayyids among the Baluches, nor have they great influence; on the other hand, great respect is shown to the shrines of saints, as will be described below. Mosques are not common, and, where found, often consist only of a pattern of stones roughly marked out on the hillside, sufficient to contain the few prayers that are said.

The conversion of the Baluches and Brahâns to the Muhammadan faith had taken place before their settlement in the country now known as Baluchistán, and may be assigned to the period following the first Arab conquest of south-east Persia. The Baluches occupied the mountains and districts of Kirman, and were associated with another race known to the Arabs as Qafs and to the Persians as Koch, who may possibly be identical with the Brahâns; but the origin of this race is obscure. In any case, there is no historical information regarding their presence in Baluchistán until after the Baluch settlement there. The conversion of these races is ascribed by the historian Istakhri, who wrote in the 10th cent., to the period of the Abbasid Khâlifs. Yaquî, on the authority of er-Rohînî, speaks of the Qafs as savages without religion of any sort; but er-Rohînî added that they did show some respect for 'Alî out of imitation of their neighbours. The hatred of a Sunni writer for Shi'âhs is clearly perceptible here, and his language is worth reading today regarding the Baluch and Brahân mountaineers.

The settlement of the Baluches in the country they now occupy took place during a period extending from the 13th to the 16th century. They were arrived in Kirman, and in the beginning of the 16th cent., a great immigration took place in the Indus valley, the Brahâns taking the place of the Baluches on the plateau of Kalât. The invasion of India was led by Mir Châkur and his son Shahzâd. It is probable that the Shi'âh sect was still prevalent among the Baluches, for Persia relates that Shahzâd was the first person to bring the Shi'âh creed into vogue at Multân. Baluch legend represents Shahzâd as of mysterious origin. A shadow (that of 'Alî) fell upon his mother while she was weaving, giving Mir Châkur's castle by the siege of Dehli with the emperor Humâyûn. She conceived and gave birth to a son shortly before her husband's return. When he returned, the child, who was then three months old, addressed him and told him to fear nothing, as he had been begotten of a king's daughter. She composed a poem, half in Baluchi and half in corrupt Persian, which is attributed to Shahzâd has been verbally handed down to the present day. The following extract will give an idea of its nature.

* I gave him the throne of Heaven; his speech was sweet and heart-enthrancing; he was like unto the Lord of Light. Day and night he created, day and night are of small account to him. *

* D. Ibbetson, Outlines of Panjâb Ethnography, 1853.
aggressor to a man of the family of the injured husband. There are the principal articles of the tribal code, and in addition to these customs there are others of a superstition nature. Signs and omens are observed, and augury is carried out by examining the blood-vessels on the surface of the shoulder-blade of a newly killed sheep. To see a shrike on the left hand when starting on a journey is an inauspicious omen, and is sufficient to make a whole band of horsemen turn back. The flesh of swine is, of course, forbidden, as to all Muslims. But the Baluches add certain national tribal prohibitions. Fish is universally avoided by them, the reason assigned being that they cannot be killed in the orthodox fashion by cutting the throat; and eggs also are often considered carrion or unclean. The Sardar Khels among the Rinds of Kachhi will not eat camel’s flesh, and the Lashari clan of the same tract avoid the dira or lauwal, a small milky-juiced plant much eaten by the hillmen generally. It is possible that some of these prohibitions have a totemistic origin. A few tribal or clan names are derived from the names of plants—value shrines to animals—which gives some colour to this idea. There is, however, no instance of an actual survival of totemistic practice among either Baluches or Brathús. The wearing of the hair and beard long is a national custom almost possessing the force of a religious precept, as among the Baluches. It is not always practised, but most Baluchis will not cut either hair or beard, although the moustache is trimmed in the Sunni fashion.

The ordeal by fire and water is still occasionally met with. A case of the ordeal by fire occurred among the Buzdras in the present writer’s own experience in 1889, and Mr. Hughes-Buller describes a slightly differing form, as also the ordeal by water.

There are certain tribes or sections of tribes which have special Levitical functions, and whose members are believed to have the power of curing the sick by breathing on them. Such are the Nothani clan among the Bughtis, the Kahir tribe, and the Kalmati tribe. The last named are probably not Baluch by origin, although now assimilated. There seems to be a probability that they are the descendants of the Karmati or Karimathian heretics who were expelled from Multán by Mahmaid of Ghazni at the commencement of the 11th century.

The only heretical sect which now has any influence in Baluchistán is that known as the Zikris, which is powerful in Makrân and Las Bela. Its members appear not to be Baluches but Jats and other tribes of Indian or indigenous origin, and some Brathús, especially the Bizanjio tribe. The Zikris believe that their founder, Dost Muhammad, was the twelfth Mahdi, and his abode, Koh-Murad, near Turbat, takes the place of Mecca as the object of their pilgrimages. Their Mullahs have great power.  

The Baluches are much given to poetry, both ancient and modern; and, in addition to their ballads of war and love, poems on religious subjects are by no means uncommon. To illustrate their feelings and ideas on these subjects, we append translations of some extracts from religious poems taken down from verbal recitation among the Baluches, in the case of the first poem from the author himself:

1. By Brahím Shambíni:  

“I remember, Lord, how you poured a torrent into my heart, and the pure Prophet who sits upon his throne to do judgment and justice. The true God is merciful, with him is neither greed nor avarice; nor is he father of any fair son; nor is there mother

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* See Balochi Folklore, in Folklore, 1902, pp. 250-293.
* Masson, Travels, ii, pp. 85-88; Folklore, 1895, p. 290.
* Hughes-Buller, in JRASBo, 1890.
* Burton, Sind Restored, 1857, ch. xxv.

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* See JRASBo, 1890.
† A full account of this sect is given by Mr. Hughes-Buller in the Baluchistán Census Report, 1902.

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had wealth beyond that of Kārūn. Your herd of camels is the greatest in the land, and your daughters are the most beautiful. But I had three thousand strong male camels of burden, and three thousand female camels; I also have a thousand Persian slaves, all with golden rings in their ears. As many as your friends and associates have with them, and when they raced their steeds they spread mattresses on the ground, while their followers placed the noses of their camels on the ground, and these noses touched, so that the heads of the camels should settle on the turban of Zausān.

One day I took the fancy to go a-hunting; I saw a wild goat in the wilderness, and I thought to myself: Shall I be present in the presence of the air, and I thereupon fell sick of a fever. I became insensible, delirium seized me, and my tongue wandered. Men came to give me medicines, but I would not take what they gave me. I was not worth the medicine. One hundred and thirty remedies were tried in my red patch, but when I swooned down rapidly.

With a thousand insults he dragged out my breath; they carried out my body to bury it, and when they had buried it, the funeral prayers were paid. But I was brought back from the land of theClub (Munkar and Nahrī), who raised their clubs and struck me in the face, and made my body earth and ashes and fine dust. Ants and snakes fed under my ears, and black worms made their nests in the hollow of my nostrils. My shrivelled eyes were filled with earth and dry sand, and my dried-up teeth are like shrivelled betelnut.

For a while I stayed in that place, and there I saw men with their faces and beards all withered up, these are those men who followed unlawful lusts, and cast their eyes on their fathers' and brothers' wives, and caused their faces and beards to be withered by disimulation. I leave men now and do good to the poor."

2. By Laskharin Sumedži—Litteratür—Little information is to be found in the works of most travellers in Baluchistān, with the exception of Pottinger (1813) and Bourbon (1814). Some information is available from Burton's Sind Rediscovered (1877), and from Douie's translation of Hett-Ram's Baluchistan (Cardona, 1883). The chapter on Reliefs by Hughes-Bulmer in the Baluchistan Census Report, 1905, is most valuable. The present writer's monograph. The Baluch Race (Bom. Antiq. Society, 1892), an article on 'Balochi Folklore' (Folklore, 1902) may also be referred to.

3. Another thousand anchor

4. By Artūr in the 3rd century A.D., the Virgin and Child is said to be subject of several other frescoes on the walls of the catacombs, and doubtless many more have perished. In certain cases the adoration of the Magi before the Child is represented, the Magi being two (catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellin, 3rd cent.), three, or four (catacomb of Commodilla) in number. Here the infant is naked, in swaddling-clothes, or clad in a tunic and seated on his mother's knee (Michel, i. 34; Lecercq, Manuel d'Archeol. chrétienne, Paris, 1907, i. 194). The prototype of all these Magi representations is the fresco in the catacomb of Commodilla, where the Child is in swaddling-clothes (Lieb, 225). From the time of Constantine onwards, if not before, the scenes of the Infancy were depicted in fresco on the walls of churches—namely, the Nativity, the crib with the Child, and the adoration of the Magi, etc. (S. John Damascene, Epist. ad Theoph., c. 3; Michel, i. 171; Lecercq, ii. 186). To the period after the peace of the Church belongs a
new method of representing these scenes of the Infancy, viz. in mosaic, an art already in use in the catacombs. An early example is found in the decorations of S. Maria Maggiore in the 5th cent. by Sixtus III., where among other subjects is that of the Adoration, the Magi presenting gifts to the Child who, on a throne, and makes a gesture of benediction (Michel, i. 49). The scenes of the Virgin and Child were also represented in bas-relief and sculpture also depicted the scenes of the Infancy. The earliest known examples of these are found on sarcophagi from the catacombs, which give the first representation of the erib. The Child lies seated in a rectangular niche. The Virgin, the Magi, and the shepherds are also represented. To the year A.D. 434 belongs the first example which has been preserved (Michel, i. 66; Lecleere, p. 317). Similar scenes were represented in statuesque decorations of churches. Figures of the Magi seeking and adoring the Infant Christ seated on his mother's knee were sculptured on the ambon of a church at Salonica, dating from the 5th cent. (Michel, i. 261); while a fragment of a statue of the Virgin and Child, probably from about 400, is supposed that he depicts an Emperor Constantine at Constantinople (Reischach, Catalogue du Musée d'Antiquités, Constantinople, 1882, 62). The Virgin and Child are also represented on early gems, one in the Cabinet de France being dated before A.D. 340 (Debeler, Guide Illustré, Paris, 1800, 14609), and with its use was introduced into the religion of the Greeks popularized the themes of the Nativity, and the Madonna and Child, were favourite subjects for art treatment in every department, but especially in painting, which soon to the present time has produced innumerable examples, some attaining to the highest degree of artistic skill, of the Mother and her Divine Child.

It has sometimes been claimed that the representations of the Madonna and Child are founded on those of the Egyptian Isis suckling Horus (cf. 239-232). But whatever the stories of the Apocryphal Gospels and the like, the representation of the Virgin may owe to the myth and cult of Isis, the earliest examples in which the Madonna and Child are represented are purely classical in form, and there is no reason to doubt their originality. Certain Coptic representations may continue the pagan Egyptian types, since there is a close resemblance between the two; while later Byzantine images or paintings probably borrow certain accessories from pagan sources, perhaps through Greco-Roman influences, especially after the cult of the Virgin was developed. But the simplicity of the composition—a mother suckling her child—led to the idea that the early Church must have borrowed the motif from existing pagan models. Thus certain Buddhist examples closely resemble the Christian representation of the Madonna and Infant Christ, while the Madonna and Child, and Horus and a worshipper, had been adapted to Christian use, and has frequently been regarded as depicting the Virgin and Child (Lecleere, ii. 235). The same motif is found in Greco-Roman, Assyrio-Babylonian, and Hindu religious art. The council of Ephesus (a.d. 431) defined the manner in which the Virgin and Child were to be represented.

2. Liturgical drama.—The Bambino as an image is connected with the liturgical and symbolic elements of the Christmas festival. The dramatic aspect of Christian beliefs, culminating in the Mystery Plays, is probably derived from the liturgy and ceremonial. First, the custom of antiphonal singing and the use of antiphons suggested dialogue, while the symbolic actions in various parts of the service suggested dramatic action. But more particularly the tropes sung at festivals in the form of dialogue were a point of departure for the Mystery-play. Thus a 9th cent. MS at S. Gall already has a dialogued trope for Easter (Gautier, Hist. de la poésie liturgique, Paris, 1857, i. 216). This seems to have given rise to others of the same character, and it was naturally to the Christmas period that a trope was found in an 11th cent. MS, in which two cantores represent the shepherds, and are addressed by two deacons in the words: 'Quem queritis in presepe, pastores, dicite?' They answer: 'Salvatorum Christum Dominum, infan tum panis involutum, semicunium sermonem angelicam.' To this the throats reply with 'Ecce puerulus cum Mariam et Ioan nibum et Spiritum Sanctum.' (Gautier, 215). These tropes at first had their place before mass, but were sometimes separated from it. In the 10th cent. the Easter tropes are connected with the mimetic action and exhibition of the empty sepulchre, which probably had a separate origin as a symbolic act (see the Concords Regolaris of S. Etheldred, Dugdale, Monasticon, i. xxvii). Similarly the Christmas tropes gave rise to a liturgical drama, in which a presepe ('manger' or 'crib') with an image of the Virgin and Child probably not at first connected with the liturgical office, and it still exists as a mere spectacle, without accompanying dramatic narrative (see Chambers, Medieval Stage, 1903, ii. chs. 18, 19).

3. The presepe.—Later tradition ascribed the origin of the presepe to St. Francis of Assisi. Having obtained the Pope's permission, he caused a scene representation to be prepared in the church at Grecio on Christmas Eve. In the ox and ass, and the Madonna and Child (Chambers, Book of Days, 1863, i. 62). To such early dramatic forms the rise of the Mystery-play must be traced. But the exhibition of the presepe was probably not at first connected with the liturgical office, and it still exists as a mere spectacle, without accompanying dramatic action (see Chambers, Medieval Stage, 1903, ii. chs. 18, 19).

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Sacro, iv. 394; PG lxv. 711). Such figured representations may first have been introduced in connection with the manger-cave of the basilica at Bethlehem, and, if so, would rapidly be imitated elsewhere. In the West the earliest notices of a presepe in one of the principal churches may indeed have existed in the basilica as built by Liberus (Usener, Religiongesch. Untersuchungen, Bonn, 1889, i. 288, 290). This ‘crib’ was in a chapel in the right aisle, described in the time of Gregory III. (731–741) as an ‘oratory,’ and in that of S Gregory II. (843–847) as a ‘chamber’ (Lib. pontif., ap. Usener, i. 290).

Here the Pope celebrated mass on Christmas Eve, the crib serving as an altar. Probably the ‘manger’ was at first only a copy of that in the cave at Bethlehem, but figures may have been added in the church. Gregory IV. (827–843) furnished it with a statue of the Madonna and Child in gold. This crib-chapel became the model for others. Gregory IV. (827–843) erected a similar one in the Church of S. Maria in Trastevere, which, like the cave at Bethlehem, is now covered with halucetian domino nostre cum diversa et pretiosa gemmis. This probably refers to actual figures in a Nativity scene (Usener, i. 291). To such crib-chapels may be traced all others, whether permanent or temporary, in medieval and later church usage.

4. The Santissimi Bambino.—Of all examples of the presepe with figures of the Child, that of the Church of S. Maria in Ara-Coeli at Rome is the most famous. It is arranged with many accessories —scenes, vistas, and lights—in the Chapel of the Presepe—and exhibits from Christmas to Epiphany. In a grotto are the Virgin, with the Bambino on her knee, and S. Joseph. Behind are the ox and ass, and grouped around are the shepherds and kings. Arranged in perspective in the background is a pastoral landscape, with small figures of shepherds and flocks, giving the idea of distance. Women are represented bringing presents of fruit. The whole scene is beautifully arranged to give the illusionary effect of reality, while above is represented the procession of the Magi, crowned by a triumphal arch. Augustus and the Sibyl pointed to the Child, the legend being that the Emperor raised an altar on the site of the church to the Son of God, whose advent was made known to him by the Sibylline books. During the festival season the Presepio is visited by crowds of people. On Epiphany, mass being concluded, a procession of clergy moves towards the chapel, and, arrived there, the bishop removes the Bambino from the arms of the Madonna with much solemnity. To the strains of a spiritual music the image is borne through the church to the great outdoor steps. There it is elevated by the bishop before the kneeling crowd, while the music thunders and censers are swung. This done, it is carried back to the chapel. The more important figures are of life-size, painted and appropriately dressed. The Bambino is of olive wood, rudely carved and painted. It is magnificently dressed, and covered with great numbers of costly jewels, while during the period of its exhibition it wears a crown surmounted by rich gems. During the festal season the stairway of the church is thronged with peddlers selling sacred objects, among others prints of the Bambino, and wax dolls clad in cotton wool representing the Child. During the rest of the year the Bambino is kept in the inner sacristy, where it is shown to pilgrims and visitors. An inscription in the sacristy relates that a devout Minorite carved the image in Jerusalem out of wood from the Mount of Olives, that it might be used at this festival. But, as paint was lacking to make it more lifelike, prayer was offered that fresh and lasting colours might be granted by Divine interposition. The vessel which carried it to Rome was wrecked, but the image was floated ashore in its case, and, being recognized by the brethren there (for its fame had spread from Jerusalem to Italy), it was brought to its destination in safety. According to popular belief, the painting was miraculously done by St. Luke or by an angel.

To the Bambino are ascribed miraculous powers of healing, and it is taken with great ceremony to patients in cases of severe illness. A special carriage is provided for the image, which is accompanied by two frati; and, as it passes through the streets, the people show it great devotion, kneeling or crossing themselves, while some implore its assistance for their needs, spiritual or temporal. At one time the Bambino was left on the bed of a sick child, which is never out of sight of its attendants; because on one occasion a woman, feigning illness, exchanged another image for the Bambino, sending the fraud back in its place. During the night the frati were disturbed by knocking at the door of the church. Hastening thither and opening the door they were waiting to be admitted, having returned of its own accord. In a variant of this tale, the Bambino was stolen from the church and returned at night, the thief being thus discovered. The story is referred to in the inscription. It is obvious that the Bam- bino is regarded as a species of fetish; and this appears further in the popular belief that, when carried to the sick-bed of a child, it reddens the child if it is to recover, and turns pale if it is to die (Story, Boboli e Rome, 1873, 74 ff.; Rouze, Pl., 1894, v. 7; Harte, Walks in Rome, 1900, i. 266; Tucker and Malleson, Handbook to Christian and Eccl. Rome, 1900, ii. 212). Similar exhibitions of the presepe, some of them zealously elaborated, are seen in other Italian churches (see Rouze, loc. cit.), and they are a usual feature in most Roman Catholic and in some Anglican churches, the equi- valent name being creche or ‘crib.’

Other images of the Infant Christ, though not used in the representation of a presepe, have been required by the devotion of the people, as in the parish church of Mont-Saint-Michel in Brittany, and some are well known as being equally miraculous with the Santissimo Bambino, e.g. the famous miraculous image, dating from the 17th cent., in the church of the Carmelite Fathers at Prague.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in full in the course of the article.

J. A. MacCulloch.

BAN.—See CURING AND BLESSING.

BANERJEA, KRISHNA MOHAN.—Krishna Mohan Banerjea was one of the early converts of the North India Protestant Missions, and one of the most learned Indians of his time. He was born at Calcutta in 1813, and spent his life in that city. A Brahman by caste, even among Brâhmans he belonged to the kudina, or recognized aristocracy, his family claiming descent from one of the pāris or ancient sages. The distinguished Indians of the 19th cent. were the product of the new life inspired by India’s contact with the West through British rule. Dr. K. M. Banerjea was an exception, and in the capital of India, where he was brought up, the new influences were naturally most direct and concentrated. In 1828 the Brâhma Sanâj, or Indian Theistic Church, had been founded at Calcutta by Rammohan Roy and others. In
1830, Dr. Duff, first missionary of the Church of Scotland, had landed in Calcutta. But the influence that consecratedly formed young Banerjea in his teens was that of a Eurasian, Derozio, a master in the Calcutta Hindu College, which Banerjea entered in 1827, after a twofold manner, his enthusiasm, and his thoroughgoing rationalism and radicalism quite carried away his youthful disciples, and indeed affected the minds of a whole generation in Calcutta. In that atmosphere of negation and destruction, in 1829, we find K. M. Banerjea leader of a youthful band publicly repudiating Hinduism and all religious belief, and demanding the abolition of caste and the education of Hindu women. On one occasion, in 1831, the leaders went to the extreme of throwing pieces of beef into Hindu houses, wantonly and grossly outraging the feelings of Hindus. The insult was naturally followed by the excommunication of young Banerjea from his family and caste; but a few European, Eurasian, and Hindu friends still gave him countenance, and the reformer thus contrived to continue what he felt to be a holy war on behalf of religion and his countrymen. Gradually he came under the influence of Dr. Duff, in whom he found an equally ardent temperament, but also convictions as definite and positive as his. Banerja's nativity was his reason against his progress, and his progress was from Hinduism to Hindu Theism [as he conceived it to be], and thence to non-militant Unitarian Christianitv, of an orthodox type. The progress of K. M. Banerjea, on the other hand, was from Hinduism to repudiation of religious belief; out of which, again, he passed, as decidedly, to strong personal Christian faith and strenuous advocacy of what he believed.

Taking orders in the Church of England in 1839, K. M. Banerjea thus became the first ordained native clergyman of that Church in North India, the first in all probability of any non-Roman Church. In the Anglican community in Calcutta he soon became the leading figure, taking a large share in the work of the Anglican Mission College [Bishop's College] and in the translation of theological and religious literature for the young Christian community. He has justly been called the Father of Bengali Christian Literature. But his activity was by no means limited to the Indian Christian community. In journalism he leaves behind him a public movement connected with education or the general welfare, he was in the forefront. Two of his articles in the early numbers of the Calcutta Review, founded in 1844, on 'The Kulin Brahman of Bengal' and 'Hindu Caste,' are of special value to the historical student as first-hand and reliable evidence of former socio-religious conditions now considerably modified. With these may be conjoined a later paper on 'Human Sacrifice' in the Jotan, and the publication of a work of great importance in its day, the Encyclopaedia Bengalesia, a series of thirteen volumes in English and Bengali. In it, for the first time, Eucelid was presented to the people of India in one of their vernaculars. In later years, we find his attention devoted more particularly to Sanskrit and Hindu Philosophy. For the Asiatic Society of Bengal he edited two Sanskrit texts, the Markanda Purana and the Narada Paincharatra, both published in the Society's Bibliotheca Indica; subsequently also, for the same Society, an English translation of the Brahman Purana with Sankhyā philosophy, and the Mahimnastava, a hymn to Siva. An edition of a portion of the Rigveda with notes and an introductory essay appeared in 1873.

The work by which Dr. K. M. Banerjea is best known to students of India is his Dinxpurak the Hindu Philosophy, an English work, published in 1861 both at Calcutta and London, and afterwards translated into Bengali. In the dialogues, Satyakāma [ Desire of Truth], representing the modern spirit of impartial philosophic inquiry, discusses with representatives of traditional orthodoxy the relationship of the Vedas, Buddhism, the six philosophic systems, and Brahmanism. Satyakāma proceeds by the historical method, setting forth as foundation the chronological relationship of the various systems to one another and to Buddhism. The six systems he regards as rationalizing efforts on the part of the Brahmanical order, partly the outcome of the rationalistic spirit that had already called forth Buddhism, and partly designed to controvert Buddhism. Of the philosophic systems, Banerjea believes all of which Dr. Duff also regarded as Buddhism, he puts the Nyāya earliest, then the Vāisēṣika and the Sāṅkhya. The application of the historical method to a subject so involved and obscure constitutes the chief merit and originality of the Dialogues. As a critic in the Westminster Review in 1862, believed to be Professor Goldstücker of London University, observes, no writer before Dr. Banerjan 'had ever attempted to give so continuous and graphic a sketch of the origin and sequence of the various portions of Hindu philosophy.' The persistence of so much is mere inference, that the historical conclusions of the pioneer should not go unchallenged. Dr. Goldstücker himself regarded the Mimāṃsā system as the oldest. Professor Macdonell (Sanskrit Literature) and others regard the Sāṅkhya as the oldest among the Hindu rationalizing and systematizing schemes, and as forming the basis of the two heterodox systems of Buddhism and Jainism. Apart from the chronological order, however, Dr. Banerjea's exposition of the systems is the better by far that of his against his early critic. His declaration regarding the Sāṅkhya denial of a Supreme Soul is now accepted without question by modern students. The atheism of the Sāṅkhya system and the fundamental ignoring of deity in other systems, Dr. Banerjea associates with the conception of the eternity of souls implied in the doctrine of transmigration common to all the systems alike. That again is virtually the position of Professor Macdonell, viz. that the doctrine of transmigration is the idea of the Sāṅkhya. Dr. Banerjea's position in regard to Vedantic pantheism, repudiated by his critic in the Westminster Review, is similarly not far from the position of modern Sanskritists. Vedantic pantheism, according to the Dialogues, is essentially as much a denial of deity as it is professedly a denial of man, and fails to supply the dualism implied and inherent in the idea of duty.

The author's erudition we find more directly enlisted in the Vedic literature, and his countrymen in The Aryan [Aryan] Witness to Christianity, published in 1753. It belongs to the period of Indian missionary work in the 19th cent., in which stress was laid upon the discovering in Hinduism of a preparation or call for Christianity, but not of the origin of Christianity. Dr. Banerjea's main point, for example, is that in
the sacrifice of Purâṇa, the primeval male,* elsewhere put as the self-sacrifice of Prajâpati himself, the Lord of Creation, we have ideas closely akin to those of the voluntary atoning death of Christ, the Eternal Son of God, who was both God and Man. Such reasoning, however, has no longer the same appeal to Indian thought as it is shown that such parallels, while confirmatory and helpful to men already convinced, bring Christianity no nearer to Hindus than it brings Christianity to Hinduism.

Dr. Jaggia was all his life a standing refutation of the libel on Indian Christians that they are unpatriotic. He was one of the first elected representatives to the Calcutta Municipality in 1876; and in his old age, in 1883, he identified himself with a movement for constitutional political agitation both in India and Britain, of which the National Congress may be called the fruit. Native education likewise had no warmer advocate, as his earlier publications and his evidence before the Education Commission of 1883 testify. Without fear of either native or English opinion, he was able to act in the spirit in which the University of Calcutta recognized his position as a scholar by electing him President of the Faculty of Arts, 1867—1869, and further, in 1876, by the bestowal of the honorary degree of D.L., which he had only won two years during the fifty years' existence of the University. His public services were recognized by the conferring upon him of the 'Companionship of the Indian Empire' in 1885, the year of his death.

*Rîpændra, Maghulâ, p. 30.

BANIA, BANYA (Skr. vanîjya, banîjya, 'trade, traffic').—A generic name for the great merchant caste of Northern and Western India. Under the titles of Bania, Banyâ, Banâ, person numbering 2,800,126 recorded themselves at the Census of 1901. But this does not include numerous practically identical castes, like the Agarwâla, numbering 507,936; the Osâwal, 382,712; the Mârâwâri, 49,108, and many others. These may be taken as examples of the religion of this caste in general.

The Agarwâla, who are found in greatest numbers in the United Provinces and Râjputâna, are mostly orthodox Hindus, the Jainâ element being quite inconsiderable. Most of the Agarwâlas, who, under the protection of British rule, obtain promotion to a higher social rank than they ever acquired under the native governments, they are precise and liberal in the observances of religion; and at domestic ceremonies, such as birth, marriage, and death, are notorious for their lavish expenditure on Brâhmans. Most of them follow the humanitarian cult of Vishnu; and though a small minority observe the rule of Siva and of the Sakti, or Mother-goddesses, in deference to the wishes of their wives, they sacrifice animals and consuming meat and spiritual liquor. The small Jaina section observe the same social rules, and are even more careful of animal life than those who are orthodox Hindus. Hence, owing, perhaps, to the uniformity in matters of diet and other social observances, there is no bar to inter-marriage between the followers of the two creeds.

When husband and wife differ in religion, the wife is usually admitted formally into the religion of her husband, and, accordingly, when she visits the home of her husband, she has to observe his food and to prepare it herself. The usual tribal deity of the Agarwâla sub-caste is Lakshmi, goddess of fortune and beauty, who, in the later mythology is frequently identified with Sâri, and is regarded as the consort of Vishnu. They are careful to perform the Srotâdhâ, or mind-rite, for the repose of the souls of their deceased ancestors. Their tribal legends connect them closely with a primitive snake-cult, and the women worship the snake as an important part of the domestic rites. Among trees they pay special reverence to the pâjal, or sacred fig.

The other side of Bania religion appears among the Osvâwal, who, except an insignificant minority, belong to the Jaina faith. They take their name from the old town of Osi in Mârâwâ, and as their associations connect them with Raijputâna. They employ for their domestic rites a class of Brâhmans, who, when their clients adopted the new Jaina rule, fell from their high estate, and became known by the significant name of Bhujak, 'eaters.' They preside over and receive the offerings dedicated to the footprints of the saints who have passed into a state of beatitude. But the real priests of the Osvâwal are the Jaina Jâtis, who are bound by the strictest rules of ceremonial purity, and in particular must avoid any possibility of destroying animal life. The Osvâwal make pilgrimage to the chief holy places of Jainism—Mount Abâ, Palîtâna, Parasnâth (see art.); Sametâ Sikhrâ, in Bengal, where twenty of the Jinas are said to have attained beatitude; Aparâjita, in Osi, respectively to the Jinâs Rishabhânâtha and Nemi-nâtha; Chadrâpira, where Vasupujya died; and Pâwa in Bengal, the scene of the death of Vardhâmaâna. The worship thus largely concentrates itself on the cult of the Tirthankaras, 'the finders of the ford' through the ocean of saśâvâtra, the revolution of birth and death. They also visit the sacred places of the Hindus, like Benares and Ajdhibyâ. Of course, no animal sacrifice of any kind is permitted in their temples, and the sordid superstition and the worship of the idol, a law which prevails in some of the Western Indian temples, under which the right to make the daily offerings is set up to auction and sold to the highest bidder. Their chief solemnity is that held in the rainy season, which resembles the retreat (vârâhabhâja) of the Buddhists, when the wandering monks rested during the inclemency of the monsoon (Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 80).

Another important sub-caste of the Banias is the Mârâwâri, who take their name from the State of Mârâwâ, limited, according to the Census of 1901, they number 49,108, the vast majority being Hindus. They are mostly numerous in Hyderabad, but settle in all parts of the Peninsula in search of trade. They are the most active, niggardly money-lenders and small traders in the country. They generally worship the local gods of their native land. Thus in Kanara they worship as their family deities Ambû, Jayâpâl, and Hîlajâ, whose shrines are at Srihol in Mârâwâ; but those of Ahmadnagar worship Bâlajî of Tirupati in the South, and Kheirâpâl, the guardian deity of Mount Abâ.

Many Banias, again, are members of the sect of the Vallabhaâchârya or Gokulâsga Guysins. This sect, or rather its pontiffs, known as Mahârájâ, or 'great king,' acquired rather disgracefully notorious in connection with the celebrated Mahârájâlibel case which was tried in Bombay in 1862.

They are thus described by Growse at Mathura:—*They are the Epicureans of the East, and are not ashamed to avow that they the ideal life. They live in eternal enjoyment than in solitude and mortification. Such a creed is naturally destructive of all restraint, even in matters where indulgence is a common consent. The only possible propitiatory to which it has given rise is so notorious, that the Mahârájâ of Jaipur was moved to expel him from his capital. The ancient legend of the ancient poet Shanku Chandra, who the sect entertained special veneration, and has further conceived such a prejudice against Vâshikras in general, that all his subjects

* Rîpændra, Maghulâ, p. 30.
are compelled, before they appear in his presence, to mark their foreheads with the three horizontal lines that indicate a votary of Siva."

**Literature.**—For the Agarwallas and Oswals, see Ridley, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896, i. 23, iv. 104 f. For the Marwaris, Bombay Gazetteer, xvi. pt. 4, pp. 703, 704; for the Rajputs, India, 1901, i. 155; Punjabis, da l. 287 f. For the Valabhidhacharya, [Kanzdewal's] Study of the History of the West Indian Tribes of the South of the Mahajans or Valabhidhacharyas of Western India, 1895; Report of the Ostracism Committee, Bombay, 1892; Grewes, Mathura, a District Memoir, 1893, 261 f. W. CROOK.

**BANISHMENT.**—I. Banishment (putting under ban or proclamation as an outlaw) is the punishment of expelling an offender from his native land. By analogy with this, and the ancient imprisoning socii, there is to infer that in very early stages of civilization the family was the unit of society, and that any member of a family who disputed the rule of its head was cast out. As civilization advanced, and families and tribes united to form States, the easiest way, short of summary execution, to rid the State of an evil-doer was to expel him from its boundaries. We find evidence of this in the records of all ancient nations.

2. In ancient Israel, banishment invariably occurred under two isopolitical relations. The first was the banishment of Adan from the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:14), and of Cain from the presence of the Lord (Gen 4:16). This penalty was inflicted not only on individuals, but on the whole nation. The Captivities befell the idolatrous people, but, by the assurance, "you will gather thy self, and bring thine heart into the land which thy fathers possessed," (Dt 30:4, 5), to banish the character of a temporary punishment, of a trial of faith. In Rabbinical Law, banishment (gullath) is the name given to the fleeing of the malefactor, in cases of unintentional murder, to one of the Cities of Refuge (Sifre Num. 60; Mek. ii. 6). The banishment spoken of by Abtulon (Aboth. i. 12, ed. Talmud) as 'the wise' refers to political events. The Pharisaeans, during the reign of Queen Salome Alexander, exerted 'the power and authority of banishing and bringing back whomsoever they chose' (Jos. B. J. i. v. 2; cf. also JE ii. 490 f.)

3. In India, banishment was a recognized form of punishment as early as the Vedic period, for Riga, the banishment for death. The punishment ('purajj') as fleeing to the south; while the later codes prescribe banishment for those who express hostile sentiments concerning the king, or for false witnesses; and crimes punished by death in the case of the lower castes, were visited with banishment. According to Culcas India, (p. 288), the banishment was called Sittje, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 127, 129, 142). Among the Tartonc peoples, banishment was equally well known, as is shown by Old High German recceco, Old Norse rekr, Old Saxon wrecceo, Anglo-Saxon recceca, "exile," "outcast," "wretch," (cf. Schraden, Rechtzaken der indogerman. Alterthumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, p. 835); while among the Gauls, at least in some cases, murder of a centurio was punished by banishment, at all events from the territory of the city (Lettin, Manuel pour servir a l'étude de l'antiquité celtique, Paris, 1906, p. 191 f.).

4. In Greece, banishment solumb appears as a punishment appointed by law for particular offenses. The general term for the, in heroic times, was applied, for the most part, to those who, to escape some punishment, fled the danger, fled from their own State to another. This was the rule in cases of homicide. Even in historical times, exile was usually voluntary, to escape the death-sentence for murder. The accused was permitted to leave the country after the first day of trial, but he had to promise to perpetual banishment and confiscation of property. When appointed by law as the punishment for certain offenses, banishment might be for a specified period, as in cases of accidental homicide; or, if the crime was sacrilege, the murder of a non-citizen, or wounding with intent to kill, the penalty was exile for life. Ostracism (g.w.), a form of banishment to Athens, was designed to guard against any citizen becoming a tyrant. After passing a decree that an ostracism should take place, on a fixed day the citizens voted by tribes in the agora, each writing on an epuracor the name of the man he considered a danger to the State. He who obtained the majority of votes, provided there was a minimum of 6000, was banished for ten years, though he might be recalled earlier by a special vote.

5. In Rome, during the Republic, exilium meant banishment. In the Empire, State as a punishment, accompanied by loss of civitates; if the person banished did not cease to be a civis, it was not properly exilium but relegatio. Since the Romans shrank from depriving a man of his citizenship, exilium was very rare. The accused, however, might voluntarily go into exile to escape capital punishment; and in the earlier times of the Republic, a Roman citizen had the right of going into exilium to another State, by virtue of the compiti between the Roman States, and Rome. The voluntary withdrawal of the criminal being regarded as an admission of his guilt, the Romans confirmed it by a plebiscitum, which gave it a legal character; and, to prevent his return, forbade the citizens to afford him shelter, fire and water (aqua ignis hoste interdicto). In later times it became usual to inflict this punishment as an ordinary penalty, independent of any voluntary withdrawal on the part of the criminal. The Emperors introduced a new form of banishment— deportatio in insulam—by which the criminal was confined for life, or for an indefinite time, to an island or other prescribed space, within which he had personal liberty though he suffered loss of civitates. This gradually supplanted the old interdictio.

6. During the Middle Ages banishment was a common punishment, and indeed still occurs among many nations. In England the punishment of banishment was prohibited by Magna Charta, but was still practised, as a criminal was permitted to go into voluntary exile to escape capital punishment. In England was the Vagrancy Act of Queen Elizabeth, which, by giving Justices power 'to banish offenders and remove them to such parts beyond the seas as should be assigned by H.M. Privy Council,' contained the germ of transportation. This was given full effect in the reign of Charles II. In 1718 ('16 dissolutes persons to be sent to Virginia'), though the name 'transportation' does not occur till the reign of Charles II. In 1718 the system of transportation became more fully developed; political offenders and others who had escaped the death penalty were handed over to contractors for transportation to the American Colonies, and these contractors farmed out the convicts to the planters as labourers. The War of Independence, however, ended this system. After 1787, Penal Colonies were founded in Australia, in New South Wales. At first the convicts were employed on Government works, but as their numbers increased they were hired out to private employers. Supervision was necessarily lax, and the convicts terrorized the country, so that the worst offenders were returned to the care of the Government and confined in the penal settlements. The Australians began to protest in 1835, and transportation gradually diminished, till in 1867 the penal settlements in Australia and New Zealand were abolished. In 1869, five convict prisons at home. France and Russia still maintain the system of transportation. The French penal settlements founded in French
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Guiana in 1853 were disastrous, owing to the unhealthy climate and the harsh regulations, so they were abandoned in 1854 except for Negro and Arab convicts. The Settlemonts in New Caledonia, however, centred in the mining industry which transports criminals and political offenders to Siberia, where, after a term of imprisonment, they are employed in mining and agriculture.

Transportation has not been found to act as a deterrent from crime. It does not possess the reformatory qualities which are an essential part of an effective system of punishment. See Ostracism, Outlawry, Punishment.

W. D. Morrison and J. Low.

BANJARA (Singh, evâgy, 'a merchant, krâk, ‘doing').—The tribe of wanderers and fortune-tellers, also known as Bhukiyil, is one of the most famous races in India, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 765,861, most numerous in Hyderabad, but found in all the Indian provinces. As a result of their wandering habits, which have now much decreased since the carrying trade has fallen into the hands of the railway authorities, they are a very mixed race. Their origin is probably Dravidian, but they now all trace their descent from the Brâhman or Rajput tribes of Northern India. It is in the Deccan and in the State of Hyderabad that they still preserve rather better of their ancient beliefs and customs than in the scattered colonies in the more northern parts of the country, where they have largely fallen under Hindu or Muhammadan influence. Of the Deccan branch an excellent account has been given by the late Dr. Camilleri in the Western district of the province of Berar. There they seem to be descendants of the emigrant satlers who followed the Muhammadan armies into Southern India. Though some vague references to them have been traced in the earlier Sanskrit literature, their history has been inadequately treated in Modern History, where, to the account of Sikandar's attack on Dholpur in A.D. 1504 (Elliot, History of India, v. 100; Briggs, Ferishta, i. 579).


In the legends of the Deccan branch of the tribe, Guru Nâmâ, the founder of the Sikh faith, figures as a worker of miracles and as their spiritual adviser. They have a priest or medicine-man, known as a bhagat, or devotee (Skr. bhakti, 'faith, 'devotion'). He is called in to care all manner of diseases in the body, and is the result of his attacks of evil spirits, sorcery, or witchcraft. In fact, there are few Indian tribes more witch-ridden than the Banjâras. They are, says Lyall (Asiatic Studies, 1st series, 117 f.),

'terribly vexed by witchcraft, to which their wandering and precarious existence especially exposes them, in the shape of fever, rheumatism, and dysentery. Soman inquiries are still held in the wild jungles where these people camp out like gypsies, and many an unlucky lad has been strangled by sentence of their secret tribunals. In difficult cases they consult the most eminent of their spiritual advisers or holy men who may be within reach; but it is usual, as a proper precaution against mistakes which even learned divine's may commit, to buy some writing article on the road to the consultation, and to try the diviner's faculty by making him guess what it may be, before proceeding to matters of life or death. The saint works himself into a state of demonic possession, and gapes out some woman's name. She is killed by her nearest relative or allowed to commit suicide, unless indeed her family are able to make it incur the diviner's while to have another hit, and to detect some one else.

2. Gods of the Deccan branch.—These Deccan Banjâras have a large pantheon of deities. First comes Maryâ or Mahâkâli, the great Mother-goddess, also in her most terrible form. It is supposed to enter the bhagat medicine-man and inspire him to utter oracles. The Chânra branch are deists, with special proclivities towards Sikhism, which they brought with them from their original home in the Ganges valley. With them Guru Nâmâ, the founder of Sikhism, is supreme. They also worship Bâlajî, or Krishna in his infant form; Tulji Devi, the famous Southern Indian Mother of Tulîjârî, of the State of Hyderabad; a number of deified men, such as Siva Bhaiyâ, a holy man of Pohorâ or the famous Bhukiyil of Berar province; Satî, the ghost of a murdered girl, tôted as a child and the funeral pyre of her husband; and Mithâ Bâtûkîyê, a famous freebooter of olden days. For the last a hut is set apart in every camp, and, when a white flag is raised before it, this is a sign that the people are engaged in the worship of Mithâ Bâtûkîyê, who is always invoked to give his aid when any plundering expedition or other crime is being planned. In such cases a signal is also made to the deified Satî. Clarified butter is placed in the camp, and in this a wick is lighted. Appeal is then made to Satî to save them from the danger mentioning in a low tone the object of the contemplated expedition. The wick is watched, and, should it drop, the omen is regarded as auspicious.

3. Worship in Central India.—In Central India the Banjâras have a peculiar form of worship. This animal is known as Hatâdiyê (Skr. hatyâ-vâdyâ, 'he whom is an exceeding sin to slay'), and he is devoted to the service of the god Bâlajî, or Krishna in his infant form. No burden is ever laid upon the animal, and he is decorated with splendid finery, and studded with many brass chains and rings on his neck and feet, and strings of cowry shells and tassels. He moves steadily at the head of the convoy, and wherever he lies down there they make their halting-place and their hearth. If a vessel is passed at sea, they make vows whenever trouble befalls them, and, in illness, whether of themselves or among their cattle, they trust to the worship of him for a cure.

4. Forms of worship in Kâthâwâr.—In Kâthâwâr their worship is paid to the dread Mother-goddess Mahâkâli, or Bhukiyil, and to the worship Bâlajî and Khandolâ, and in honour of the latter a dance known as the Gondhal is often performed in discharge of a vow or on the completion of a marriage. On the day after the Holi, or spring festival, the Lad branch of the tribe have what is known as the Vira or holy rite, where one of the descendants of an ancient warrior who died in battle is led in triumph round the camp. At marriages, two married couples, one representing the bride and the other the bridegroom, are led round the camp, and, as a result of this festivity, they make vows whenever trouble befalls them, and, in illness, whether of themselves or among their cattle, they trust to the worship of him for a cure.
Tuljapur in Hyderabad. In Kanara they are specially devoted to the Krishna cultus.

5. Religion of the North India Banjarees.—Passing to Northern India—in Chhattisgarh of the Cent. Prov. they have a special tribal goddess, Banjar Bannari. The eponymous female energy of the tribe, which is represented by a short pole, is worshipped by women with vermilion on the Divalli, or feast of lamps. Farther north those who are Hindus worship the local gods of the places where their camps or settlements are situated. This pantheon is of a very heterogeneous character. Some of the local deities are comparable, like Zahir Pir and the Miyān Yarohul in the Moradabad District, and defined ghosts like Hardaur Lak, the chelora-god, and Kalī Deo. To these, sacrifices of goats are offered; but sometimes there is not a complete sacrifice, the ear of the animal being only pierced, and a drop or two of blood sprinkled on the altar. In some places, as in the Kheri District of Oudh, they incline towards monotheism, and worship a single Creator under the name of Bhagwan or Paravamāra.

BANNERS.—The ceremonial leader of the Banjar is the Bannari or Bannerwala. He has a white, red, or black rectangular cloth of coarse fabric, on which is painted a red cross or a flag. The cross may be the cross of St. Andrew or St. George, or the cross of a military order. The flag consists of a white, red, or black rectangular piece of cloth, which may be plain or decorated with a red or black cross, a red or black or white star, or a blue or red stripe. The Bannari carries the flag in his left hand or at his side. The flag is held in a horizontal position at the height of the shoulder, or it may be raised above the head. The flag is attached to a pole by a cord or string. The flag is used in religious ceremonies, in battles, and in processions. The flag is made of various materials, such as cotton, silk, or wool. The flag is decorated with various designs, such as crosses, stars, or stripes.

BANNERS.—I. In considering the use of banners from very early times, and onwards, we must apply the word in a wide sense, for both in form and significance banners have passed through a long and varied history. In their origin, and throughout their history—until down to, comparatively speaking, recent times—banners served primarily a religious purpose, and their object was the indication of some one or something rather than to gather people together. The including of banners, standards, flags, and ensigns within one comprehensive category, while justifiable perhaps in view of modern usage, tends to obscure the originally clear distinction between what corresponded to the staff and the flag respectively. There seems to be no doubt that each of these was represented in very early times; nevertheless, the 'staff'—whether of stone or, later, on wood—might, and evidently often did, do service for the 'flag' as the latter was not yet attached to any one or something, or of drawing attention to something, the thing indicated could be represented upon the upper part of the 'staff' itself, or else it might be a separate object attached to the 'staff'. The Phoenician cippi, for example, dedicated to Tanith and Baal Hamman, which often have a hand figured upon them, must be objects of this kind. It is behind them, and represent, as one may reasonably suppose, an early form of 'sign-post.' That primitive pillars of this kind were the originals from which in later times monuments on the one hand, and banners on the other, developed and diverged, seems fairly obvious when all the facts are taken into consideration. An instructive example of a very early kind may be seen, for instance, in the 'banner-stones' of the American Indians. In form these vary greatly, but there are certain mental features of their shape which are practically constant, and which are of such a nature as to suggest the justifiable use of this term 'banner-stone.' These features are the 'axial perforations' and the extension or mimic wing-like projections. They are strongly reminiscent of the 'double axe' which played such an important part in Minoan worship.* The presence of the perforations makes it probable that these 'banner-stones' were mounted for use on a staff, or on a handle as a ceremonial weapon, or on the stem of a calumet.†

* These objects are usually made of varieties of stone selected for their fine grain and bright colour, and are carefully shaped and finished. In Florida, and perhaps elsewhere, examples of shell are found. In the former the perforation is made with great precision longitudinally through the thick portion of the shell, which may symbolically represent the body of a bird. They are also found in the inhabited sites generally, and were probably as a class the outgrowth of the remarkable culture development which accompanied and resulted in the construction of the great earthworks of the Mississippi valley.‡

‡ 2. Banners of a different character were the poles carried in battle by the North American Indians, to the top of which eagles' feathers were attached. A similar custom prevailed among many other savage tribes. These were probably the predecessors of the types of banners in vogue among the nations of ancient civilization. Thus the banners of the Egyptians, the double war-staves, used by the soldiers on foot, the standards borne by the officers on horseback, and the envoys of peace or truce, all had a common origin, and were the outgrowth of the same warrior idea. The standard of the Greeks in the Trojan War was, in the first instance, a pylon, to which were attached flags of various kinds—holy animals, the sacred boat, and other emblems, sometimes also the name of a king,‡ fans and feather-shaped symbols—which were raised on the end of a staff, and carried by the standard-bearers as a mark of distinction, and to indicate the presence of the king or royal family. The standard was the badge of royalty, and was a sign of rank, of power, and of victory. It was carried in battle, and in processes, as a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the king. This was the case in ancient Egypt, where the king was represented as carrying a staff, or standard, in his hand. The staff or standard was a symbol of power, and was used in processes of state, as well as in war. It was also used in religious ceremonies, and was a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the gods. It was carried in procession, and was a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the gods.

§ Besides these ordinary banners, there were also the royal banners and those borne by the principal persons of the household near the king himself. Only royal princes or sons of the nobility could carry these. The earliest known representations of Egyptian banners are those found on the votive tablet of Nar-Mut, 1100 B.C., and on the stele of Lepsius, 1500 B.C. In these the banners are shown with various emblems, such as the name of a king,‡ fans and feather-shaped symbols, or the name of a god,‡ or the name of a goddess,‡ on the end of a rod, or on a staff, or on a flag. These banners were used in religious ceremonies, and were a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the gods. They were also used in war, as a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the king. In ancient Egypt, the standard was a symbol of power, and was used in processes of state, as well as in war. It was also used in religious ceremonies, and was a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the gods. It was carried in procession, and was a symbol of the sovereignty and authority of the gods.


† See F. W. Hodge, in the Handbook of American Indians ('Bureau of American Ethnology,' Bulletin 30, pt. I, 1907), art. 'Banner Stones,' where the whole subject is treated, and where further literature is referred to. See also Squier and Davis, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley (1849); Wilson, Prehistoric Man (1895); Ferguson, Pylones et Propylons d'Egypte (1876); Squier, Peru (1877); Schliemann, Mycenae (1876); Morehead, Prehistoric Implements (1900); Evans, The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of North and South Britain (1907).

‡ I. Abrahams, Migrations of Symbols, p. 220 ff.

§ Diodorus, I. 80, quoted by Wilkinson, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians (new ed. 1887), i. 196.

‖ Wilkinson, ib. 2, quotes further, Rosellini, Mon. Circii, pl. cxxi, Nos. 1-15; Rawlinson, Hist. of Ancient Egypt (1881), i. 663 ff.

* Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. of Art in Ancient Egypt (1858), ii. 160.

** Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit. II. 185 f.; cf. Champollion, Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptive (1831), P. 804 ff.
do banners figure in connexion with foot-soldiers, though in several cases chariots are furnished with them.\(^*\) The device usually represented is that of a deity.\(^*\) In the few Phnician battle-scenes and the Egyptian temples, the usual banner is the spath.\(^*\) In the rock-cut temples of any bannock appears.\(^*\) The Persians, like the Assyrians, fixed their banners on chariots. One of their banner-designs consisted of a golden eagle upon a lance. They also appear to have had masts, similar to those which stood in front of the entrances to Egyptian temples. These, too, were probably decorated with flags.\(^*\) The earliest form of banner among the Greeks consisted of a piece of armour fixed to the top of a spear; in later times different cities carried sacred emblems, e.g. the Athenians the owl and the olive, the Thessalian a sphinx, and so on. The Dacians carried on their standard the representation of a serpent, also a dragon; this latter was the military ensign of the Parthians, and is that of the Chinese at the present day. Among the Romans there was, firstly, the vexilla. This appears to have been the oldest form of banner in the Roman army.\(^*\) It corresponds to the modern flag, its main feature being a piece of cloth with a fringe which hung down from a transverse beam; the name of the legion was embroidered on this. There were also standards of infantry which were separated from the main division for some special duty, or of the troops of discharged veterans called out for further service.\(^*\) Secondly, in the Roman army each manipule had its own signum, the name of the manipulus was on the signa; the signa were borne in front, but during the battle the signifer stood behind the hindmost rank. The pole of the signum was a lance pointed at the lower end so that it might the more easily be fixed into the ground. It had a transverse bar near the top from which hung down a long flag; also this pole there were several discs, varying in number from two to seven. These were usually of silver; below them was the crescent moon, above them either a small shield, or a corona aurea, or a symbol of some other kind; these discs could be removed from the pole; this was done at military funerals. The signum was also carried on war-galleys.\(^*\)

The standards of the pretorians differed from those of the legion in that crowns took the place of the phalera; a medallion containing a picture of the Emperor and his laurel crown was placed on the pole. These imagines, 'effigies' (πορφαία), represented the reigning and earlier Emperors. Another of the Roman standards was the aquila, i.e. an eagle with outstretched wings, placed on the top of a long pole usually of silver and sometimes of gold. The eagle was sometimes represented with an oak-leaf in its beak, perhaps as a presage of victory.\(^*\)

Among the Indo-Germanic peoples, indeed, the use of banners goes back to very early times. The Atharvan Veda (v. xxi. 12) speaks of the armies of the gods as śirya-ketu (‘sun-banneled’), and the Mahābhārata (XIV. 1xxxvi. 28) of the hero Meghāsandhi as viniyaketa (‘monkey-banneled’), while vrishalāhaveta (‘bull-banneled’) and moka-raketa (‘dolphin-banneled’) are conventional epithets of Siva and Kama (the god of love) respectively. In the Avesta (Yasna x. 14) there is mention of ‘the kine banner’ (gaṇā kṛṣayavan), which, in view of the sanctity attached to kine by the Indo-Iranians, may not be without an ultimate totemistic significance. In Rome, besides the instances already noted, previous to the second consulship of Sulla, there were standards of horses, and boars had figured on the standards of the army in addition to the eagle (Pliny,HN x. 16). A similar state of things is implied for the ancient Teutons by Tacitus (Germania, vii.), and this is borne out by the fact that the Old High German chumbirro, ‘tribe,’ is cognate etymologically with the Anglo-Saxon cumbor, cumból, ‘sign’ (especially ‘military standard’). The Gauls, in like manner, possessed banners with images of theriomorphic deities which were carried into battle, ‘with the English war-cry, ‘sign.’\(^*\)

All these were originally, without doubt, carried in the belief that they would ensure victory, a fact which further emphasizes their religious character. The employment of banners as rallying-centres, though very ancient, was a secondary idea; this, however, was to have been their main use among the Israelites. An ensign was set up upon a hill for the purpose of gathering the people together (Is 13, cf. 119 183). This was called a zāi (nāa), a word which is used in connexion with the setting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness (Nu 21). Another word used in the OT is gēd (degel); this would perhaps correspond more with banner in the stricter sense, though the character of both types is conjectural, since no hints as to this are given in the OT.\(^*\) According to Nu 21, the tribe had its own standard. In Midrashic literature it is stated that the various emblems and colours of these standards corresponded to the twelve precious stones set in the breast-plate of the high priest. The emblems comprised a lion, a mandrake, the sun and moon, and sometimes of silver and gold. The analogy of the character of other ancient banners, it is possible that a substratum of historical truth may underlie this statement. According to a legend preserved in the Targum Jerusalem, the banner of the Hasmonaean had inscribed upon it the letters sārā, an abbreviation for sārāt hēmōn (‘Who is like thee among the mighty, Jehovah!’)

3. As an example of another and altogether different use of banners, reference may be made to what

\(^*\) Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, 1st series (1849), pl. 14, 22, 27; 2nd series (1853), pl. 24.

\(^*\) See also Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. of Art in Phoenicia (1855).\(^*\)

\(^*\) Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. of Art in Persia (1902), ii. 345.

\(^*\) One of the Greek banners, borne at Worms, bore at the feet cent. A.D., a soldier is represented carrying this on horseback.

\(^*\) See also Diez, Hist. of Greek and Roman Art, pp. 622.

\(^*\) An illustration of this may be seen, for example, in Du Fresne, Famille Anguiale Eganizaina (1862), pl. v. 21.

\(^*\) An illustration of this may be seen, for example, in Du Fresne, Famille Anguiale Eganizaina (1862), pl. v. 21.

\(^*\) Cf. the Ark of Israel in battle, 1 S 4 4, and the little dwarf figures (προσωποῖα) found on the protomes of the Corinthian orators.

\(^*\) Cf. the ‘Eighteen Blessings’ in the modern Jewish Liturgy; the tenth of these ends with the words: ‘may the great horn for our freedom; lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us from the four corners of the earth;’ see Oesterley and_box, The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue (1907), p. 223.

\(^*\) Cf., for OT data on the subject, Cheyne’s art. ‘Ensigns and Standards,’ p. 225; cf. also p. 226.

\(^*\) Bamidbar Rabba, ii. 61, 62; cf. J.E.V. 409.
are called 'Trees of the Law' among the Tibetans. These are lofty flagstaffs, with silk flags upon them emblazoned with that mystic charm of wondrous-working power, the sacred words: Om Mani padme hüm ('Ah, the jewel is in the lotus,' i.e. [3] the Self-creative force is in the Kosmos).

Whichever wind is blowing, and "the holy six syllables" are turned towards heaven, it counts as if a prayer were uttered—a prayer which brings down blessings, not only upon the prayers of those at whose expense it is unfurled, but also upon the whole country-side. Everywhere in Tibet these flagstaffs meet the eye.

Eclesiastical banners, which were adapted from military usage, have always played a great part in Church ceremonial. The idea underlying the use of these is that of the Christen emblem, figured on the banner, going before the army of Christian soldiers. They are thus intended for procession, not for battle. Banners of this kind are, as a rule, attached to a transverse bar which is fixed by means of a cord to the staff; in this way the representation of a cross is made. The banner itself is made of silk, linen, or other material, on which is embroidered or painted the labarum, usually a sacred symbol expressive of some Christian truth, or else mottos, either Biblical or based on some Scripture passage, are inscribed upon it. The use of banners in the Christian Church dates from a very early period, namely, from the time of the Emperor Constantine and the realm of the Cristaian age of the 4th century. According to the well-known story, Constantine saw in a vision the Cross upon a banner which bore the inscription, τῷ τιμήτῳ σινα. On awaking, he caused a banner to be made after the pattern of this, and henceforward the labarum, as it was called, was carried before his troops. Upon it was figured the Cross in combination with the initial letters of the name of Christ. The labarum was the ordinary cavalry standard ( vexillum ) adapted to a specifically Christian use by having Christian emblems upon it. The eagle of victory surmounting the pole gave place to the sacred monogram placed within a chaplet; other Christian emblems were embroidered upon the banner itself. Banners used in procession must have come into vogue soon after this. The bearers were called draco n or vexilliferi. Bele, in describing the approach of St. Augustine and his followers to King Ethelbert, says that they came ' bearing a silver cross for a standard, and the image of the Lord and Saviour painted on a panel.' Gregory of Touraine, in his account of a processional in a basilica, uses the words 'post crucem prece dentibus signis.' A later custom was that of carrying a banner of sackcloth in processions of the reconciliation of penitents. This is prescribed, for example, in the Sarum Use.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully throughout the article. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

BANSPHOR (Hindi बंस्फोर, 'a bamboo', pahar, 'to split').—A branch of the Dom tribe (wh. see), with whom in the Census returns of 1901 the Basor and Basulu are included, the whole numbering 95,979, of whom a large majority are found in the United and Central Provinces. The chief occupations of Bansphors is, as their name implies, working in bamboo, out of which they make fans, baskets, and boxes. But they also occasionally take service as sweeper, and are therefore subject to the tabu which all orthodox Hindus impose on those who practise a trade of this kind. Their religion is of the animistic type found among all branches of the Dom tribe, their chief deities being in Upper India the Vindhyabasini Devi, the mountain-goddess of the Vindhyan hills, whose temple is at Bindhachal in the Mirzapur District. They also worship loincloths, which are venerated in the places where they settle, such as Kālikā and Samai. To the former, at household celebrations, such as marriage and childbirth, a young pig, spiritsuous liquor, flowers, and ground rice boiled in treacle and milk are offered, all the food after dedication being consumed by the worshippers. The offering to Samai is a yearling pig. The ordinary Hindu festivals are observed, among which in particular the Holi, or fire feast, in spring is celebrated with drinking and coarse revelry, and the Kajari in the rainy season, when drunkenness prevails and all rules of sexual morality are disregarded. They have a great respect for the snake, and, at the Gaurī feast, girls make dolls of rags, which are supposed to represent snakes and are beaten with rods by boys and thrown into a tank—the real origin of the celebration probably being the expulsion of the powers of evil impersonated in the snake. They fear the spirits of the dead, and propitiate them by laying out food for them, which is afterwards eaten by the children and by crows. The inhabitants of the Congo, especially, rejoice in the savour of roast pork, and if not honoured by the sacrifice of a pig, which is cooked and eaten by the worshippers, may bring trouble upon the household. At a birth the Bansphor worship the spirit of the well from which they draw water, and they hold the Piplal tree (Ficus indica) in great respect, and will not cut or injure it. The same reverence is felt with regard to the Gūlar (Ficus glomerata) and the Sennal (Bombax ceiba), and their fruits. No Brahman officiates at any of their rites, all of which are performed by a member of the tribe or household.

LITERATURE.—Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1866, i. 171. W. CROOKE.

BANTU AND S. AFRICA.

[EARLY HARTLAND.]]


1. Race and geographical distribution of the Bantu.—The term Bantu (pl. of Bantu, a native word meaning 'man') is applied to that variety of the Negro race which, prior to the coming of Europeans, was politically, and still is numerically, predominant in South Africa. The Bantu are distinct alike from the West African or true Negroes, and from the Nilotic Negroes of the Sudan and adjacent lands. They were differentiated at some remote period, probably by intermixture with a Hamitic stock. They seem to have originated as a distinct variety somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes, and thence to have spread southward and westward over the greater part of the continent. North of the equator they are found from the northern shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza right across to the Gulf of Guinea, thus embracing the entire valley of the Congo. Still further to the north they are thrown out numerous colonies, as far as the northern Cameroon, among the true Negroes. On the other hand, they are traceable down the eastern side of the Gulf of Guinea until they finally disappear in French Congo, giving place to the Bantu not very far south of the Equator. The Bantu never penetrated

Rhys Davids, Buddhism, new ed. 1890, p. 210. f See further, Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, p. 240. One of the most extant representations of it is on a gold coin of the Emperor Theodosius (d. 395).

into that part of Cape Colony which lies west of the Great Fish River, or into the southern portion of German South-west Africa.

The Bantu are usually divided into three main groups, distinguished by the manner in which the plural name is formed, viz.:
1. The South-eastern tribes (Nama, Zulu, Ama Xosa, etc.).
2. The Central or Chokwe tribes (Kwena, Ovambo, etc.).
3. The South-western tribes (Ovako, Ova Herero, etc.).

To these, however, we may conveniently add as distinct groups
4. The Northern tribes still living in the region of the Great Lakes, the Dinka, and some others.
5. The Western or Forest tribes, occupying the Congo valley and a large tract of country north and south of that region, such as the Ekom, Omo, etc.

This distribution, though geographical, corresponds in the main to the ethnical peculiarities of the different groups, due to the influence of varying climates, human and climactic, which met the immigrant tribes on their way to the regions where they finally settled. It would occupy too great a space to discuss the details here. The causes of difference are largely conjectural, and the questions raised are greatly complicated by the incessant wars which have resulted in the intermingling or extermination of many distinct tribes, or in wholesale emigrations of hordes which have broken away from the parent stock after it had settled in its present habitat.

2. Culture and organization. — The primary application of the term Bantu is linguistic. The Bantu languages are formed on common principles, and are related to one another in the same way as the Indo-European languages are related to each other. But, since the peoples speaking those languages belong, with few exceptions, to a well-marked anthropological type, it is usually and conveniently applied to that type. The Bantu peoples are in a fairly uniform stage of culture, and may be generally described as both pastoral and agricultural. As the climate of the continent varies from desert to forest, from table-land intersected by broad but often intermittent rivers to mountain regions embracing deep fertile valleys, the habits and occupations of the people differ. On the western side the extremes are found—that of the Hereros, who, living in a waste and well-nigh waterless country, practise no agriculture at all; and that of the tribes of the Congo, among whom the rearing of domestic animals is reduced to a minimum. All the Negro peoples of Africa are acquainted with the use of iron; some of them are capable and ingenious smiths. Excellent spears, or assegais, knives, and hoes, are produced by their simple forge; the implements are carved from horn or bone; and among many tribes basket-work is much developed. The typical Bantu house is a circular hut, beehive-shaped among some tribes such as the Zulus, or with a true roof. These huts are built in groups, or villages, enclosed with a palisade, a hedge, or a wall of mud or stones. Every village is ruled by a chief, who in some tribes may be a woman, and whose authority varies, according to the tribe, from absolute rule to a rule exercised with the concurrence of the heads of the family. The composition of the village. In the more highly organized and military tribes the village chiefs are subject to a very real control by the supreme chief or king, who is surrounded by a number of ministers, and often keeps up a large monopoly of trade. The rule is in such cases exercised ruthlessly, and, however limited in theory, is in practice checked only by the dread of assassination, or (at all events in the southern portions of the continent) by the knowledge that his people will naturally desert him and go to augment the following of another or superior rival. The consequence, therefore, of a Bantu realm depends upon the political genius of its king. Within a couple of generations the mightiest kingdom is apt to fall to pieces, and another will arise on its ruins to the persons of which could be illustrated again and again from South African history; it has then a serious barrier to the progress of the arts of peace, has frequently depopulated large tracts of country, and has caused endless confusion and misery in every direction.

In addition to their political divisions, all the Bantu peoples are divided into stocks or clans. The members of each of these clans are united by a real or imputed community of blood, symbolized by a common name, usually derived from some animal or plant. Two opposite methods of reckoning the kinship are in use. It is probable that mankind originally reckoned kinship only through females. This mode of reckoning is called mother-right. The Western, or Forest, and some of the Northern tribes are still in this stage. Consequently the sons of the eldest son of the household, has a very limited power over the children, who in many cases are liable to be sold into slavery by their mother's brother, or pawned for his debts. Their mother's brother is their nearest male relative, and they inherit his property and liabilities. When a Bantu marries, he is required to pay what is usually, but inaccurately, called a 'bride-price.' Where kinship is reckoned through women only, this is often paid to the bride's maternal uncle. On the other hand, the Eastern and Central tribes to the stage of father-right, or the reckoning of kinship through males only. The husband and father owns the children of his wife, by whosoever they are begotten. He has extensive powers over them, though these powers are often, as among the Basuto, limited by the rights of the wife's eldest brother. The malume, as the wife's brother is called, is the special protector of the child. The Basuto perform the rite of circumcision about the age of puberty. On this occasion the malume makes his nephew a present of a javelin and a kaffer, and the latter do not infrequently do as much in the way of a bride-price on the youth's marriage; and, if surviving, he presides at his funeral. He is entitled to a share of the spoil taken by his sister's sons in war, and of the cattle which form the bride-price of his sisters' daughters. The rights and duties of these rights and duties are best explained as a survival from the stage of mother-right.

If we turn to the South-western tribes, we find among the Ovaherero a peculiar organization intermediate between father-right and mother-right. The Ovaherero are the progeny of the Herero, a tribe of German territory. According to the older organization, they were divided into clans called eanda (pl. omacaanda), in which kinship was reckoned exclusively through females. These are now being superseded by clans called orucro (pl. otsoro), in which kinship is reckoned exclusively through males. The consequence is that every Herero belongs to two distinct stocks—to an eanda through his mother, and to an orucro through his father. Kinship is thus reckoned through both lines. The eanda / orucro system is the most natural, and might be presumed to be universal in the stage of human society. The husband and father is responsible to his wife's kin for the death of wife or child in consequence of his acts. The wife is capable of owning property apart from her husband, to which on her death he does not as a rule succeed. It is taken by her kin reckoned through the eanda. On the death of a man his property does not necessarily fall to his son as in strict father-right; but the claims of the son as orucro-heir and of his sisters' sons or other orucro-heirs are the subject of adjustment (Dannert, 32, 43, 47).

3. Totemism. — The object from which a Bantu clan or gene derives its name is, as already stated, usually a species of animal or plant, generally the former. More rarely, such an object as the sun or rain, iron, horn, or natural father, like the boc, is found as the name and symbol of a clan.
transmitting his rule to his descendants, one of whom still wields the power under British protection. Consequently the crocodile has become the sacred animal of the whole nation, and is the subject of various rites. The blood of a young crocodile, caught alive and afterwards returned to the water, is a favorite beverage of medicine, prepared with the brain of a crocodile mixed with that of a man. Both among the Basuto and the Bechuana a man who is bitten by a crocodile is expelled from his village, for the people say, "A man who is so bad that the crocodile bites him can come no more into our community," as if they saw in this bite a divine judgment. The death of a crocodile causes the children to cough. Its body is handed over to the medicine-men, who slay a black sheep on the spot where it was killed, as a sort of atonement for its death. The crocodile's blood kneaded up with mud, its hide, teeth, and claws, are used as talismans (Merensky, Beitraege zur Kenntniss Sud-Afrikas, Berlin, 1875, 92, 132). These usages and others that might be named probably indicate the influence of totemism under the social and political influences dominant on the central plateau of South Africa. Among more certain evidences of still existing totemism is the practice of addressing the chief of a clan as the animal itself. The term of Khana, the famous chief of the Bechuana, is taken from the antelope. If one were in agreement with something he had just said, it would be highly respectful to reply, "Yes, Duyker." Similarly it would be proper to say to the chief of the Bakhuza, "Yes, Crocodile" (W.C. Willoughby, in J.A.F. xxxv. 301). No one dares to eat the flesh or clothe himself with the skin of the animal whose name he bears. Even if this animal be hurtful, as a lion for instance, it may not be killed without great apologies being made to it, and its pardon being asked. Purification is necessary after the consumption of such sacrilege (Casalis, 211). The great oath of the Baperi is that of ka noku, "by the porcupine," because the majority of them sing, to use the consecrated phrase, intimating that they fear, worship, or revere that animal. When they see any one maltreat that animal, they afflict themselves, grieve, collect with religious care the quills, if it has been killed, spit upon them, and rub their eyebrows with them, saying, "They have slain our brother's brother, or on one brother, him the song." They fear they will not eat the flesh of one (Arbousset, An Exploratory Tour to the N.E. of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Lond. 1832, 176).

Most of the central tribes practised circumcision. The ceremony is performed upon boys about the age of puberty. It takes place at intervals of time which depend on the number of candidates. The lads who are to be subjected to it are gathered into a hut, where they have to reside for several weeks, and where they are initiated into the traditions of the tribe and the duties of manhood. When they are at length released, they issue with the rights of adult and fully qualified members of the tribe. Among some tribes, such as the Basuto of the Transvaal, the 'schools," as they are often called, are spread over three periods, held at intervals of three years; but they are more usually completed in one term. The discipline undergone by the candidates is intended to harden them and develop their endurance and self-restraint. In regard to sexual matters, it is the reverse, and we should consider moral. The actual performance of circumcision is not an original or necessary part of the initiation ceremonies. Though ancient among many of the tribes, it has only recently been introduced by necessity, and is still rejected by others. Among the Barongs it falls into
desuetude in the early years of the last century; and Chaka, the great Zula king, abolished it about the same time among the Zulus (Maclean, 94, 153; Alberti, De Kaafers, Amsterdam, 1846, p. 75; Journ. African Inst., 1882, i., p. 281; and Werner, 237, 295). The Basuto of Basutoland, the Bechuana, and many other tribes require a similar period of retirement and instruction to be undergone by girls before they are esteemed marriageable.

The Zulus, the Xosas, the Pondos, and other tribes of the south-east, observe the rule of exogamy. They are forbidden to marry members of the same clan, though belonging to different tribes. The rule, however, is breaking down (Theal, Kafer Folk-Lore, Lond, 1892, 198; Shooter, Kafer, Lond, 1892, 198). Among the tribes of the interior it has rarely been recorded. A somewhat similar rule forbidding marriage within the kin has recently, however, been noted by a German traveller as characteristic of the Batauanas, offshoot of the Bantu race inhabiting the Okawango marshland near Lake Ngami (ZE xxxvi. 704); and though it has escaped record, it is possible that it may be observed by others of the central and south-eastern tribes.

(b) Northern tribes.—Among the northern tribes, such as the Shoso or Bushmen, and also the Nyamuroro around the Victoria Nyanza, totemism is still a powerful part of the social organization. Sir Harry Johnston gives a list of twenty-nine clans in Uganda proper and its southern province of Buganda, named after various animals and vegetables. The object which serves as the name of the clan is in some way identified with the original founder, though there is no evidence that the clan is believed to be actually descended from it. It is held so far sacred that the members of the clan do not willingly destroy or eat it. The sacredness, though generally appreciated as an article of diet, is not killed or eaten by the Mambas clan; the elephant is not injured by the members of the Elephant clan; members of the Leopard or the Lion clan will endeavour to avoid killing the animal whose name they bear; and so on. The word used for ‘totem’ is mauro, ‘something tabooed or avoided,’ and is, Sir Harry Johnston declares, ‘a fair translation of the word totem (Johnston, ii. 587, 588, 604). The following is a list of the clans as thus distinguished. There is the opinion that there was no prohibition of marriage within the clan. More recent investigations, however, have resulted in a different conclusion; and it seems fairly certain that, whatever was the custom among the Banyoro, the Baganda and probably the Luwero, it has been a custom for them to take women from distant members of the same clan. As elsewhere, the kin is reckoned through the father, and has the consequent tendency to localize itself. Every family has its kindo, or place of origin; and the residents in a given village usually belong to the same totem. Circumcision and other initiation ceremonies appear to be unknown.

Meagre as our information with regard to the Uganda Protectorate, we know still less of the totemism of the other northern peoples. Father van der Burgt, to whose monograph we are indebted for all that we know of the Warumi of German East Africa, uses the word without any clear notion of its meaning. The goat, the wild boar, and the domestic fowl are not eaten, though the first and last are often killed in the Zulu. Mutton is not eaten by every one. Fish is not eaten, save on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. But whether these tabs are totemic we cannot say. The Warumi seem to count kinship through the father. He has the property, but occupies a much better position than among the tribes, and is the head of the house. In their indication is the same and there by Father van der Burgt point to an organization in clans. How far it is effective, and whether the clans are exogamous, does not appear. Circumcision is not practised. On puberty rites we have no information; but secret societies exist, and serpents and other animals are associated with them. Nothing, however, is really known of the facts.

On the Shire Highlands, between Lake Nyassa and the Zambesi, the Wayao and Mang’anja reckon descent through the mother. When a man marries, he settles in his wife’s village. He does not, as a rule, take a second wife while the first is living, unless he inherits her from his older brother or maternal uncle. When he dies, any property he may have which is not buried with him or consumed in the funeral feast and expenses devolves on his next brother, or failing younger brothers, on his eldest sister’s son, and so on (Macdonald, African, i. 187; Werner, 192). The Wayao are divided into exogamous clans. These clans appear to be totemic, but no list has been made of them. Each of them is said to have a seko, or tabu, with regard to some animal. The subject, however, still awaits investigation (Werner, 252). Girls and boys undergo initiation about the age of puberty. The retirement and ceremonies for a girl occupy about a month, for a boy about six weeks. A boy’s name is changed, and after he has gone through the mysteries it is not permitted to call him by his previous name. Among the Mang’anja only the girls undergo puberty rites. Their names are changed, like those of the Yao boys (Macdonald, op. cit. 1. 125; Werner, 123). The iridescent teeth of both sexes are chipped into saw-like points; but this does not appear to be done at the puberty rites.

The Awamba inhabiting North-Eastern Rhodesia between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Bangwoolo have totems which descend exclusively through women. The crocodile, the hoe, and the mushroom are stated to be totems. ‘But no special worship is paid to the crocodile, though the natives believe that the souls of the drowned migrate into the bodies of crocodiles’ (J.A.I xxxvi. 154). Our information is at present too meagre to enable us to judge how far totemism is still the basis of society.

(c) South-western tribes.—Turning to the Hereros in the south-west, we find a curious condition corresponding to the rule of exogamy which we have just noticed. Each conda has a totem, and nearly all of them a number of sub-totems. Most of the characteristics of totemism have, however, been taken over by the oruco, and are no longer observed by the omnanda. Thus the chameleon is considered sacred, and is regarded as a propitious omen to the nation. The members of the clan call it ‘Our Old Ancestor,’ and they will not touch it. The members of the oruco of the sun eat and drink only while the sun is above the horizon. The chief tabus of the oruco have been determined by domestic animals. The oruco of the chameleon prefer brown and especially piebald cattle; they neither keep nor eat sheep or oxen into the colour of which grey enters. Another oruco neither keep nor eat yellow or grey cattle; they are forbidden to eat the tongue or other part of the flesh of pack-oxen. The oruco of the Koodos not only eat no koodoo-flesh; they keep no cattle or sheep without horns or with mutilated horns; nor will they eat such as have lost their ears. At the death of a member of the clan no sacrifice is offered. Hence the characteristic of the clan is a dumb ox. Some, however, that of the ox with horns is wanting; but koodoo-horns are laid on the grave and by the sacred fire at the werf (‘village’). These tabus of domestic animals having certain colours and other marks, and of portions of animals, bear the wife, brother, and sister of the deceased. In an attempt to import into the oruco a distinctive series of observances parallel with, and yet different from, those which were pro-
bably characteristic of the *candu*, but which have now disappeared. The blood-feud, however, still attaches to the *candu*, and has not been transferred to the *tshangula*. It is now beyond the law to interfere with the *candu*, but the" evacuation was exogamous. At present the Herero prefers to marry within the circle of his relatives; but—significant exception—children of two sisters or of two brothers cannot intermarry. According to the Herero reckoning, they are themselves brother and sister. If children of two sisters, they would belong to the same *candu*; if children of two brothers, to the same *oruzo*. There appear to be no puberty-mysteries for either boys or girls. Circumcision is practised, but it is an individual rite, not performed for the most part at a very early age. The hair of a girl is excised from the back above the base of the head, is shaved in her eighth year. The lower front teeth of both sexes are broken out, and the upper teeth chipped into a pointed form, between their eleventh and fourteenth years. These appear to be relics of puberty-rites; but none of them are said to be performed collectively when the parents can afford the sole expense of the festivities usual on the occasion. Only from motives of economy are these rites now imposed

(d) Western or Forest tribes.—So far as our information goes, the vestiges of totemism among the Western tribes are few and uncertain—and this in spite of the fact that most of the tribes are still in the stage of mother-right. The prevalent tabus, especially those of food, however, point to a totemic origin. They are generally known under the name of *nzima*, *oruzo*, or *ozala* (compare the *tla* of the Bechuana), or some dialectic variation of one or another of those words. The Congo tribes inhabiting the lower reaches of the river as far inland as Stanley Pool call a tabu *mpangu*. These tabus are of two kinds. There is, first, the personal *oruzo*, observed by virtue of a vow by the individual concerned or of the directions of a medicine-man, or else promised and vowed, after divination, for an infant at birth, and sometimes expressed in his name. Many of these prohibitions are attributed to the direct commands of a *Nkcti* (tutelary god or ‘fetish’). Many are self-imposed as a religious observance in the absence of taboo laws. They are known as *tshangula*. Some are connected with a secret society, and are required of all its members. Natives are frequently named after animals; and such of the prohibitions as go with the name of an animal may have been taken over from totemism. The rest are perhaps due to the development of ‘fetishism’ and idol-worship (see §5).

The other kind of *oruzo* is observed by entire families. In Calabar, as we are told by a missionary, ‘certain kinds of food are forbidden by some judicial or custom of their own to families and persons bearing certain names’ (Waddell, *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, Lond. 1863, 309). Among the Bavi or Fydt in French Congo, the pig is forbidden to all royal blood; other families will not eat certain animals because their ancestors over such animals a debt of gratitude.’ The buffalo is forbidden ‘to the Bakatu, as a punishment to them for not listening to the words of Malaongo; the antelope to a family round about Faki, for refusing to give water to a voice in the bush when asked for it; fish of certain inland waters to certain people, near Cabinda, for not giving water to Nzambi (§ 7) and her child; and so on’ (Dunnett, *Folk. of the Fjort*, 10th ed., cf. Bastian, *LÄsungs-Künst*, 1, 186 f.). Du Chaillu, in *Equat. Afr.* (ed. 1861, 308). The word ‘family’ used by our authorities corresponds with little doubt to a clan tracing its membership through women, and, from the fact that the term generally indicates the prohibited food lends countenance to the belief that we have here a survival of a genuine totemic tabu. It seems, however, that by a curious exception, the totem, if totem it be, descends, among the tribes of the Lower Congo, always from father to son, though in other respects the tribes in question are in the stage of mother-right (Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, i. 263).

Further investigation is needed on this point.

The Barotse formed the concluding Western tribe on the upper waters of the Zambeze. They reckon descent through the father only, though traces linger of the earlier form of organization. Our information as to their food-prohibitions is very meagre. The members of the royal family are forbidden the flesh of the sheep and the goat. The pig seems more generally tabooed; and the young women abstain from a certain fish lest it render them sterile (Bégin, *Les Mo-Rotó*., Lanzanne, 1805, p. 124). But whether the latter prohibitions are confined to the Barotse themselves or apply also to any of their subject peoples does not appear.

More uncertain as a trace of totemism are the puberty-rites. Circumcision is very general, except among the Barotse; and though sometimes performed upon boys individually when they arrive at the proper age, and, indeed, among certain of the Upper Congo tribes a few days after birth, it is frequently, as in Angola, a collective rite, at which the boys who are subjected to it live for a month in seclusion under the care of a *nganga*, or chief woman. Some are connected with a secret society, and are required to undergo seclusion in a hut called ‘the paint-house,’ where they are instructed by an old woman in the duties of adult life, and whence they often do not issue until they are about to be married. But this is an individual rite. Secret Societies flourish among the Barotse, and certain of them have probably been introduced from the Negro tribes, and seem to be connected with the worship of special gods. Boys and often girls about the age of puberty are compelled to be initiated. They are taken away into the bush for a season and there instructed in the cult of the Society. Absolute obedience to its commands is required; and oaths of secrecy are imposed. So well are these kept that even converted natives refuse to speak of the rites. Consequently very little is known of them. As among many of the Australian tribes, it is believed by the uninstructed that the novices are killed and brought to life again. On returning to the village they feign ignorance of their language, and even of their nearest relatives and the most familiar objects of their daily life. ‘They appear dazed, and cannot talk. They want whatever they see, seize whatever takes their fancy. No one is allowed to resist, because “they do not know any better.” They behave like savages, eat and drink anything, and even food has to be masticated for them, so well do they act their part. After a few days the excitement and interest of the deception
wear off, and they gradually resume intelligence' (Bentley, i. 287). The Societies wield enormous political and social power, of which they frequently give public demonstration; and it is one of the main objects of civilized government to put the decay of the old superstitious structure that here, as elsewhere in the lower culture, they are a development of the puberty-rites arising on the decay of totemism.

Certain of the tribes also, both inland and on the coast, knock out the two middle front teeth in the upper jaw at puberty. The Muscogeecon, like the Hereros, chip all their front teeth into points (Decle, Three Years in Savage Africa, Lond. 1868, 81; Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, Lond. 1875, i. 522). The one or the other mutilation is common in Africa, and although generally connected with puberty cannot be reckoned as necessarily a relic of totemism.

The laws of marriage, so far as relates to prohibited degrees, have scarcely been investigated; but at all events some of the tribes forbid marriage within the clan, however remote the relationship according to our reckoning.

4. Worship of the dead and other spirits. Burial rites.—(a) Central and South-eastern tribes. The importance and continued vigour of the totemism of the Central and South-eastern tribes have been their pastoral and warlike habits. These have necessitated a higher social organization with father-right as its basis. As already pointed out, the change from mother-right to father-right tends to localize the clans, and to merge them in the local organization under the recognized head of the clan. The social and religious rites of each household are performed by its head; those of the tribe are performed by its head, who is generally chosen for the head of his people while living; nor does his power cease with his death. The very ancient and world-wide belief in the life after death leads to the conviction that the chief is still a chief; the father of a household still exercises his functions of owner, provider, controller, preserver, behind the veil that separates him from his survivors and descendants. No other life can be imagined for him; and the people over whom and for whom he exercises these functions are the same whom he ruled in his lifetime. The only difference is that the descendants in the former case are grand children, in the latter case children in the generation immediately following. In South Africa the tribe is often called by his name. Many a tribe credits its chief with extraordinary powers: he controls the rain; he gives or withholds plenty; he performs the ceremonies which give success in war. 'The chief,' says Meronsky, 'is the focus of witchcraft and superstition; he is the high priest of his people; and faith in his supernatural power is the strongest bond which unites his subjects to himself' (Beveridge, 116). Such an one receives in his lifetime a reverence hardly distinguishable from worship. That reverence is exalted and intensified by death. His powers are now released from many of their limitations, and are exercised in more terrible, because more mysterious ways. He becomes part of the tribal religion, for the moment the most prominent object of worship; and such he remains until his successor in his turn supplants him.

Ancestor-worship thus developed—worship of their ancestors by the members of a family, and of their deceased chiefs—is the religion of the Central and South-eastern Bantu peoples.

It is to the ancestors of the reigning chief, says M. Junod, especially in the Bantus of Barone; and sacrifices are always presented when the interest of the tribe and the future of the animal is concerned—in national calamities, in time of famine, drought, war, or a natural disaster. When it is desired to obtain from the divinities an abundant harvest. Their names compose the genealogy of the royal family. They are invoked one after another, and it is doubtless this religious practice which has established the division of the tribe into strict and wide circles, the becoming the protectors of the tribe. Moreover, each family possesses also its shrines of chikwemba (ancestral shrines), long houses which are the domestic shrines in which family pride is well developed, if the ancestors have been men of mark, and who, in their lives, have guarded the family tradition with intelligence, this family religion will be well developed (Les Ecorsons, 283).

As the ancestors of the chief are worshipped on national occasions, the ancestors of the family are worshipped on occasions of family interest, such as marriages, birth, death, or sickness, or any occasion of rejoicing, praying, or mourning.

The Central and South-eastern Bantu believe that the ordinary existence of the soul after death is led under the forms of parts of the universe (natural consequence of burial), often in villages like those on earth, and with cattle variously said to be entirely white or (among the Basuto) of a blue colour with red and white spots. But the dead retain the power of appearing in dreams, or of assuming the form of animals. Sometimes they enter into men and inspire them. They retain their human feelings, and desire to be remembered by their descendants and nourished by sacrifice. It would seem as if they were dependent for their nourishment on the welfare of those who have shown them comfort, on the continuance of their line. If they have no one to remember them and to offer sacrifices to them, they will be reduced to eating grasshoppers, and they will 'die of cold on the mountains.' This expression is perhaps not to be taken literally; but at least it indicates a state of extreme misery (Callaway, Rel. Syst. 145, 225; Arbousset, 257). Though worshipped, the dead are feared rather than loved. They are possessed of more than human power and knowledge, and are in danger of being angry with those who do not appease them, or who do not show them the necessary signs of respect, such as keeping the doors of the house open, or (/a) the door to the building in which the dead have been thrust is left open, and a bough of the best tree is put over it to prevent the dead from entering and destroying the household. For this reason they are out of danger, or to reveal medicines. sneezing is caused by the names; it is a sign that the spirit of an ancestor is with the man to help him. More usually, however, the visits of the dead are to demand sacrifice or to call the living. They often harass the living by their presence, and must be laid. The dead husband is jealous of his wife; and, before she marries another, the spirit must be laid, and she must be 'purified.' When the dead reveal themselves to their descendants, he referrera among the common people to their appearing in their own proper forms. When they appear otherwise than in dreams, it is as animals. Buffalooes, hippopotami, lizards, and even mice are mentioned among the arts of the Zulus to be manifestations of their dead. Among the Matabele and the Masbun the dead may be changed into animals such as elephants, bucks, lions, and so forth. Other tribes hold crocodiles or hyenas to be manifestations of their departed members. In fact, almost any animal may be credited with being an incarnation of the dead. But by far the commonest form assumed is that of a snake. Several kinds of such snakes are distinguished by the Zulus. Some of them are appropriated to deceased chiefs; others are incarnations of the common people; and one kind is shared by chiefness among with us (Callaway, op. cit. 190). All animals to which these beliefs attach are, of course, treated with respect; offerings are made to them; and they are never killed or injured.

In addition to animals, reference to the following paragraph, a sacred character attaches to the ox. The chief wealth of these tribes consists of their domestic cattle. The Zulu cattle-people, or cattle-herders, are considered in the centre of the village, and the human habitations are built round it in a circle. The Pendwe build their villages in horse-shoe form, with the kraal forming the circle of the village, and the cattle are scattered irregularly in a pensi enclosed on a hill-side, the longest occupying one side. In this way the kraal has its own circuit of the village; but in any case, the kraal
is the most sacred spot. There the chief of the village receives and feasts his visitors and people on great occasions; there he procures his wife for the winter; and when he dies, he is buried there. All public assemblies are held there, and all solemn rites performed. The burial of the chief in the kraal, where accommodation in some cases is found for the deceased, and the ceremony with the deceased. A Bechuana chief is frequently addressed as 'One who came forth from cattle.' Among the Basuto the same term is used (spirits, souls, souls of the noses.' Yet the cattle are not regarded with the reverence and fear which the animals previously mentioned enjoy. As domestic animals they are treated as the property of their owners; they are driven forth to pasture and back to their kraals for the daily requirements of the inhabitants; above all, they are killed for sacrifice and for food. Probably in the first instance, they were never slain except for sacrifice. But the mode of killing results in a fearful sight with the sight of the animals by the living members of the village or the tribe; and now among tribes like the Baronga the cattle are killed for food when the cattle are less valuable than the larger one, especially when to be slain. Sacrifice (Junod, op. cit. 300). Among the Bechuana and other tribes a bull or an ox is still offered on all important occasions. In extreme emergencies, the ordinary prayers for rain have been of no avail, the Bangamato offer an ox on the grave of a chief. On setting out for war the Bechuana sacrifice a bull with special ceremonies, and the contents of its stomach are carried before the host as a talisman of victory.

The same uninviting substance is exposed over warriors in the purification ceremony after returning from a fight; and chiefs who have quarrelled, meeting in a reconciliation ceremony, smeared it over one another's arms as a symbol of forgiveness. A Bechuana marriage the fat surrounding the entrails of the slaughtered bull is rubbed into 'medicine' on the shoulders and bosom of the bride. Among the Basuto an ox is sacrificed at a death, the corpse is buried wrapped in the skin where the heart and other grave utensils in the remains, the victim's stomach are placed on the grave. The ritual in all these cases indicates the sacredness of the animal; and many of the phrases and proverbs are connected with it (JAI xxxi. 331 ff.; Martin, Basutoland, London, 1903, p. 501.; Junod, op. cit. 209).

The origin and exact bearing of these practices are still under
determined. They are possibly to be traced to the special care and reverence with which cattle are thought to have been regarded by the deceased ancestors whose chief possessions they were, and who are held to incarnate themselves in, or to inspire them, from time to time. The Basuto phrase, although it has not been quoted, is said to be used because it is believed by the Basuto that the spirits of the departed take up their abode in a bull. In the Basuto cemetery (MRS. Cartwright, Proc. Z.S. 346). It would seem, however, that such possessions are to be distinguished from those previously referred to, being usually no more than temporary.

Some tribes are accustomed to bury their chiefs in a special burial-ground. The royal burial-ground of the Barongs are described as vast and almost impenetrable thickets. A small path hardly traceable leads into them, trodden only at intervals by the reigning chief, the descendant of the sacred line, for the purpose of sacrificing to his ancestors. To all others entrance is forbidden. We have seen in the illustrations that beneath barrows, on which are to be seen the dried and decaying remains of offerings, and often calabashes and other household utensils, broken and cast upon the grave at the time of burial. Naturally serpents abound in the underwood, which are probably deemed to be manifestations of the deceased. These cemeteries are invested with all the terrors of superstition; and awful tales are told of sacrilegious persons who have dared to pick the fruits of the trees, or even to cut a branch of dried wood for fuel (Junod, op. cit. 383 ff.). The kings of the Bavana are similarly buried with their ancestors in the holy grove. Formerly the body was laid on a low wooden scaffold and the flesh left to fall off; when the skeleton alone was buried. Kings are not said to 'die,' but to 'go away for a time.' At their graves sacrifice is offered from time to time. The altar consists of three stones fixed in the ground, in the centre of which a shrub, flower, or rock is placed. On top of this is placed the *modzismo* ('soul' or 'manifestation') of an ancestor; for among the Bavana the dead return into various objects, such as cattle, goats, sheep, or weapons and tools of the defunct, which are then held sacred. Sacrifice to the dead is common among the Barongs, at a chief's death his nails, hair, and beard are cut, and the cuttings are kn eaded up, together with some of the dung of the oxen slain at his death, into a ball, which is carefully surrounded with thong of hide. When his successor dies, a second ball is made and added to the first, and so on. The sacred object thus formed is called *molokolo*. This is highly respected as a sort of national palladium. It is placed in the custody of an officer, who is specially chosen for his calmness and sobriety. He becomes a sort of high priest of the tribe; and on all national occasions he offers the sacrifice and blesses the nation.

Regaining possession of the body is the most important ceremony. The cemeteries of these tribes are the *mndambu* before the eyes of the people (Junod, op. cit. 398). The Basuto of the Transvaal have sacred trees in which the *manes* dwell (Merensky, 132).

(b) South-western tribes.—Among the Heceros the worship of the dead is well developed. When a man dies, he is buried near a tree, or, if the chief of a *weft*, or village, in his cattle-kraal; cattle are slain, especially any supposed to be favourites of the deceased, cut to pieces, and cast away as offerings to him, the horns being taken to adorn the tree beside the grave. The *weft* is then abandoned and allowed to fall into decay. Nor do the people return, unless the deceased has himself expressed the wish to hear again after his death the love of his friends. But his spirit returns to rebuild the *weft*, they lament for the dead at the grave and address the *omukuru* ('deceased'): 'See, father! we are here, we thy children. See, we have done as thou hast ordered us. We have brought the cattle thou gavest us here, and so on. New fire is kindled on the old hearth, a sheep is slaughtered, of which all the people eat. Every son of the deceased then approaches the fire with a branch or a small tree. These are set up in a row half-way between the fire and the cattle-kraal. An ox is selected as the favourite son, and his body is eaten, for he, and his flesh is laid upon the grave. When it is thus consecrated at the grave, it is further consecrated by tasting by the sons of the deceased. Married men who have children are the only persons allowed to eat of this flesh. So long as these ceremonies are proceeding (apparently for some days), all milk must in the same way be consecrated by presentation at the grave, and a little of it is always left standing in a pail on the grave. Another ceremony is also performed, but it does not seem clear what it is. It is an offering to the rite. The eldest son, standing at the grave, personates his father, and pretending to be angry throws stones at the assembled people. At first they are frightened and flee, crying out, 'Our father is angry.' Our father fights! he returns to the grave and throws stones back. After a sham fight of this kind for a little while the *omukuru* is supposed to become quiet; and the son standing at the grave begins to speak in his father's name. He asks first about the cattle individually by name or colour, and then about the people. The people reply suitably to the questions (S. Afr. F. J. Journ, i. 55 ff.). Here we have beyond doubt the recognition of a new dignity with whom direct relatives on the one side and tutelage on the other are entered into. But he is not taken as a divinity in substitution for another. He is only the most recent of the *omukuru* or deceased ancestors, all of whom are regarded as powerful beings.

In the closest connexion with the worship of the ancestors is the sacred fire. The fire has been kept alive by the chief's hearth is between his hut and the cattle-kraal. The fire is in charge of his eldest unmarried daughter, who is responsible for keeping it alight. Its extinction is a cause of great regret to the people, and is celebrated by solemn offerings of cattle (Anderson, Lake Ngami, 223), and it must be looked on with consternation when the male and female ancestors. It is thus that the new fire is kindled at the ceremony just described. When, as sometimes happens, a portion of the population are driven off from old *weft* under the leadership of a son of the chief, a portion of
the old fire is taken with them; and if it go out, it must, if possible, be restoked by a brand from the old hearth; if not, then by means of the fire-sticks. Every child is presented a few days after birth with a sacred bundle of". The father then takes the child into his arms and gives it a name, calling upon his ancestors and presenting the child to them. If the child is male, a red cap, called a hair hat, and a sacred dance are performed. If the child is female, the nostrils of the nose have been bored, the child to whom the hole was bored forms the mother is re-admitted into her own house. The meat slaughtered at the festival when a youth is circumcised includes a live bull and a sacrificial sheep, which are brought to the sacred house where they are kept. The ceremony of breaking-out and cutting the teeth of children (§ 3) is likewise performed. In Uganda, Married women, however, are not circumcised. It is solely performed before the okuruo. The sick are carried round and round the sacred fire with a chant addressed to the okuruo, praying for the recovery (S. Afr. J. E. J. iv. 412; ibid. 195); Danner, 23, 45).

(c) Northern tribes.—We turn to the Northern tribes, first to the Protectorate of Uganda. Ancestor-worship is first described as "the foundation of such religions beliefs as are held by the Banyoro." Every clan has its own muchwezi (pl. bachwezi), or ancestral spirit, sometimes confused with the totem. The same word is applied to the priest or medicine-man who conducts the worship. The head of the clan is invested with the totem. Important members of the light-coloured Galla race which is dominant in these lands and, mingled with Bantu blood, now forms the Bahima aristocracy. The fearful thunderstorms common in the Protectorate are looked upon by the Banyoro as divinities called by the bahumi. Whosoever is killed by lightning his death is regarded as the manifestation of anger on the part of the bachwezi, either against him or his clan. A great ceremony is performed; the medicine-man is summoned to investigate the cause; and sacrifices are duly offered to appease the bachwezi (Johnston, Uganda Prot. ii. 585 ff.).

The religion of the Bahima, as we might expect from their Hamitic ancestry, is somewhat more developed. They have small huts, built close to the houses in every village, where offerings are made. Either in addition to the ancestral spirits, or as a special form of them, a number of beings are believed in who are looked upon as "devils" or evil influences, and who therefore require to be constantly propitiated. The Bahima worship their deceased chiefs and prominent persons in life, though they have "little definite belief in a future life on the part of any individual man or woman." Nevertheless, they are said to believe in a land of the departed, called mitoma, away to the east, which all Bahima go (Johnston, op. cit. ii. 631; Cunningham, 22).

The Baganda, now nominally either Christians or Muhammadans, formerly worshipped a number of ancestral and other spirits. Their religion appears to have been somewhat nearer to a genuine polytheism than that of their Western neighbours the Banyoro and Bahima. The most influential of their gods was Mukasa, who is believed by Sir Harry Johnston to have been originally "an ancestral spirit, and whose place of origin and principal residence was in the highest part of the Islands." He became in time the god of Lake Victoria Nyanza. He was propitiated by those making a long voyage. He and some of the other gods were provided with earthly wives in the persons of virgins, who were required to live chaste, though it is a question how far they complied with the requirement. Mukasa is, however, of uncertain sex, being often referred to as female. The highest god was the sky-god Kasoba, whose name is derived from a word signifying "sun." There were other deities of similar origin. The latter are an intrusive people, whose original seat was probably the Unango mountains between Lake Nyasa and the Mozambique coast, whence they were driven by pressure of other tribes from the north in the earlier half of last
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...century. They conquered the Mang'anja, ultimately settling side by side with them and intermarrying. The result was that they will fuse into one people. To that fusion their religion will offer no difficulties, for it is in all essentials the same. It is primarily a worship of the dead. The soul or spirit is called lisoko (pl. snisco). As usual in the lower culture, it is believed to depart from the body during sleep, and its adventures are the cause of dreams. At death it departs to return to the body no more. One of the words for 'spirit' is mabinu, obviously related to the Sechuana morimbo (p. 369). Just as a leopard, so a human spirit, for if the victim barimo, so among the Yaos suffers from madness, idiocy, or delirium are sa mosoka ('they of the spirits'). After death the lisoko is said to have 'gone to Mulungu'; it is even called mulungu. This word is used by the missionaries to translate 'God', for which it is no more the equivalent than is the Sechuana morimbo. But the fuller discussion of mulungu must be reserved for a subsequent section (see p. 369).

But the mulungu, the Yaos recognize other persons and objects of worship. Of these the chief is Mtanga, often identified with Mulungu. Mtanga is said to have pinched up the earth into mountains, dug channels for the rivers, and brought down the rain to fill them. He is associated with Mangochi, chief of the Yaos, and his early periodical groves, a north-easter of their present habitat, which the Yaos occupied until the middle of last century. He does not appear to be identified with Mangochi, but there is some evidence that tribes at a great distance worshipped remarkable hills. Some of these divinities seem to have been originally spirits of the departed. It is possible that some or all of them may have been local objects of worship, and in consequence of the removal of the tribe from its earlier seats they may have become more or less generalized in character and attributes. In any case a tendency is discernible on the part of the Yaos, as of other Northern tribes, to develop from ancestor-worship to polytheism (Macdonald, Africana, i. 38 ff.; JAI xxxii. 89).

The spirits are approached with offerings of native flour or beer, or of fowls or goats. These are presented at the shrine and left for the spirit's consumption. In the case of a goat, however, only one leg is usually presented, the remainder being eaten by the villagers themselves. Sometimes a piece of food is left at the foot of the tree. If tobacco, a quantity is put on a plate and set on fire; if for a horse, a new-hut is built for him. Offerings are made not only at the grave or shrine of a dead man. The first-fruits of the crops are placed in a rough shed outside the village or near the hut of the chief or head-man. Occasional small offerings of flour or beer are placed at the foot of the tree in the village courtyard where men sit and talk or work. On sitting down to a meal the man's head rests at the root of the nearest tree. On a journey a little flour is often laid at the foot of a wayside tree or at an angle where two roads meet. All these offerings are made to Mulungu, and the act is kalombo Mulungu, 'to worship Mulungu.'

The reigning chief is the priest of his deceased ancestors, and the head of a family is the priest of the departed of his family. When a man dies, he is buried in his own house, or in the forest. If he owned slaves, some of them are put to death or hung, and his body rests on their bodies in the grave. Valuables such as ivory and beads are ground to powder and put into the grave with him; food and drink are left upon the surface. If he is buried in his house, the house becomes a shrine or temple for his worship; otherwise it is broken down, but still considered sacred to him, and offerings are presented on the site. At a chief's death the village is abandoned by all events, for an offering is made to the deceased before hunting, for rain, for crops, and on other occasions. He manifests himself in dreams or in animal-form. A great hunter takes the form of a lion or a leopard; witches appear as hyenas; other spirits often appear as serpents. The chief's principal wife or some other woman is set apart as prophetess or oracle of the spirit. He inspires her at night; she becomes frenzied, and her ravings are heard all over the village. Sometimes she announces the demand for a human sacrifice. If the demand is not met, the victim is strung on a mountain, the victim is bound and left to be eaten by wild beasts or to die of hunger. If, on the other hand, the divinity's abode be near a lake or river, the victim is tied to a stone and thrown into the water.

In almost every Yaos village is found a shrine, consisting of a hut within a strong fence of cactus enclosing the grave of some chief. Such a shrine is regarded with awe. If the village be removed the old shrine should not be forgotten; periodical visits are made to it. On the occasion of a long journey or a warlike expedition, or in case of drought, prayers are offered to the deceased, and a feast is held, his successor or some other near relative officiating as priest. Slaves and common people are also regarded as objects of worship, and offerings are made in the thick bush, and no offerings are made to them, for they can have no influence in the spirit-world.

The Mang'anja bury in groves or thickets, called ndolungu, which often form landmarks; but important men may be buried in their own houses. Miss Werner describes one such grove visited by her. Pots of all sorts and sizes, each with a hole broken in the bottom, were scattered over the graves, and broken sifting-baskets, and handles of hoes or axes were laid upon them. Among the other graves was a body wrapped in a red mat slung from a pole supported between two trees—a case of what is called sub-aerial burial (Werner, 153).

Upwards of 500 miles to the north-north-west, in German territory, the Warundi hold beliefs in all essentials similar to those of the Yaos. The foundation of their religion is the worship of the dead. Father van der Burgt gives a list of thirty names of spirits distinct from the ordinary mons. Many of these are used only in a more general or collective appellations. One of them, Umungassa, little regarded by the Warundi, is, as the good Father points out, Mukasa, the god of Lake Victoria Nyanza venerated by the Baganda. Another, Rukuba, is said to be the name of the most ancient king of the Wahinda, the parent tribe of the Warundi. Others seem to be departmental spirits; but the natives are vague about the matter, and there is reason to think that some of them at least are local divinities on their way to a more general acceptance. Several are declared to be identical with Imana, who is spoken of in the same way as is Mulungu among the Wa-yao. The name Mulungu is found among the Warundi, but is not employed as that of an object of worship; Imana seems to take its place. Imana is vaguely said to make all, see all, and be able to do all; to give life, health, death, the fruits of the earth, and so forth. But there is no idea of creation, properly so called; at most Imana or one of the other spirits is an arranger, a transformer. The name Imana is, however, a collective name, like Mulungu (p. 365). Another spirit, Kiranga, often identified with Imana, receives most of the practical worship. As the name Imana is applied to the sacred grove or ancestral kraal of the King,
and to the king himself as invested with a religious character, so the priests and hierophants of Kirundi are named after his name and he is believed to inspire them.

The great national rite is the adoration of the sacred spear of Kirunga. It is performed at the birth of twins, in case of grave sickness, at a marriage, or on some other very important occasion. The chief priest, wearing a cap of tiger-catskin with the tail hanging down his back, and a tunic fringed with the skin of the oryx, grasped in his hands, six assistants. When the priest is a man, his assistants are women. But the priest may be a woman, in which case her assistants are men. Carrying burnished spears, these people dance gravely to a solemn chant. Then each, taking a little quantity of straw, bows before the spear, offering the straw with it. The part of the ceremony is performed, this rite, they quit the hut and go to the skitaho, or place of assembly, round every village. This consists of a bed of fine white earth with a yacaneiro, or altar, flanked by a circle of branches or stalks of manioc. Hither sick persons are brought to sleep and recover; dying persons are carried hither, and over them is read a formula ascribing their condition to the manes, or to witchcraft or other suspected cause. The skitaho is in fact sacred to the manes. At the adoration of the spear the opportunity is often taken to consecrate a new skitaho by the solemn planting of a young tree as its centre. After a certain time of silent rest at the skitaho from the fatigue of the rite, the hut is re-entered, one of the priests takes a winnowing basket, and, turning it upside down, pours water over it. He then recites the following: 'By striking this spear on the ground, so that drops of water are scattered round. This is a raincloud, and its shadow is the symbol of sacrifice, and the manes is sent down to the expectant people, who are meanwhile murmuring to the manes over a sacrifice of animal. shouted in, and each one drinks of it in turn. The assembly is then dismissed, and the chief priest is paid for his services with heads and a meal.

The Warundi also possess small huts or votive shrines dedicated specially to the mizezum (pl. of mumezum, the Kirundi form of the Sechuma moribone), or manes. Such huts are also dedicated with the adoration of the spear. The men eat beside the hut ritual food by way of communion with the manes, and what is left is put into the hut. A little beer is put into a pot, and the pot placed in the hut. Every time afterwards that the adoration of the spear takes place, a little food and beer are deposited in the hut. This is also done on other occasions; and it is believed that the manes often visit these huts, if they do not reside there. Heads of stones are also to be found by the roadside, to which every passer-by adds. These are to be dedicated to the manas. They may perhaps now be connected in the people's minds with the manes; but this must be considered doubtful, unless the statement be limited to the manes of the Watwa, a subject pygmy tribe, who, though having many customs in common with these, differ rather from them in this, that they keep a heap of stones over the grave, and plant a hedge of thorns around it. Such heaps are found practically all over the world, and are usually raised to less or more vaguely conceived local spirits.

The Warundi bury not by the roadside, but in the village. A father's grave is dug in the midst of his courtyard, opposite the door of the principal hut. A heap of stones is made over the grave, and on it are flung the door of the hut and the basket used to remove the earth from the grave. Before the body is buried, it is washed and anointed. The deceased anoints the head with butter, praying to the departed to be propitious to those who are left behind, to herself and to the children. The tumulus in the courtyard becomes a shrine, at which such rites as are judicially performed: prayers and sacrifices are offered, and the sick are laid upon it. When the king dies, his remains are wrapped in the skin of a black ox and desecrated at a fire. The body is then laid on a large seat fastened in the middle of his courtyard. The people come from all parts to pay homage to the deceased, to adore his manes, and to pray for favours. The body remains until the ants have eaten away the feet of the seat. It is then buried on the spot. Many of the chiefs and of the royal widows are sacrificed to the manes. The burial custom is accompanied by that of the dedication of the sacred spear, or plant, over the grave; and the royal kraal then abandoned becomes a sacred grove, haunted, mysterious, which no one enters but the official guardian whose duty it is from time to time to bring food and burn for the spirits. These groves are numerous, though the country is in general bare of trees. Tree-worship proper, however, can hardly be said to exist.

Elsewhere Father van der Burg tells us that, when the king or a member of the royal family dies, one of the deceased's generated sons or a result of putrefaction is said to be chosen and fed with milk. Hence we should infer that desecration is not invariably practised. The worm is then subsequently transformed into a lion, or in the case of one of the king's wives into a python, or in the case of a prince of the blood royal into a leopard. The spirit of the deceased is thought to reside in the animal. It is regarded as sacred; sacrifices are offered to it, and it must not be injured.

Sacrifices are usually composed of meat and porcine meal. Goat's blood and oxen are, however, also offered. A special kind of pipe with two bowls is smoked on certain occasions by the father or mother of the family as chief priest of the manes. This ceremony is a sort of offering.

At the head of the hierarchy of the Awemba stands Leza, the consideration of whose character and position is reserved for § 7. Inferior to him are the mibuny (a word obviously the same as mulegny of the Wa-yaso). The mibuny reside in hills, mountains, and rivers, and their chief function is to send rain and to fertilize the crops, for which they are worshipped with prayers and sacrifice. Another being with a similar name is Mulenga, the 'god' of the rinderpest, who is said to come periodically to wreak vengeance on chiefs who have not worshipped him with offerings of cattle. He is reputed to be the father of all albino children. The spirits of dead ancestors are called mipashi. They appear to be distinct from the mibuny, who, it is conjectured, are either the nature-spirits worshipped by the aborigines of the country before the Acome conquest and subsequently taken over by the conquerors, or mipashi of very ancient chiefs of the Awemba exalted to something like deity. At any rate, they now bear the characteristics of nature-spirits, haunting prominent natural objects as the banks of rivers such as the great river, or the resort of the mipashi. The spirit of the head of each family is worshipped inside the hut, at the hearth. The mipashi of chiefs are worshipped at the thickets or groves which are the royal burial-places. Occasionally they take the form of a python. More usually they communicate with the living by appearing in dreams, or by 'possession.' There is another class of spirits called viblonda, which are regarded as malicious. They appear to be spirits of deceased wizards and other malcontents. These are called the mibwa (wizards), of whom more hereafter (p. 363).

Burial takes place in a thicket or grove near the village where the deceased lived. The corpse is rolled in a mat in the crouching position common in the hunter culture. Flour is sprinkled over the body and then over the grave. After the body has been lowered into the grave, the nearest relative is let down and cuts a hole in the mat, over the ear of the deceased, that he may hear when God [presumably Leza] calls him. One of the relatives then makes a speech (probably to the deceased), promising that they will take care of his wife and children, and expressing the hope that he will become a good spirit in the next world (see § 7).

Food, calico, and his pipe are buried with the corpse.
If he was an iron- or ivory-worker, his implements are broken over the tomb. When the late king died, two of his wives were instantly sacrificed. The body was then shut up in his principal hut until the funeral, which could not take place before his successor was appointed and had given permission for it. The bodies of the wives were paraded before the tomb, unobscured between the eyes with a club, and left for dead. Those who survived were not afterwards troubled, as they were declared to be unhealthy to the dead chief's spirit. When a chief of the Wabisa (one of the tribes subject to the Awemba) was buried, only his head-wife was killed. Her body was split in two, the bones of the chief were put inside, and so buried. The successor offered libations and sacrifices to his predecessor's nyampani.

(d) Western tribes.—One of the chief elements in the religion of the Western tribes is the fear of the spirits of the dead; but seeing that mother-right still prevails, it has not become so highly organized as in the Eastern tribes (Central and South-eastern tribes). Dr. Nassau distinguishes five kinds or classes of spirits:—

1. Inina (Mpongwe; pl. minina) or Inina (Benga; pl. malina), a human embodied soul. This appears to be the idea of an ancient native philosophy, each spirit or soul being of two, three, or even four. Of these is the first the body-soul or animal-soul, which dies with the body; the second is the personal soul, which survives death; the third is the dream-soul, which leaves the body during sleep and whose adventures are the dreams; the fourth is 'vaguely spoken of by some as a component part of the human personality, by others as separate but closely associated from birth to death, and called the life-spirit.' Worship is paid to the last by its possessor, and it seems to be looked upon much in the light of a genius or guardian angel.

2. Ibambo (Mpongwe; pl. abambo), the spirits of ancestors, as distinguished from the spirits of strangers. The ibambo is regarded with superstitions dread, like a European ghost.

3. Ombwiri (Mpongwe; pl. awiri), a localized spirit, spoken of by Dr. Nassau with the expressions and olapa mentioned below as all coming from the spirits of the dead. The ombwiri has its seat on a rock, tree, or mountain-top, or in a cavern or some such place. It resents trespass, and passers-by are supposed to hear some communication with it, if it be only a pebble or a leaf. It is also regarded as a tutelary spirit; and almost every man has his own ombwiri, for which he provides a small house or shrine. Ombwiri is also regarded as the author of everything in the world which is marvellous or mysterious. Any remarkable feature in the physical aspect of the country, any notable phenomenon in the heavens, or extraordinary event in the affairs of men (as)cribed to Ombwiri. He has no priest, 'his intercessory voice is heard near the dead.' He is always direct and immediate.' Souls of great chiefs and other important persons become awiri. White men are themselves awiri. Awiri are in general well-disposed, especially to their human kindred. They are greatly by these with worship; and among the special bonds they grant is the gift of children. They continue to dwell in the district of their own people even if the latter remove, when they remain on the old site and enter into relations with any new-comers who may occupy it. A man is regarded as highly lucky who has many awiri on him. When the last bearers of an ancient tribe died, the smaller and inarticulate during the cold dry season. (4) Nkinda (pl. sinkinda), a class partly consisting of spirits of common people deceased, partly of uncertain origin. Sinkinda are usually evil-disposed. They enter the bodies of living persons, causing disease, or, if many of them enter, raving or de-
sickness. For any important person, dances are held from time to time as a gratification to his spirit. Priests, Bertrand, killed, are in tune with the gods and songs are sung in praise of the deceased. Wailing, rending of garments, and other signs of woe are practised in abundance. When anything untoward happens of which the cause is unknown, it is put down to the spirit, and prayers are made with offerings of food and drink at the grave, that the spirit may cease from disturbing the survivors, and bless them instead. The usual inquiry is held as to the cause of death, and the person accused is compelled to disprove the charge of witchcraft by the performance of a ‘sorcery’ (Delec, 74; Bertrand, The Kingdom of the Barotse, London, 1899, 278). The deceased monarchs are the principal divinities. They are called dito. The town where a king has lived has a sacred grove added to it, by his maid servants, and to which he adds mats; and in that grove is his tomb. It is kept scrupulously clean and tidy. At every new moon the women piously sweep both the tomb and its approaches, as well as the village itself. The custodian of the tomb is a kind of priest; he may enter the immediate presence of the divinity; he is an intermediary between the latter and those who come to pray. No others are allowed to enter the grove. Even the reigning king, when he comes to consult the ancestor who reposes there, must remain without; he must make known his request to the custodian, deposit his offering, and await the result of his petition. The dito are considered in case of sickness, drought, and public calamity of various kinds. In 1896, when the cattle-plague swept through the continent, the Barotse Baratsi responded to their dito; and it is curious that their cattle escaped the pestilence, thereby greatly adding to the prestige of the dito. No one thinks of passing by the shrine of one of these divinities without leaving an offering, however poor; for every one wants to make the prosperous journey, or to render thanks on a safe return (Bégún, 120). An ordinary chief is usually buried, as among the Zulus, in his cattle-kraal. A father's grave, we are told, is respected and visited by his offspring on certain occasions (Bertrand, 278), probably for purposes of worship.

5. Idols.—Among the Central, South-eastern, and South-western tribes idols are unknown. The objects which have sometimes been described as idols are merely dolls. Most of these dolls are no more than crude representations, made simply by women as amulets to produce children. A sort of amulet or fetish is made, as already mentioned (p. 356), by the Baronga at a chief's death, of portions of his exesia. Among the Northern tribes idols are of the rarest occurrence. The sacred spear of the Venda and Zulu is a fetish, as is also the knobbed axe of the Bushmen. The Eastern Barotse and Northern Rhodesia are said to conjure the spirit of the dead into a doll or image composed of small pieces of wood enclosing a tiny box made of the handle of a gourd-cup; the whole is bound round with cord and turkou, and afterwards receives the prayers of the survivors. Elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Lulua Tanganjika, the habitation of the disembodied soul is a carved human image. It is set up in or near a village, and prayers and sacrifices are addressed to it (P.L. iv. 01). An image of a god is reported on an apparently god-authority to have existed at Mwarul, tended by priestesses, who were called the wives of the god. This seems to require further investigation. Among the Western tribes the case is different. As has been already (3 4) noted, images and idols in the white man's sense of the word are of two kinds, protective and imprecatory. The protective class consists of wooden human figures (frequently ithyphallic) and objects of various other substances and shapes. Some of them are regarded as personal beings; or, at least, as possessed of an indwelling spirit; others are mere amulets. When one of the former is made, a man (or, according to the kind of fetish, a woman) who is a member of the family for which it is made is chosen as its custodian and spokesman. A cere- mony of consecration is performed by him, in which the spirit, or voice, is supposed to enter the spokesman's head. The spirits of such fetishes are said to be brought by one or other of the winds. The imprecatory fetishes consist entirely of wooden figures, generally human, into which nails are driven from time to time, in which they are therefore known as nail-fetishes. Into every one of these fetishes the spirit of some known person is conjured when it is made. It is first decided whose spirit is to be secured. The nyanga then goes with a party into the bush and calls out the name of the doomed man. Having done that, he proceeds to cut down a tree, from which it is believed that blood gushes forth. A fowl is killed, and its blood is mingled with that of the tree. The fetish is shaped from the trunk and the person named dies, certainly within ten days; his spirit, in fact, is thereafter united with the fetish. The nail-fetish is used for two purposes. Oaths are sworn by it; the person swearing calls upon it to kill him if he do or have done such and such a thing; and he thereupon brings a suit in the Court (and it is held that, by virtue of the oath, or lawsuit) the fetish is brought out, and each of the parties strikes it, thus imprecating death upon himself if he do not speak the truth. The other purpose for which nail-fetishes are used is to call down evil upon the enemy. The effect is said, however, to be upon himself only, not upon the enemy; and it is supposed by the enemy that a nail has been driven into it. The palaver is then settled, so far as he is concerned. 'The kutu (spirit) of the man whose life was sacrificed upon the cutting of the tree sees to the rest' (Dennett, Black Man's Mind, 85 ff.). Numerous examples of the nail-fetishes are to be seen in European museums, of which the finest, perhaps, is one called 'Marungu,' left by Miss Kingsley to the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford. The nail-fetishes, however, because used for purely impre- catory purposes, are regarded quite differently from all other objects of prayer or supernatural beings. They are connected in the minds of the people with hostile magic rather than with religion. Their priests form a class apart.

6. Priests, medicine-men, diviners, and sorcerers.—At the head of the Zulu and other Bantu tribes.

Among the Central and South-eastern tribes sacrifice is usually offered by the living head of the family or tribe to his ancestors. But there is an order of men some of whom among certain tribes are charged with both duty and responsibility. These are now superseded as far as possible by the law of the white man, are commonly called witch-doctors or medicine-men. Among the Bavenda they are divided by a recent observer into nine
distinct classes, viz. (1) rain-makers; (2) witch-finders; (3) medicine-doctors; (4) a class whose duties involve a knowledge of witchcraft. Further, warriors invulnerable; (5) women who, armed with a calabash-rattle, foretell fortune or misfortune; (6) another kind of medical practitioners who cure illness by sucking the evil out of the patient's body; (7) a third kind of medical practitioners which is divided into two branches: (8) the further kind who undertake the cure of the sick by dancing during the night; (9) family or clan priests, called chef (sing. & pl.). The head of each clan or family chooses his chef, whose duty it is to seek the welfare of the clan at the beginning of the year, who speaks with the divine ancestors, and brings their answers to mankind. The chef of the Bwanda king is a woman, his eldest sister or nearest female relative. In all other cases it is a man. The generic name of all these classes is dzismanda (sing. dzemanda). The word dzema is common to many of the Bantu tongues, and means in strictness a man who is skilled in any particular matter (Callaway, op. cit. 131). The Zulus have a class of dzemanda who are chieftains. The northern tribes, in common business it is to make rain and drive away lighting and hail, a third who practise medical magic, and so forth. To become a diviner a man must be entered by the amonango (amanza). They are said to "walk in his body." He complains of pain, coughs, or vomits. The Uganda Protectors are called, equally with the ancestral spirits whose worship they conduct, bakwezi. They combine the functions of priest, sorcerer, and witch-doctor, and each clan seems to rejoice in one such accredited official. But there are also private practitioners in black and white magic. The Bahima aristocracy have a profound belief in witchcraft. The country of Ankole used to be continually agitated by the 'smelling-out' of witches and wizards, and their execution. The Hima medicine-men collect a certain grass, of which they make hay. This hay is put into a jar of mead, banana-wine, or sorghum-beer, and left for twenty-four hours in one of the small huts or shrines already (§ 4) described. The liquor is afterwards removed, and drunk, as a medicine. It also make little effigies or cubical pieces of wood, over which they mutter incantations, and then sell them for amulets, especially to persons who are troubled with sickness or bad dreams (Johnston, Uganda, ii. 588, 631). Among the Baganda the priests of gods and ancestral spirits were termed bamaenda. They wore aprons consisting of little white goat-skins, and were adorned with amulets. They were also diviners. If a man was travelling, and wished for news of his parents and his wife, he went to the manda, who, furnished with his nine cowry shells sewn on a strip of leather, would with this strip make the sign of the cross and fling it before him, and then, if inspired, would reply to the questions. The cross is employed for reading the priest before the introduction of Christianity. Besides the priests there were three classes of 'doctors' in Uganda, viz. (1) musuzo, a physician, skilled in herbs and the treatment of ulcers, wounds, and skin-diseases; (2) mulogo, a sorcerer; (3) musambuto, a poisoner. The mulogo is reputed to travel about at night stark naked, a disembodied spirit at all events in some respects, and in his own belief as well as in that of others. If, in this condition he dance at midnight, before a lighted plantation, the fire will wither and the fruit shrivel. He is said to exercise mesmeric influence over weak-minded people. 'He is used as a detective of criminals' (presumably a 'smeller-out'), and for casting love-charms or secretly injuring an
Divination is practised by professors of the art similar to those among other Bantu tribes. The belief in witchcraft presents no special features. When sickness occurs, a medicine-man is called in to counteract the sorcery, though various vegetable remedies are known, as well as bleeding and cautery.

Ordeals are used by the Bantu in order to discover the witch. The dead bodies of such as are convicted of sorcery are left unburied.

The Awamba king was the chief priest of the milungu and of his ancestors, though the management of the ritual was generally left to the basing-anu, or witch-doctors, under the supervision of the regular priesthood. Their main function was to interpret the will of the milungu and the mupishi (p. 339\(^a\)), and to combat the evil enchantments of the sorcerers. They named children at birth, superintended the sacrifices, tended the sick, and charmed away diseases by divination and their amulets' (J.A.I. xxxvi. 153). Their office was not hereditary. Most of the old people claimed to be basing-ang\'", by virtue of their position as the oldest members of the family.

There is a class of women who assert that they are possessed; they rap and bound with a staff, and are described as stones at times, and are regarded with great veneration. It need hardly be said that sorcery is an article of belief. The reidishi (wizards or sorcerers) are reputed to compass, by means of witchcraft, the death of anybody who comes under their ban. They and the alone worship the vibanda (p. 339\(^a\)), who impart to them instructions, "medicines," and power to change into predatory wild beasts. Wizards are sometimes possessed by vibanda (J.A.I, loc. cit.).

Turning to the Western tribes, we have already mentioned the nganga in treating of the nail-fetishes (p. 361\(^b\)). The other zinganga (pl. of nganga)—at any rate, among the Bavlili—form a hierarchy, at the head of which is the king; some of them are attached to special divinities or sacred groves. As might be expected, many of them officiate not merely as priests, but also as physicians; for disease and misfortunes of all sorts are held hereafter, as elsewhere, to be due to more than what we call natural causes. The nganga, therefore, treat the sick, and, in like manner among the other branches of the Bantu race, provides preventive 'medicines' intended to avert danger from witchcraft, weapons, wild beasts, and other possible fatalities. He also divines the origin and remedy for sickness, and occupies an important position in the tribe. After prayer and dancing, 'a large jar of water was brought and placed before the chief; first Mhudzi (his sister) washed her hands, arms, and face; then water was poured over her by another woman; then all the women rushed forward with caskets in their hands, and, dipping them into the jar, threw the water into the air, with loud cries and wild gesticulations.' Amulets and 'medicine' of different kinds are used for various purposes, offensive and defensive, protecting priests against crocodiles and other fierce animals, to assist hunters, warriors, thieves, and so forth; and objects are buried to bewitch, or at least they are discovered by diviners in the process of 'snelling-out.' These practices, however, offer no striking peculiarity (Warner, 56, 76, 80).

Among the Warundi the father or mother of the family acts as priest of the mores. Other objects of worship are served by special priests. The chief of these is Kiranga. As we have seen (p. 359\(^a\)), his priest may be either a man or a woman, who is called by the same name as the divinity, and is held to be inspired by him. A Kiranga is made in one or other of three ways: (1) by inheritance; (2) by being struck by lightning; or (3) by inspiration or possession during the adoration of the sacred spear.

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*Note:* The provided text is a transcription of a portion of a historical document discussing the religious practices and beliefs of the Bantu people, particularly focusing on divination and witchcraft among different tribes. The text includes references to specific practices, rituals, and beliefs, providing a detailed look into the cultural and religious aspects of these communities.
of speculation. The Zulus speak of Unkulunkulu as the first of men, the man who in some way brought men into existence. But they are by no means agreed as to how he did so. He himself is said to have sprung out of a bed of reeds. It is not clearly expressed in this version of the legend, but so far as it can be understood, it means that he began life as a primitive man, or a child of nature. Every clan has its own Unkulunkulu, and the word is ordinarily used as equivalent indifferently to our 'great-great-grandfather' and 'great-great-grandmother' (compare the $n$uku of the Bakulu, pp. 360, 361). Unthlanga is another name frequently cited as that of a Zulu creator. The word means a reed, and is metaphorically used for a source of being. Thus a father is described as the Unthlanga of his children, from which they strode or broke off as the offsets from a reed. Unkulunkulu, in the sense of First Man, is sometimes used to have been got by Uthlanga; in such a case Uthlanga is regarded as his wife. Umdlaboko (from ukudlabuko, 'to be broken off') is a third expression, sometimes used in a personal sense as 'the lord or chief who gives life,' and identified with Uthlanga. It marks the power of the peoples of the world, the central, supreme, overruling Providence. There are traditions of a lord, or chief, in heaven. Bishop Callaway, however, after a most patient inquiry, came to the conclusion that in the native mind there is hardly any notion of Deity, if any at all, wrapt up in their sayings about a heavenly chief. 'When [this expression] is applied to God, it is simply the result of [Christian] teaching. Among themselves he is not regarded as the Creator, nor as the Preserver of Men, but as a power' (Callaway, p. 121). The meaning of these inquiries among the allied tribe of the Baronga is to the same effect. The problem of creation does not trouble theonga mind. But the word Tito, 'Heaven,' ordinarily applied to the sky, embraces a much vaguer, vaster, but quite embryonic notion. As such it means a place, and more than a place, a power which manifests itself in thunder or in portents such as twins. It is called 'Lord,' but is regarded for the most part as essentially impersonal.

(b) Central tribes.—The religious beliefs of the inland tribes have never been the subject of inquiry so systematic and minute as that to which Callaway subjected the beliefs of the Zulus. But the evidence, so far as it goes, concerning the Basuto and the Bechuana is to the same effect. There is a word common to these and other tribes of the interior which has been adopted by the missionaries to translate 'God.' It was adopted many years ago before the native ideas were fully understood; and it is now too late to displace it, although, as it turns out, it was an unfortunate choice. That word is, in its Sotho form, Morimo. It means a ghost or disembodied spirit, and it has a strong flavour of malevolence. 'Morimo,' says Moffat, 'to those who know nothing about it, had been represented as a malevolent solo or thing.' Arbourès declares: 'All the blacks whom I have known are atheists, but it would be difficult to find amongst them a pestilence.' This seems contradictory. What he probably means is that individuals might be found, though he had not met them, who had the notion of a Sotho or Sãmilantu, who sends pestilence, and so on; 'Their atheism, however, does not prevent their being exquisitely sensible of the harm done to them by the influence of their ancestors, whom they call Barino, or in the singular Morimo' (Arbourès, 30). Barino beyond doubt means the ancestor, a substitute for dying 'soul' or spirit, or one deliberate or talking foolishly, is called Barino, that is, one possessed by one or more of the ancestors. There is another word in the same sense, associated with the term 'ancestral gods,' and which is used in the Sesuto phrase above translated, 'Morimo.' In the tongue of the tribes of the Eastern Transvaal, Modzimo, which is a dialectic form of Morimo, means 'nothing else but the totality of the good souls of their ancestors, who have not been gods (malevolent sorcerers), with the founder of their tribe as head, and the living chief as living representative. Besides this Modzimo, of which the plural is corresponding to Barimo, meaning the single souls of their ancestors, they also have Medzimo (corresponding to Merino), another plural of Modzimo, which denotes the many objects on earth which have been made the visible representatives of the ancestors of each clan and family. Among these Medzimo objects are, 'cattle, goats, sheep, or weapons and tools of old dead ancestors.' 'Even shrubs, flowers, or rushes, we are told, 'may be created Medzimo' ('Afri. xxxvii. 426). Besides the Modzimo, the Bavena are said to have a dim idea of a Creator, whom they call Kosana, and who no longer interferes with the affairs of the world. He has left the business in the hands of another divinity named Radlowimba, who is the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil. Radlowimba is much feared, and in everyday life the people pray to him, though the two annual sacrifices at ploughing and at harvest, and sacrifices ordered by the witch-doctors on account of illness or calamities, are offered exclusively to Modzimo. There is a third deity named Thovela, the protector of pregnant women and unborn children, and of the stranger and visitor travelling through the country. The Bavena have a tradition that they are immigrants into the Transvaal from another country. Their language points to their affinity with the Great Lakes, the idea has been entertained that they came from the Lower Congo (ib. 378, 385). The belief in the gods just mentioned is quite different from that of the more southerly tribes, and it seems to need more extended inquiry. All attributions, for example, to savage and barbarous peoples of belief in a god who dispenses rewards and punishments after death are to be received with great caution. Such statements are generally foreign to their religious ideas, and on close examination are discovered to be founded on a misinterpretation of their traditions.

(c) South-western tribes.—The Herero word used by the missionaries to translate 'God' is Muku—"a choice as unfortunate as the others we have noted, since it is the same word as that used for a deceased father or person of importance who has attained quasi-divine honours. When the Hereros entered what is now German territory, they found in possession of the country, besides the Bushmen, a people called the Ovamb, or Hill Damara. The Ovamb are, unlike the Hereros, a peaceful and retiring people, and are probably earlier Bantu immigrants considerably mingled with Hottentot blood. In common with the Ovamb, the Hereros have a word, Kalungu or Karungu, which seems to be etymologically related to the Zulu word Unkulunkulu. Kalungu is said to be the name among the Ovamb of a mythical being who gives fertility to the fields, and kills only very bad people. He has, according to Ovamb tradition, a wife named Musisi, and two children, a girl and a boy. He lives in the ground near the chief village. In one tale it is related how he came up from the earth and 'created' from omu ('little things') which he set up three couples, the ancestors of the Ovamb, the Bushmen, and the Hereros. His residence in the ground, and the fact that the word musisi is the singular of aasiis, the spirits of the dead, point to his being a deified ancestor. This identification is the more probable if it be the fact, as reported by the missionaries, that the Hereros hold Muku, Musisi, and Karungu to be one and the same. Yet, according to another missionary, Karungu is to be distinguished from the ovakuru, and never was a human being. On the whole, the same vagueness and uncertainty on these subjects as in the case of the Central and Eastern tribes is characteristic of the Ovamb and Hereros. Their practical interest is centred in
the evakura, to whom alone they offer sacrifice, though the Hererds sometimes cry to Karanga for help in danger, and on the occasion of a violent thunderstorm they pray to Karanga and Musise to go away and leave them in peace. According to their legend of origin, the human race is to be traced to a tree called Onumarobomonga, near Ondonga, out of which a man and woman came in the beginning (S. Afr. F. L. Journ. 1, 67, ii. 88 ff.).

(d) Northern tribes.—Dr. Bleek, whose etymology has been generally accepted, connects with Kalunga and Unkulunkulu a word we have already found in use among several of the Northern tribes, and translated by the missionaries as 'God.' That word, Mulungu, is applied by the Yao-yao to the human tsaba (p. 358) when regarded as an object of worship or as an inhabitant of the spirit-world. But it is also used to denote that spirit-world in general or, more properly speaking, the aggregate of the spirits of all the dead. The plural form of the word is rarely heard, unless when the allusion is made to the souls in their individualities. . .

The untaught Yao refuses to assign to it any idea of being or personality. It is to him more a quality or faculty of the human nature whose significance he has extended to cover the whole spirit-world. . . Yet the Yao approaches closely to the idea of personality and a personal being when he speaks of what Mulungu has done and is doing. It is Mulungu who made the world and man and animals. . . Mulungu is also regarded as the agent in anything mysterious. "It is Mulungu" is the Yao exclamation on being shown anything that is beyond the range of his understanding. When it thunders Mulungu is speaking; and the rainbow is Mulungu's bow. Mulungu is sometimes represented to the Yao in various places in the spirit-world. He arranges them in rows or tiers. If, however, we consider the various applications of the name and the usages connected with it, and compare it with the Zulu Unkukumila and the Tonga Tilo, we are compelled to the inference that there is a very small element of personality in it. It is vague, and essentially impersonal. When a missionary endeavoured by means of it to convey to a Yao the idea of a personal God, such as Christians entertain, the latter answered, "It is difficult to speak of the Mulungu (Mr. God!); as if without the personal prefix it meant something quite different to him (JAF xxvi. 94; Macdonald, i. 67)."

The Mang'anja are acquainted with the word Mulungu, which in their dialect is Moringu. But the word they generally use for the same conception is Mpambu. Mpambu is invoked for rain. In some parts the word is reported as meaning thunder, and sometimes lightning. Among the tribes of the coast Munganu or Mulungu seems to mean 'Heaven,' and thus to correspond with the Tonga Tilo (Krapf, Sudahli Dict., Local. 1882, s.v.). Molonka, which appears to be the same word, is the name given by the Batonga on the banks of the Zambezi to that river (Thomas, Eleven Years in Central S. Africa, 57)."

The use of the word Mulungu by the Warundi and Avenba has been explained in § 4. The latter people acknowledge, but do not worship a vague being, in some sense supreme, called Leza. He is said to be the judge of the dead, dividing their souls into good and evil, and assigning them to the spirit Mijanshi, which is the goddess of good spirits. This recalls the Yao representation of Mulungu as arranging the dead in tiers. Probably neither statement is indigenous to the Bantu mind. The name of Leza is invoked only in blessings, or by those in awe of witchcraft or other serious crimes, required to undergo is said to be regarded as an appeal to Leza. In any case he is not anthropomorphic, and receives no direct worship; he is little if anything more than a name.

Further still to the north the Bahimna have no clear idea of the animal's field and into the trees. According to their legend of origin, the human race is to be traced to a tree called Onumarobomonga, near Ondonga, out of which a man and woman came in the beginning (S. Afr. F. L. Journ. 1, 67, ii. 88 ff.).

But the thunderstorm. Whether the Baganda recognized any Supreme Being is at least doubtful. It appears from the foregoing account of the beliefs of the Northern tribes that, while among none of them, so far as we know, is there, any more than among the Central and Southern tribes, a definite idea of a Supreme Being, there is a tendency towards polytheism. Many, indeed, of the tribes recognize and have entered into relations of worship with beings so much above mankind, either living in the flesh or in the state of disembodied spirits, that they may fairly be described as gods (see § 4). Whether these gods have been developed, as Sir Harry Johnston and others think, from ancestral names, or owe their origin to local spirits, or to vaster, more vaguely conceived nature-spirits, is a very difficult question.

(e) Western tribes.—Nature-spirits at all events seem to play their part in the religion of the Western tribes (§ 4) that localized spirits are commonly known.

According to the belief of the Bavili (if we may trust Mr. Dennett's exposition in his book, At the Back of the Black Man's Mind, the world as conceived by them is filled with Baki Boci (pl. of Nkici Ci). This phrase he translates as 'speaking powers on earth.' To these Baki Boci a number of sacred groves, which are known by their various names, are dedicated. Various kinds of trees and animals are also held sacred, or Baki Boci. All the gods that the people of the West in addition reckon sacred, and the representatives of all the different families owning sacred ground within the kingdom are Baki Boci. One of the titles of the king is Nkici Ci; and he is said to be regarded as the product and final effect of the Baki Boci. Certain of the Baki Boci, such as Xitanaad, the north wind, and others, besides the king, are regarded as living beings and are propitiated. But, speaking generally, they are not objects of worship—still less actual gods. They are rather, the gods, that is to say, the beings that over which they have power; they would seem, sacred categories, in which practically everything (including many things that to us are mere abstractions) is included. They are said to be the personal attributes or manifestations of a supreme being. The name of Nzambi, the acceptance of Nzambi, however, no little obscurity hangs. The name is found under various forms among all the Western Bantu, and perhaps even among the true Negroes to the north of the Gulf of Guinea. Its meaning is quite unknown. A wider knowledge of Bantu phallogogy is required to interpret it than is possessed by anybody who has hitherto guessed at it. Among the South-western tribe of the Hereros, Ndymbi is said to be identical with Karunga, already discussed. By the Barotse, Nyanbe is sometimes identified with the sun; sometimes regarded more vaguely as a kind of Supreme Being, and the progenitor by a female being of the animals and man. Concerning the Mpongwe our information is contradictory. Dr. Nassau represents the people as speaking of Njambi, or Nyanbhi, as the spirit of all things and of things in general. They suppose him to exist from an indefinite time past, and to have made some spirits, but not necessarily all. Those whom he has made live with him in Njambi's Town. Dr. Nassau, of course, regards him as a mythical being who refers to Ouyame as hateful and wicked, and as only one of two spirits associated under 'God' in
the government of the world, but apparently with very little influence. The Fans, near neighbours of the Mpongwe, are reported to believe in a multiple head of whom the chief is Nzame, or Anyambi, the Father who made the earth and all things. But the accounts given by the missionaries vary so much that it is impossible, in the present state of our information, to be sure of the exact status of the 'god' in question. In any case he has long ago deserted the world, and is indifferent to human wants and sufferings. On the Upper Congo, Nambe figures as one of four seemingly equal beings. He is the author of death, sickness, and evils of all kinds; Libanza, another of the four, is called 'Creator.' On the Lower Congo two beings are spoken of: Nzambi and Nambu Mpungi. The latter is generally represented as superior to the former, who is sometimes called his daughter, sometimes his wife, and sometimes a name underived. Nzambi, as a female being, is the subject of many legends. She is always 'spoken of as the 'mother,' generally of a beautiful daughter, or as a great princess calling all the animals about her to some great meeting; or palaver; or as a poor woman carrying a thirsty or hungry infant in her dress, begging for food, while she ravishes herself and provokes those who caused her drink or food by drowning them, or by rewarding with great and rich presents those who have given her child drink. Animals and people refer their palavers to her as judge' (Dennett, p. 2). Mr. Dennett, however, in a more recent work given a different version of Nzambi. According to this, Nzambi is the abstract idea, the cause. 'From the abstract Nzambi proceed Nzamü Mpuungu, Nzambi Ci, and Kici.' Nzamü Mpuungu is 'God Almighty, the father God who dwells in the heavens and is the guardian of the fire;' Nzamü Ci is 'God the essence, the God on earth, the great princess, the mother of all the animals, the one who promises her daughter to the animal who shall bring her the fire from heaven,' the Nzambi, in short, of his earlier account; Kici is 'the mysterious inherent quality in things that causes the Bavlil to fear and respect.' Mr. Dennett proceeds to say that 'it is not unnatural that, one of the personalities of Zambi being Kici, his power (or perhaps attributes) are referred to the Bavlil, the speaking flowers on earth, and that their product or final effect is Nkicel (Kici on earth), one of the tribes of the king Malungo' (Black Man's Mind, 105, 106). Elsewhere, however, he makes Nyambi (to which he attaches the same meaning) residing in the head of the African South Wind, and one of the Bakici Baci, while admitting that 'some people call God Nyambi instead of Nzambi' (ib. 110). This agrees more nearly with Bastian's account. He represents Nzambi as a family fetish, originally descended from Bastian, the Father and Mother of All, a local fetish or divinity of Moanda. It is, however, a fetish of high rank, since special powers for the consecration of other fetishes are assigned to it. It seems, in fact, to be the royal fetish; for pork is the produce of all its worshippers, and pork, as we know, is forbidden to the royal family. When a woman becomes pregnant she is required to appear before Nzambi, in order that the nganga inspired by the fetish may formally declare her condition, point her, and give a girdle round her as an amulet for easy delivery. Not until then is she permitted to mention the fact of her pregnancy (Bastian, Locomo-Kiste, i. 175, 173).

On the whole, we may probably conclude that the Bantu have from time immemorial developed the belief in 'a relatively Supreme Being,' to use Mr. Andrew Lang's phrase, to a point at which, though still vague, it does embrace the idea of the author of the present condition of the world as they know it, and that of a far-away, somnolent and indifferent overlord, whose government is exercised by inferior and practically independent chiefs, comparable with the subordinate average of a Baptist or Methodist church, the real powers with which mankind comes into contact, are not arranged in any system intelligible to us from our present information. They comprise all the personal beings imagined to inhabit the native's environment, whether connected with a 'fetish,' or to superintend the affairs of the world, including a vast variety of more or less vaguely conceived nature-spirits. Unless secured to a protective fetish, or unless ancestral spirits, their activity is dreaded as at events primarily hostile. Even the most general description, easily lost by the neglect, voluntary or involuntary, of offerings or of some omuwo.

Conclusion.—Bantu religion thus divides into two great branches. The religion of the roving and warlike tribes of the centre and south of the continent is pure, or nearly pure, worship of ancestors. That of the more settled and agricultural tribes of the Great Lakes and the west of the continent is a mingled worship of nature-spirits and ancestral spirits. Potentially, the Bantu may be divided into two branches on this division is the distribution of the names Unkulunkulu and Nzambi. Neither of these names has been reported from the north-eastern region, which was the centre of distribution of the Bantu peoples. The one has been developed on the eastern side of the continent among the roving and warlike tribes; the other on the western side among the tribes acknowledging nature-spirits and paying worship to them as well as to the ancestors. But whereas the former do not, so far as we can discover, attach a definite personal concept to Unkulunkulu or its etymological variants, Nzamib on the other hand, among the Western tribes, does seem to convey a personal meaning, and is the subject of many mythological stories. It has been suggested with probability that these two names, with the two different types of mental and religious evolution which they mark, indicate separate streams of emigration by distinct branches of the Bantu race. But whether the distinction had arisen before these two branches parted company, or how the evolution has been hindered by the climate, the nature of the country, the habits consequently acquired by the people, and the influence of other races, has yet to be determined.

Literature.—Our information with regard to nearly all the Bantu peoples is of a fragmentary description. Those best known to us are the tribes inhabiting the south and central plateau of South Africa and the coast-tribes from Delagoa Bay southwards. In the following list no attempt is made to enumerate more than the principal works to which we are indebted for our knowledge of the customs and religion of the Bantu. Incidental contributions of value are often to be found in other writings by missionaries, travellers, and administrators.

1. South-Eastern Tribes: John Maclean, A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, Cape Town, 1866 (intended for use in the courts of British Kaffraria); H. Callaway, Nursery Tales, Traditions, and History of the Zulu, Kaffir, and Basuto, London, 1868, also Religions System of the Amazulu, London, 1870 (both fragments, but of the latest value); Henry Joubert, Les Bergons, Ntenandle, 1859 (the only systematic monograph on any of the tribes hitherto published); Report of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, Cape Town, 1853.

II. Central Tribes: General reference may be made to the writings of the missionaries: Moffat, Missionary Labours in S. Africa, London, 1847; Campbell, Travels in South Africa, 2 vols., Lond. 1819; Leland, Narrative of a Visit to the Lake Regions of India, 1823 (Eng. tr., London, 1883); Merensky, Berichte zur Kaffirland Süd-Africas, Berlin, 1875; Mackenzie, Ten Years North of the Orange River, Edinburgh, 1858; Dan, in the 1844, 1846, and 1848, Australe Africa, 2 vols., tr., 1857; Thomas, Eleven Years in Central S. Africa, London, 1873; Arbousset and Daumas, Explorations on the Nile between Cairo and Tunis, and of numerous explorers.

III. Southwest Tribes: Anderson, Lake Nyami; Expedition and Discoveries during four Years Wandering in the Wilds of South-western Africa, London, 1859; Edward
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Ethnic—

Christian—
Early (Kirsopp Lake), p. 379.
Greek and Roman—See INITIATION.

BAPTISM (Ethnic).—Among many peoples a rite is found, performed either at infancy or later in life, which has considerable likeness to the ceremony of Christian baptism. Sometimes that likeness is only on the surface; in other cases it extends deeper, and the pagan rite has also a religious and ethical purpose. In such cases the use of water in the ceremony is connected with its more general ceremonial use among heathen races as a means of ritual purification. This subject will be considered by itself (see PURIFICATION); we confine ourselves here to such rites as may be described as baptismal, and to an inquiry into the rationale of these, as well as into the causes which have led to water being used for this purpose.

1. Origin of ethnic baptismal rites.—First, let it be clearly understood that the ceremonial use of water in rites which are sometimes seemingly simple and naturally is profound symbolically complex, though now inextricably connected with other opinions regarding its nature and power, has proceeded by a regular process of evolution from the simple use of water as a cleansing and deifying agent to the idea that it has the power to purify the body from dirt; then, as its powers become enhanced in the primitive mind, it can cleanse from evil considered as a material or spiritual pollution, or can ward it off by a species of magical virtue; until, finally, it comes to be thought that it can also cleanse from the stain of moral guilt. This comes into view when it is considered that the ceremonial use of water occurs frequently at precisely those times which require its ordinary purifying powers, e.g. childbirth, or after contact of the person with disease or death. We shall now refer to some of the causes which have extended the idea of simple purification by water, or have transformed it into a special ceremonial purificatory rite, more or less symbolic, and connected with the giving of a name or names.

2. Mother and child tabus at birth.—As a result of the general theory of sexual tabu, by which, through the mystery which surrounds certain periodic or occasional functions of woman's life, she is considered more or less dangerous, and must therefore be kept distinctly apart from the races for the woman, during and after childbirth, to be set apart from her fellows. She is frequently

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Persian—See 'Hindu' and INITIATION (arsi).
Sikh—See D. B. Macdonald, p. 411.
Ugro-Finnic—See INITIATION.

isolated in a special hut prepared for her, as in certain parts of Australia, in North America, and in New Zealand (JAF ii. 268; 'The Petit, Traditions indiennes du Canada nord-oest, Paris, 1886, p. 237; Shortland, Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders, London, 1854, p. 143); elsewhere she is subject to tabus of water, and has to undergo rites of purification. Childbirth is one of those crises in human life, occasional or periodic, in which the persons passing through them are regarded as centres of danger either to themselves or to others. It is as a result of this primitive belief that the period of maternity is a period of ceremonial 'uncleanness'; the woman is then taboo. But equally the child, which is part of herself, and has been in such close contact with the mother, is also unclean—another centre of danger. And it is therefore, when it has undergone the ceremony by which it is made clean, that the mother to remove the taboo have also to be participated in by the child. Thus, with the Koragar of West India, mother and child are ceremonially unclean for five days, and both are restored to purity by a tepid bath ('Wallich, in J. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1854, xcvi. 369).

Among the Polynesians the child is tupa, and can be touched by none but sacred persons. He becomes now (free from tupa) by the father touching him with roast fern root, which he then eats. Next morning the eldest relative in the female line does the same (Shortland, op. cit. 143). Illustration of the woman and newborn child is practised among the American Indians, Negroes, and Hottentots, who purify both mother and child by smearing them 'after the uncleanly natural fashion' (Tylor, Prim. Coll. ii. 422). Among the Karens 'children are supposed to come into the world defiled, and, unless that defilement is removed, they will be unfortunate and unsuccessful in their undertakings.' This defilement is therefore fanned away by one of the elders with appropriate words, after which he binds three rounds the child's wrist and gives it a name (JRASTle xxvii, pt. 2, 131).

So with the Malays, infants are purified by immersion, and women after childbirth are half-roasted over the purificatory fire (Skent, Malay Magic, London, 1896, p. 296)."
as unclean or tabu, they are also, according to a widely distributed opinion, especially subject to the attack of evil spirits. Their very helplessness probably suggested this idea among peoples who believed in active potentia]ities of evil spirits ready to snatch them away or to do them an ill turn. The child is thought by the people of East Central Africa to be most open to attack until seven days old. Here the spirits are propitiated by sacrifice (Maedonaki, Africana, London, 1882, i. 224). The Kalmunks drive off the evil spirits from mother and child by rushing about, shouting and branching edgulds (Pallus, Reisen, St. Petersburg, 1771-76, i. 360), while the tribes of the Malay Peninsula scare them away with bonfires (Jour. Ital. Arch. i. 270). A similar precaution is prescribed by the Parsi sacred books—a fire or a lamp is kept lit for three days to keep away the Devs and Drujs, wizards and witches, who use their utmost efforts to kill mother and child (West, Pathavi Texts, i. 316, 343-344, ill. 277). Such beliefs have survived among the European peasantry, but by this time it is now mostly either witches or fairies who are feared. In some districts witches were believed to carry off children to devour them in a ritual orgy at the Sabbath; while in other places the mothers were supposed to do this among themselves, leaving a puny changeling in its place. Hence the recent Scandinavian custom of never letting the fire out till the child is baptized—a custom identical with one followed by the ancient Romans; and the Celtic practice of protecting mother and child from fairies, spirits, and the like by carrying fire round them sunwise.

4. Removal of tabu.—In order to remove the dangerous influences which were supposed to emanate from the child and to neutralize the evils to which it was exposed by a plunge—common to the rites of circumcision, initiation, and other bodily mutilations, or initiation, with the simulation of death and rebirth. Where such efforts had for their end the removal of tabu, they were mainly of a purificatory nature. The tabu, in savage opinion, resembles both a contagious and an infectious disease, and must not only be kept away from the tabued person or thing, and easily passing over to others, otherwise persons and animals. All rites for removal of tabu are, therefore, largely purificatory. Much the same may be said of the evil influences to which mother or child is exposed. But their removal is effected not only by purificatory rites, but by magical ceremonies, by sacrifices, or by terrorizing them. Examples of various methods of removing tabu or external evil influences may be referred to. The subject is frequently placed by the fire, or fumigated with smoke or incense. Or the tabu or the evil is wiped or scraped off with the hands, which are then washed, or with a scraper, which is afterwards buried or destroyed. Or, again, the evil is transferred bodily to some other person or thing, according to a wide-spread series of rites of which that of the scapegoat is an instance, and that of ‘carrying out death’ another. But the most natural method of all is that of washing or fumigation with water. The tabu exists, according to this view, as it were, on the skin, like a contagious disease, is wiped off with water, the universal cleanser (Crawley, Mystic Rose, London, 1902, 228). With the Jews, washing with water was one of the necessary ceremonial methods of removing uncleanness or tabu; so that the man who has been dead must remove his clothes and wash himself before he mingles with his fellows (De, First Report, p. 123); and Skeat tells us that among the Malays purification of mother and child is usually accomplished by means of fire or a mixture of rice-flour and water (op. cit. 77), the process not only removing tabu, but destroying the active potentialities of evil. This ceremonial use of water is further illustrated by its use among the Kafirs, who, as Lichtenstein says (Travels in Southern Africa, London, 1812-13), remove the contagion of the guilt of murder, of death, or of magic, by washing. So Basuto warriors bathe after battle to wash off the ghosts of their victims, ‘medicines’ being put in the water by a sorcerer farther up the stream (Casalis, Basutos, London, 1861, p. 238). The washing with hustral water is thus necessary to remove the contagion of ‘uncleanness’; it is also a safeguard against impending evil, and acts as a kind of magic armour which turns aside the attacks of a visible or invisible foe. We go on now to ask why water should have this efficacy, as a preliminary to showing its actual use in ethnic baptismal rites.

5. Water as a safeguard.—The anamitic theory of the universe which underlies all primitive religion and philosophy suggested that water was a mirror of the living being, which, in so far as the processes of growth and aided men in other ways, might be presumed to be beneficial. But even apart from the anamitic theory, water, more than any other thing in the universe, seemed to be alive. Its motion, its sound, its power, hinted at life; hence the vidual Hebrew phrase (occurring with other peoples also) of ‘living water’. It may be presumed also that man soon discovered the purifying effects of water for himself; its power of quenching thirst he already knew; that of invigorating the body, he must soon have found out, for he did not confuse this invigorating process to himself, but even bathed the images of his gods on stated occasions, in order to renew their powers. The further idea arose, aided by the belief in a spirit or divinity of the waters, that certain waters, more usually springs, lakes, or wells, had miraculous healing properties—a belief which has survived centuries of Christianity. We find these various beliefs about the Water of Life conferring immortality, strength, beauty, or the Pountz, or the sun's rays. They are idealized in folk-lore in the many European folktales, with parallels from all stages of barbaric and savage culture (e.g. MacCulloch, CF, London, 1905, ch. 3). Another concrete survival of such primitive ideas is the belief that no power of evil can cross running water. It was thus by a logical process that water, considered as having all these various powers and as being itself the vehicle or abode of spirits favourable to man, should have been used as one method of removing the contagion of tabu or the influence of evil spirits, or at a higher stage should have been held to possess the power of removing the guilt of sin. This last function may be conveniently illustrated by the Hindu belief in sacred rivers, e.g. the Ganges, in which the sins of a lifetime may be removed by a plunge—a process known also to the superstitious Roman whom Juvenal (v. 520-23) satirizes for washing away his sins by dipping his head three times in the waters of the Tiber. Water, which removes dirt from the body, may therefore remove the contagion of tabu; and if it could do this, it was presumed that it had the further power of removing the stain of moral evil. It is on such a basis that what is justly to be called ethnic baptismal rites are instituted. In most cases, they are simple purifications to remove tabu, or to ward off spirits who are intent on doing the child an injury. Then they are con-
tended with the process of name-giving. Lastly, with some correspondence to Christian adult baptism, they are used at initiations or before the celebration of Mysteries, and have then a certain ethical content; they remove sin. But all alike arose out of the necessary washing of the child after birth, and other religious rites, connected also with name-giving, and from these primitive ideas about water just referred to. Each of these stages will now be considered separately.

6. Ceremonial Lustration without name-giving. Among the people of Sarac, E. Africa, it is customary to wash the child, when it is three days old, with water which has been specially blessed for this purpose (Munzinger, Ostafrik. Studi., Gotha, 1863, p. 357). The act has even greater significance among the Basutos, with whom the Naka, when he comes to the consererate the child, makes a foam out of water and various 'medicines,' with which he lathers the child's head. He then binds a medicine bag round his thighs (Tylor, Primit. Cult., i. 435). Among many S. African tribes, various methods, from bathing to sprinkling the child daily with a decoction of herbs, are used to nurse and improve its development and health. It is also passed through the smoke of aromatic wood to bring it wisdom, vigour, and valour. Later the father gives the child a name, usually from some passing event. Similar customs prevail among the Yaos, Makololo, Macdonald, Angoni, and other East African peoples (Macdonald, JAI xix. 267, xxii. 100). A combined use of water and fire is found among the Jakun tribes of the Malay Peninsula, who wash the newborn child in a stream, and then, bringing it back to the hut, pass it frequently over a newly kindled fire on which pieces of sweet-smelling wood have been thrown (Jour. Ind. Arch. ii. 294); while in Java the ceremony consists in shaking the child's head forty days after birth, before an assembled throng, after which he is dipped in a brook. In Fiji the child's first bath is made the occasion of a feast; in Uvea, at the feast held after the birth of a child, his head is ceremonially sprinkled with water; while in Rotuma the head, face, arms, and limbs of the newly-born are rubbed with salt water and salt mud (Tylor, Primit. Cult., i. 435). Whether these ceremonies may be compared the custom of the Chinese, who, when the child is washed at three days old, hold a religious rite in connexion with this act of purification (Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, New York, 1867, i. 120). The intended effect of such ceremonies is seen in the custom, common in Upper Egypt, of bathing the child at its fortieth day and then pronouncing it 'clean.' All the examples cited show that the first washing of the child is itself made a religious and magical rite, more or less symbolic, occurs soon after birth.

7. Lustration with name-giving. The custom of name-giving may occur at birth, or again at puberty, when the boy is initiated into the totem clan, the tribe, or the tribal mysteries, at which time, as entering upon a newer or fuller life, he usually receives a new name. Among the Zuñis the initiation and first name-giving occur any time after the child, till then called 'baby,' is four years old. If there is no use of water, the rite is so like that of Christian baptism in other respects that it may be described. A 'sponsor' breathes upon a wand which he extends towards the child's mouth as he receives his name. The initiation is mainly done by sponsors, and the boy must personally take the vows as soon as he is old enough (BE, Fifth Report, p. 553). Among most races the name-giving is usually a religious-social ceremony of great importance, since the name is considered among primitive folk to be a part of one's personality (see NAME), and since the ceremony admits the child to the privileges of the clan or tribe. We are here only interested to note that it is accompanied with a ritual use of water. First it should be observed that the custom of giving a name at a ceremonial washing which has become 'baptismal' has probably arisen accidentally. We have seen that the newly-born child is washed as a protection against evil and to make him ceremonially pure. But an equally important part of the child's dawning life was the conferring of a name upon him—the name, as a part of the personality, being a thing of magic or sacred import. What more natural, then, than the combination of two rites, which must frequently have been performed successively, into one which included both? But as a further stage in the evolution of the rite, the purificatory act becomes more and more closely connected with certain aspects, subsidiary to the name-giving ceremony. Actual washing and name-giving immediately after birth occur among the Kichtak Islanders (Billings, N. Russa, 1892, p. 175).

1) Africa. The most ceremonial act is well marked among many African tribes. Among the Yoruba Negroes a priest is sent for at a birth, and it is his duty to discover from the deities which ancestor means to dwell in the child, so that he may be called by his name. At the actual name-giving ceremony the child's face is sprinkled with water from a vessel which stands under a sacred tree (Bastian, Geog. and Eth. Bilder, Jena, 1873, p. 82). Such ceremonies are general in West Africa. Further south, among the Miote people of Loanga, when the child is three or four months old he is sprinkled with water in presence of all the dwellers in the village, and is called by the name of an illustrious ancestor (Ploss, Das Kind, i. 259). The same social significance of the religious rite—the reception of the child into the corporate community—is well marked among the tribes of the Gabun. When a birth has taken place, the fact is announced by a public crier, who claims for the child a name and place among the living. Some member of the community then promises for the people that the child will be received, and will have his kinsmen and friends, and that he will be a priest or a warrior. The people then assemble, and the child is brought out before them. The headman of the family or village sprinkles water upon it, gives it a name, and blesses it—the blessing usually referring to its future material welfare (Nasson, Fetishism in W. Africa, N. Y. 1904, p. 212). This social significance of the rite will be met with in other cases. With the Baganda of Central Africa the ceremony forms part of another which tests the legitimacy of the child. Several children of two years old are usually brought into the hall of the queen mother or the royal mother (Kabaka). When these ceremonies may be compared the custom of the Chinese, who, when the child is washed at three days old, hold a religious rite in connexion with this act of purification (Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, New York, 1867, i. 120). The intended effect of such ceremonies is seen in the custom, common in Upper Egypt, of bathing the child at its fortieth day and then pronouncing it 'clean.' All the examples cited show that the first washing of the child is itself made a religious and magical rite, more or less symbolic, occurs soon after birth.

8. The Ova-Herero. The rite is most elaborate. The child is carried by the mother from the lying-in house to a sacred fire which is constantly tended by the headman's eldest daughter, who sprinkles water upon the child and mother with water which they have just received. Arrived at the place, mother and child are again sprinkled with water by the headman, who then addresses the child's ancestors, and, after various acts, touches its forehead with his own and gives it a name. Each man present does the same, repeated...
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ing this name or conferring a new one; thus a child may have several names. After this cere-
mony the child's forehead is touched with that of a cow, which now becomes his property. He is
then considered an Ova-Herero (Globus, xxxviii. 362).

(2) Malay Archipelago.—Similar rites are found all over the Malay Archipelago, as the following instances will show. In Sumatra, at the name-giving ceremony, the child is carried to the nearest running water by the men; there the father dips it, and gives it a name (Ploss, op. cit. i. 258). Among the Papuans the name-giving takes place as soon as the child can run; at the same time it is taken to a spring and there solemnly bathed several times (Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1876, p. 185). The rite is made

repeated, or the name-giving occurs at the same time (Ploss, op. cit. i. 238). The use of salt occurs among several peoples as a ritual act, and is part of the baptismal ceremony of the Roman Church.

(3) Among various Polynesian tribes the rite was usually connected with the removal of tabu from the child. The priest aspersed the head with a grain of tabu dipped in water, then immersed the child bodily in the water, accompanying the act with prayers and conjurations in dialogue form, and in an archaic language. With the Maoris, the priest repeated a number of names borne by ancestors till the child sneezed, and the name spoken at that moment was bestowed upon him, along with the act of aspersing or dipping him in water. The child was, at the same time, dedicat-
ed to the war-god Tū (Tregear, J A. I., 1885, 69). Ellis, Polynesia (Leipzig, 1832-34, 1. 259; Taylor, New Zealand, London, 1868, p. 184). Sir George Grey, in his Polynesian Mythology (p. 32), cites a myth which shows the importance attached to the exact observance of the ritual. When Maui's father baptized him, he hurried over or omitted some of the karakia—prayers offered to make him sacred and free from impurities—and for this he afterwards feared that the gods would be angry. This, of course, is akin to the fear shown by savages everywhere regarding the immediate water supply. Heating it, when the child had grown up to be a youth, he was again sprinkled with water, in order to be admitted to the rank of warrior.

(4) Similar observances are found among the American Indian tribes. The Cherokees performed the rite when the child was three days old, and firmly believed that, if it were omitted, the child would certainly die (Whipple, Report on Indian Tribes, Washington, 1855, p. 35). The Mayas be-
lieved that the ceremonial ablution washed away evil, hindered the influence of evil demons, and purged the child inclinations to good. The priest having appointed a lucky day, a feast was prepared, and the father fasted for three days. Among the cus-
toms observed at the rite were cleansing the house by driving out evil; throwing maize and incense on a fire by each child who was to be baptized, striking the child to drive away unclean thoughts. The priest then signed the child and sprinkled him with sacred water; this act was repeated by the father. A wand of the hair was the subject of a lock of the child's hair by means of a stone knife (Bancroft, NE. San Francisco, 1883, i. 664). This most elaborate ceremony had an evidently ethical as well as a religious import; the same is true of the baptismal rite. Hence we should be careful to observe the ethical standard of these races was far from being that of our own. Dr. Brinton has pointed out that

the purification of the child by water was, with several of the native races of America, styled by a word signifying 'to be born again' (Myths of the New World, N. Y. 1868, p. 148). Astonish-
ing as this may appear, it is on a level with the psychology of the savage religion. The majority of those of initiation to the mysteries, or at the making of sorcerers, when the youth is believed to die and come to life again, receiving a new name, and acting in all respects as if all life was new to him. It is well known that both Aztecs and Peruvians used some kind of baptism; and while the facts may have been exaggerated by contemporary reporters, the Christian priests who witnessed the rites believed firmly that the devil, for his own evil ends, had mimicked the Christian sacrament. We may therefore assume that the description of the rite among these peoples is, on the whole, correct. Sahagun says that the order of baptism among the Aztecs began, 'O child, receive the water of the Lord of the world, which is our life; it is to wash and purify; may these drops remove the sin which was given thee before the creation of the world, since all of us are under its power'; and concluded, 'Now he liveth anew and is born anew, now is he purified and cleansed, now he drinks of the Mother of God and re-

bringeth life into the world. The ceremonial washing was repeated twice, at birth and four days later, and at the later ceremony the child received its name, usually that of some ancestor, who, it was hoped, would watch over it until the time of the next name-giving and baptism in later life (Hist. de la Nueva Espana, Lib. vi. cap. 37). The expressions used here concerning the water show that the rite was based on those primitive ideas of the power of water which have already been re-
ferred to, and had a very special purpose. A priest immersed the child in water, at the same time exorcising evil spirits from it, and bidding them enter the water, which was then buried in the ground. A first name was at the same time conferred upon the child (Réville, Religions of Mexico and of Peru, London, 1884, p. 234). Both Aztecs and Peruvians had a consid-
larable sense of moral evil. This is especially noticeable in the Mexican rite, where also it was sought to free the child from evil spirits as well as from sin. When the child was consecrated, it should also be noted, as with the Hindus, ritual ablutions were used to remove the guilt of sins when these were confessed to the priests. Similar rites were common among the wild tribes of Mexico, after the name had been confessional and life.

(5) Asiatic races and religions frequently combine name-giving and illustration. Among the Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists the ceremony takes place from three to ten days after birth. Candles are ordered to be burned, a vessel of water the lama repeats the consecration formula. He then immerses the child in the water three times, signs it, and calls it by its
name. He also draws its horoscope by means of certain 'medicines' which he places in the baptismal water, and names the guardian divinity of the child. The ceremony ends with a feast and the offering of a present to the lanka (Köppen, Rel. des Buddha, Berlin, 1887-89, ii. 229). Frequently, as with the Turks and the Persians, the baptismal name is changed if it proves unlucky (L'Anthropologie, xii. 482). In Japan the name is given to the child when it is a month old, water being at the same time sprinkled upon it (Siebold, Nippon, v. 22). The ceremonies, as conducted among the Chinese, are of a elaborate character. On the third day after the birth a Taoist priest comes to the house and sprinkles the rooms with water—a rite known as the 'Purification.' Onions, garlic, celery, and other things with magical virtues are then placed in the water in which the child is to be washed, after which its fortune is told and its mystic guardian tree is ascertained. The next step is for the priest to inquire through 'soul-divination' by what name the child shall be called, and when this already described, and the name is written on the infant. It should be noted that, to prevent a demon soul taking possession of the child's body in the absence of its own soul, the mother mixes the ash of banana-skin with water, and paints a cross on the forehead of the child's forehead (PLF v. 222 f.). With the Baukens, in Ceylon and Burma, on the fourteenth day after birth, at an hour fixed by an astrologer, the relatives and friends feast together, the child is named, and its head is washed for the first time.

The ceremony is analogous to the Brahmanic rite of Jātakarman (M. Williams, Buddhiam, 1859, p. 355).

(6) The Indian and Iranian rites, though scarcely baptismal, are worth noting, especially when they are taken in connexion with the rites of initiation (see § 39). Among the ancient Indians (and, less completely, in modern times) the following ceremonies were performed. Before the navel-string was cut the Jātakarman rite was performed for male children, and while the sacred formulae were recited, the child was fed with honey and butter. Ten or twelve days after birth the father performed, or caused to be performed, the Nāmadheyā, or rite of naming, giving the child a secret name besides the name for common use, which had to be auspicious if he were to be saved, or evil if he were to be lost. Later, there were rites in connexion with first leaving the house, making the tonsure, etc. Other writers speak of the child being ceremonially washed, or dipped in the sacred waters of the Ganges or some other river (Lives of Manu, ii. 29, 30; Dutt, Civ. in ancient India, London, 1883, i. 282; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, Berlin, 1879, p. 320). Little is known of the birth ceremonies among the ancient Iranians beyond those already described, and the statements sometimes made regarding the use of a kind of baptism may rest on erroneous renderings of passages in the sacred books (see Geiger, Civ. of E. Iran, London, 1885, i. 56, and translator's note). Beausobre (Hist. Mon. Anc.) 1784-89, lib. ix. cap. 3, sec. 16) says the child was carried to the temple, where the priest plunged it into a vessel of water, and the father gave it a name. Corresponding to the Hindu feeding with honey and butter is perhaps the old custom of giving the newly-born child solid food in order to confer wisdom upon it, as well as to drive off fiends and evil spirits (Sad Dar, xxix. : Shāyast Īr-Shāyast, x. 15-16; and cf. Gomne, Eth. in Folklore, London, 1892, p. 129, for the purpose of this ceremonial feeding). Among modern Parsees there are no formalities in connexion with name-giving, the mother conferring a name upon the child (Geiger, i. 57, translator's note), although the jūshā (astrologer) 'first gives out the names the child can bear according to its affinity to the stars under whose influence it was born' (Karaka, History of the Parsees, London, 1894, i. 161-102). With them the name or titles of the child are the same as those of the nurse who has at the same time touched its lips and forehead with saliva to avert magical and demoniac agencies (Macrobius, Saturnalia, lib. i. cap. 16).

(7) Among the ancient pagan races of Europe similar customs were also found. The heathen Teutons had a baptismal rite long before Christian influences had reached them. The ceremony took place immediately after birth, the father sprinkling the child, giving it a name, and consecrating it to the household gods. In this way he acknowledged it as his own, and after the rite the child could not be exposed, as it had now become one of the kin. The ceremony was known as odini awer, 'sprinkling with water' (Grimm, Tent. Myth., London, 1880-83, ii. 592). References to the rite occur in the Chronicles. Snorro Sturleson (Chron. c. 70) relates that a noble, in the reign of Harold Håragnar, gave his son a baptismal name, upon its head, called Itaco. Pope Gregory III. directed the missionary Boniface how to proceed in such cases where this pagan baptism had already been used. Mallet (North. Antiq., London, 1770, i. 335) rightly shows the true nature of such rites when he says: 'The old theme was the children 'from the sorceries and evil charms which wicked spirits might employ against them at the moment of their birth.' The Celts also had similar customs; and here the priest is more in evidence, although, as some think, the method of naming and the whole of Druidism were taken over from the non-Celtic races with whom the Celts found themselves in contact. Saga and legend alike give many instances of the Druid bestowing on the name of a child. When the Druid came to conferring Christian ideas, since such a rite is so wide-spread in paganism, while (see (8)) some trace of it still remains as a survival on Celtic ground (Ihys and Jones, The Welsh People, London, 1900, 60 f.; W. Stokes, Céir Amann (in Windisch, Irische Texte, iii.) sec. 291; and Academy, 1890, p. 157). The birth-rural of the Greeks (among whom ritual purification occupied so large a place) was as follows: The child was at once bathed in water, sometimes mixed with oil or wine. On the fifth or sixth day, a more formal purification took place (the ἅφορραμα), and the child was also carried round the fire. On this day or on the tenth day, on the occasion of a family festival, which was also sacrificial, the father recognized the child, which (as in the Teutonic instance) could not then be exposed, and the name, usually that of a grandparent, was given (see scholium on Aristotle, Lysistr. 757). The Romans, on the Dies Lastricus,—the ninth day after birth for boys, the eighth for girls,—conferred a name on the child, which was given to the nurse at the same time touching its lips and forehead with saliva to avert magical and demoniac agencies (Macrobius, Saturnalia, lib. i. cap. 16).
A good example of this occurs among the Lapps, who, in heathen times, had a ceremony called lauyo (see more fully art. Birth, Finns and Lapps). This consisted in bathing or sprinkling the child with water in which elder-twiggs had been mingled the Christian rite and conferring on it the advantages supposed to be given by the heathen ceremony (Pinkerton, General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1809-1814, i. 483; Foss, i. 257, 258). Such a case as this distinctly points to the rationale of ethnic baptismal rites as already set forth, viz. a defence against evil influences as well as a removal of 'uncleanness.'

The baptismal ceremony of the pagan Celts already referred to has not altogether been destroyed by the use of the Christian rite; for even now, in remote cases, a name was given to it, and there were the advantages supposed to be given by the heathen ceremony. After birth, the nurse drops three drops of water on the child's forehead in Nomina. A temporary name is given until the real name is conferred in the Christian ceremony. This earlier baptism known as baptism by immersion is found in consecrated ground. It is thus a clear survival of an earlier purificatory and protective rite, which at the same time admitted to the tribal religious privileges (Carmichael, Carmina Gedolica, 1900, i. 115). The pagan rite also persists with the Lithuanian peoples on the Baltic coast. On the evening before the baptism by the priest, the child is bathed in warm water, while an old woman kills a cock at the place where the child was born (L'Anthropologie, v. 713).

9. Religious and social aspect of the rites.—Analyzing the various examples of ethnic baptism, we note several points. First, the purificatory washing frequently passes over into a mere symbolic act, sprinkling water on the child, and it was placed under the protection of Sarakha, the birth-goddess. At any illness the ceremony was repeated and a new name given. But when Christian baptism was introduced, the old rite was still continued privately, both by way of caution and to obtain the advantages supposed to be given by the heathen ceremony (Pinkerton, General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1809-1814, i. 483; Foss, i. 257, 258).

Frequently, the same aspect of the rite is emphasized in its public performance, occurring at the headman of the community; by the reception of the child into the kin; by the feast held on the occasion, which is attended by the relatives; and also by the common custom of naming after an ancestor. For examples of name-giving by itself, accompanied by a feast attended by relatives, or as making the child a member of the kin, see Hind, Labrador, 2 vols., Lond. 1863, i. 236; JAF xix. 324 [Torres Straits]; BE, Third Report, p. 216 [Omahas, the child's face is marked with the privileged symbolic decoration]; L'Anthrop., v. 729 (Torneo). Thus ethnic baptism, accompanying the act of name-giving, cannot be considered as a casual rite, but must be regarded as one of considerable importance for the religious and social life of the race. In India, the baptismal rite by the mother or by other women of the tribe must have originated through the matriarchate and descent through the mother.

10. Baptism with blood.—The aspect of the baptismal rite as it occurs in the Americas is here further seen in those cases where the child, or, later, the youth is sprinkled with his father's or kinsman's, or with sacrificial, blood. Among the Caribs the newborn child was sprinkled with blood drawn from the father's shoulder, to give it courage and generosity, and, since the life of the clan is in the blood, to admit it to the circle of the kin (Rochefort, Les Antilles, 1660, p. 550). Among certain Australian tribes at the initiation of youths, it is customary for the older men to cut themselves, and let the blood run on the novice, the object being to strengthen him, or to transfix the kin-life into him. Especially is this the case where the smearing with blood takes place after the pretended killing and restoration of the candidate, when he also receives a new name (Howitt, pp. 658, 668; Frazer, Totemism; and for corresponding uses of blood, Spencer-Gillen, p. 596 f.). Among the Alfears the child is smeared with swine's blood (Bastian, Die Völker der östlichen Asien, Jena, 1866-1871, v. 260); and on the Gold Coast, rum (or the rye) is sprinkled with sacrificial blood by the father (Ellis, Taha-speaking Peoples, London, 1887, p. 233). The modern Arabs retain the custom from heathen times of washing a child's forehead with the blood of an animal sacrificed to a saint whose favour has caused the child's birth, and whose protection is thus expected to be given to him. There is also some idea of identifying the child with the sacrifice by which he is redeemed (Curtiss, Prim. Som. Rel., Chicago, 1902, p. 201).

In heathen times this rite had greater significance as bringing the child within the stock; the old bond being dedicated to the stock-god in connexion with a sacrifice, the blood of which was dashed on his head. The blood united god and child. The child was also named, and its gums rubbed with masticated dates (symbolic food-giving rite, cf. § 7 (6), India, Persia) on the morning after its birth, probably by the priest. All these rites signified reception into the privileges, social and religious, of the kin-group (W. R. Smith, Kinship in Arabia, Cambridge, 1910).

11. Use of saliva.—The same intention of acknowledging kinship, and of bestowing it ceremonially through contact of the child with something belonging to the kinsman, is seen in several rites where the child is rubbed with the saliva of a relative or is spattered with blood. An example in connection with the giving of a name are found among the

cans. Peruvians, Mayas, Tibetans, Chinese, Hindus, Iranians, and Celts), or by the father as house-priest; by the use of 'medicine' in addition to, or in place of, water; and by the general intention of the rite as already pointed out. Lastly, the same aspect of the rite is emphasized in its public performance, occurring at the headman of the community; by the reception of the child into the kin; by the feast held on the occasion, which is attended by the relatives; and also by the common custom of naming after an ancestor. For examples of name-giving by itself, accompanied by a feast attended by relatives, or as making the child a member of the kin, see Hind, Labrador, 2 vols., Lond. 1863, i. 236; JAF xix. 324 [Torres Straits]; BE, Third Report, p. 216 [Omahas, the child's face is marked with the privileged symbolic decoration]; L'Anthrop., v. 729 (Torneo). Thus ethnic baptism, accompanying the act of name-giving, cannot be considered as a casual rite, but must be regarded as one of considerable importance for the religious and social life of the race. In India, the baptismal rite by the mother or by other women of the tribe must have originated through the matriarchate and descent through the mother.

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Mandingos and Mandarins of West Africa, the priest becomes the child in the child's face (Park, "Intermediate Districts of Africa", Edin. 1860, p. 246).

Among the Banyoro of Uganda, on the third or fourth day after the child is born, the priest presents it to the ancestral spirits and begs their favour for it, accompanying each appeal with a request for more milk. The baby's body is then sprinkled with water, and the priest names it (Sir H. Johnston, "Uganda Protectorate", Lond. 1902, ii. 537). Muhammad is said to have done the same when he named his grandson Hasan (Ockley, "Saracen's", Lond. 1847, p. 331). Versius, in his "History", gives the ceremony at baptism in a native tribe as follows: "the baby's forehead is salved when it receives its name (see § 7 (7) for the Roman custom). The practice survives in the sense of spilling in baptism in the early Church and in modern Roman Catholic usage, as well as in folk-custom in Europe. Here the intention is altered, and the purpose is to ward off the evil eye, spells, witches, and fairies. But this, which brings the custom into line with the general powers of water in this direction, is probably derivative. Saliva is in many other instances used to ward off evil, while the practice in the baby's case is connected with the bond between two or more persons who thus form a strong array against the powers of evil (see Hartland, "LP", London, 1894—96, ii. 261 f.).

Baptism at initiation. — These social and religious aspects of the rite are also marked in the ceremonies of the Dravidian tribes in India. In the sanctuaries of the Brahman rites, a host of tabus and taboo privileges, or to sacred mysteries. As an example of those initiatory rites, we may first refer to such a simple form as the sprinkling of girls who have just reached womanhood, as practised among the Basutos (Casalis, p. 257). This form of purification is analogous to the tainting, scourging, fasting, &c., of other peoples, undergone by the boy or girl on arriving at puberty, as a means of driving out evil (see under these titles). We have noted that baptismal and cognate rites at birth or soon after have the object of admitting the child into the community or into the religious privileges of the tribe. But sometimes this admission, however it is accomplished, is deferred until the dawn of manhood or womanhood, or a little earlier, or is repeated, as the initiation of a child to the totemic clan or to the tribal mysteries (see Totem, Mysteries). In such cases the same ideas of purification from the infection of evil, sometimes by means of water, or again by sprinkling with or by holy water, or by the reciting of formulas at the simulated death and re-birth, are found, with the intention of introducing the postulant to a fuller life.

(1) As an example of such ceremonies in the higher religions, the Brahmanic rites may be referred to. The ceremony of Upasaya, or initiation to the privileges of religion, took place when a boy had arrived at years of discretion. The guru asked the boy's name, and, taking water, sprinkled his hands with it three times. In modern times the investiture with the threefold sacred thread, which is believed derived from the sacred books and recited over it and it is sprinkled with holy water, is the chief part of this rite. Before this the boy is not called a Brahman; but now he becomes "twice-born" or regenerate, and it is open to him to read the sacred books, and to take part in prayers and in the religious ceremonies (Mann, ii. 36; Dutt, i. 203; M. Williams, "Jot. Thought and Life in India", London, 1883, p. 338).

(2) This ceremony resembles that of the Parsis, who, after a strictly defined initiation in their uncanniness contracted by the child in the womb of its mother (see § 2). In order to be free from all such defilement, it is necessary for each one at or before the age of 15 to perform the elaborate purificatory ceremonies of the Baraunsh, else at death he will not pass the Chinvat bridge. The rite includes sprinkling with water and a washing with gomes and water (for the ceremony see SBE i. 122; xviii.). About the same time, and still in view of the pre-natal defilement, the sacred girdle thread is assumed, 'to establish in the wearer the department of Abram, and to take him out of the department of Abrimm' ("Sud Den., x."). The result of these ceremonies is to make the youth navamud, 'newly-born,' a term corresponding to the Brahmanic 'twice-born,' and to the view taken of such ceremonies elsewhere, while he now becomes a member of the religious community else (see Texts, i. 320, iii. 262; Shastya la-Shastya, x. 11).

(3) A species of baptismal rite occurred as a formula of admission in separate religious societies or mysteries. Candidates for admission to the Egyptian mysteries of Isis were baptized by the priest, the result being purification and forgiveness of sins. "[Sacerdos] stipatum me religiosa cohortre deducit ad proximas balneas et prius sueto lavacro traditum, prefatus dehinc veniam, purissime circumsum abhinit" (Apuleius, "Morta.

(4) In the Saka mysteries the mystic affirms ψηφος η υλη την ευτυπον, 'a kid I have fallen into milk,' but the significance of the words is uncertain, and they do not seem to point to a rite of immersion in milk. The use of milk in early Christian baptism—the newborn in Christ spitting or drinking milk was a specially approved rite—is the drinking of milk in the rite (for a discussion of the formula see Miss Harrison, "Proleg. to Greek Rel.", Cambridge, 1908, p. 396 f.).

(5) But of all such purificatory rites the best known are those of the Greek Eleusinia, in which the initiation was most searching, and no one could be admitted to the celebration of the mysteries who had not undergone it, while to revet these to the uninitiated was a criminal act. Purification by water was part of the preliminary rites, which were regarded as a kind of new birth. The candidate bathed, and emerged from the bath a new man with a new name. This purification, or καθαρσεως, is constantly referred to by the Greek Fathers, especially Clem. Alex., as a parallel to the Christian rite of baptism both in its nature and in its intended effects of admitting to a higher life, to the 'Greater Mysteries' (Strom. v. 71, 72). Whatever view of sin was held in the doctrine of the Mysteries, whether it was highly ethical or highly simply cosmical,无论如何, those who assumed the candidate from the stain of sin and prepared him for the revelation to come, while he himself was required to be ἄγαθος ἠνεμές καὶ ἀγγεια, the preliminary ceremonies the candidates became ἀγαθαραι, and were admitted to the ἄγαθος καὶ ἀγγεια and the revelations which awaited them there (Lobeck, "Agaaphemous", Königsberg, 1859; Foucart, "Recherches sur les mysteres d'Eleusis", Paris, 1855).

(6) Similar purificatory rites entered into the ceremonies of the various Religious Associations which, until the Gospel came, held a hold over the people. The candidate was examined to prove whether he was 'pure, pious, and good,' ἄγαθος ἠνεμές καὶ ἀγγεια, and all members who had become impure had to submit to purificatory rites. Such impurities were, however, material rather than moral, and correspond on the whole to those savage tabus which had to be removed by various rites. The eating of pork or garlic, connexion with a woman, contact with a corpse, the defilement of murder, are some of those enumerated in the sacred books. Purification was of different kinds, according to the society; sometimes it was by means of water thrown on the head, as in savage baptismal rites. Plutarch describes these vigorously as ὑσταται ἀγγεια, ἀποθριευμα καθαρως, but all alike had to do with outward
purification alone. Theophrastus and Plutarch (Char. 16; De Superb. 3) give an excellent picture of the man who was careful to perform all such purifications after every defilement, imaginary or real—"Call the old woman who will purify thee by rubbing thee with bran and clay; plunge in the sea, dry, set on the ground." Menander also refers to purifications by means of water drawn from three different sources, and into which salt and lentils had been thrown (Deis. daim. frg. 3). Later, the philosophers explained them by saying they were the image of that purity of soul acquired by the Neumonous gods ( Cicero, de Leg. ii. 10); but their nature and intention obviously connect them with primitive purificatory and baptismal rites, and explain the existence of the latter as a preliminary of entrance to the Mysteries.

Of all these associations, the initiatory rites of the worshippers of Sabazios, a Phrygian god, corresponding on the whole to Dionysus, are best known to us from the scorn which Demosthenes poured upon them (de Corona, 318). They are an excellent type of what is known in the third class. The period is B.C. 315, and Demosthenes says to Aesches: 'When you became a man, you assisted your mother in the initiations. At night you clothed yourself in a fawn-skin. You were given five parchments of clay, and you purified them, you rubbed them with clay and bran; then you made them stand upright after the purification, and say, 'I have fled the evil, I have found a better'" (ζυγόν κακόν, φύρον διασαφεῖν). These rites, which had only the slenderest ethical value, led up to the revealing of the Mysteries and the sacred symbols of the association. The society which worshipped the Thracian goddess Cytoytto was ridiculed under the title of Bárta by dramatists like Eupolis and poets like Juvenal, and the title suggests a purification by water similar to that practised by the worshippers of Sabazios (Foucart, Associations vel. chez les Grecs, Paris, 1873). The daubing with clay or dirt is a common savage practice at initiations, and doubtless in the Mysteries it was a survival of some earlier primitive rite. In the Mandan mysteries the candidate was covered with clay and then washed (Catlin, O-Kee-Pa, London, 1867, p. 21); the same is recorded of the Bush festival of the Cree Indians—the ceremony removing them 'out of the reach of terror' (Adair, Hist. of Amer. Ind., London, 1875, p. 96 f.); in the Victorian and other Australian rites of initiation, as well as in Fiji, he was covered with charcoal, mud, and clay, and then washed (Brough Smyth, Aior of Vict., London, 1878, I. 60; Hewitt, op. cit. p. 536); in Banks Island the youth is blackened with dirt and soot and then washed (Codrington, Melanesians, Oxford, 1891, p. 87); and a similar rite is referred to as occurring in West Africa (W. Reade, Savage Africa, 1874). It is a rite which has power over none but the member of most of these ceremonies which introduce the candidate to a new life; the symbolism of removing the dirt is expressive of the passing from an old to a new life.

(7) Mithraism, perhaps the most eclectic of all religious faiths, is frequently accused of borrowing many of its ceremonies from Christianity. The early Fathers, like the Roman Catholic missionaries in the case of the religions of Mexico and Peru, and the British Churchmen in the case that Mithraism was the devil's counterfeit of Christianity, as they described its rites with their ready resemblance to Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion. But while there may have been deliberate imitation, the actual rites were already in use both in Persia and Greece, and, as Cumont says, Mithraism was Periplus hellenistc. The initiatory ceremonies were many—by blood, by fire, by fasting; while, as in many savage mysteries, death and resurrection were simulated as typifying the dawn of a better life. The purification by water washed away sin, and was thus a kind of adult baptism, while the later stage of sealing the candidate's forehead as the mark of his adoption to the grade of 'soldier,' was compared by Tertullian to the rite of confirmation (Cumont, Mysteries of Mithra, Chicago, 1903, p. 157). We may refer, finally, to a baptism of blood, the Taurbolian ceremony, performed symbolically or by proxy, as well as in initiating the candidate to the rites of the Great Mother, which became so popular all over the Roman Empire at the dawn of Christianity. The underlying idea of the Taurbolian (p. s.) bears a curious resemblance to the doctrine of regeneration in Christian life. The candidate was seated in a trench underneath an open grating on which a bull was sacrificed. The blood, as it fell through the roof, gushed all over him, and he was then declared to be re-born. This custom which may have influenced the baptismal rite on the part of its grateful recipients, speak of him by whom it was received as 're-generate,' renatus in aeterna Taurbolio (Prudentius, Peristeph. x. 101 f.; Sainte-Croix, Mystères de l'Antiquité, 1817, p. 92). These later initiations, or imitated from Christianity, these later mystic rites of the growing new of a new life and of certitude in matters of faith. These were supplied by Christianity, and, after a long struggle, it gave the deathblow to the pagan Mysteries.

13. Ethnic rites in full-ceremony. Finally, reference must be made to the superstitious views entertained by European peasants regarding Christian baptism. These are a direct inheritance from pre-Christian beliefs as to the vulnerability of the newly-born child to attack from evil spirits until certain rites, such as those enumerated above, have been performed. Christian baptism, taking the place of those earlier baptismal rites, has in folk-belief been credited with its efficacy; the beliefs concerning them have been directly transferred to it; and an unanimity as concerns this transition is seen by the similarity of the superstitions among Celts, Scandinavians, Germans, Slavs, and the Latin-speaking races. With the first three groups fairies are feared, and they have taken the place of evil spirits. These have taken the unchristened child; hence the utmost precautions are taken to guard it from their power, and to prevent its being stolen away and an ugly changeling left in its place. Baptism, however, is the complete safeguard against these terrors. Among the last two groups it is generally said evil demon or witch whose power over the child is neutralized by baptism; with some of the Slavs and with the Greeks (a survival from classical times) it is the Lamos, regarded as a being half-demon, half-witch, who has power over the unchristened child. In countries where the fairy belief is prevalent, the witch's power over the unchristened is also feared. In early medieval times, witch and wise-woman and midwife were hardly discriminated; all alike were the survival of the priestesses of a goddess of fertility, to whom an occasional sacrifice of a child was made. This custom survived as a vague belief that witches took a toll of unchristened children on Walpurgis night (Grimm, op. cit. iii. 1060—1061; Pearson, Children of Death, London, 1878). But in all cases the real power of fairy, demon, or witch over the unchristened child lay in this, that the child was yet a pagan, and therefore, until it had been received into the Christian fold, was the natural prey of those who were clearly pagan witches, fairies, and demons. This is emphasized
in the fact that the child, till baptized, is in Sicily and Spain called by some name signifying its unregenerate character—Jew, Moor, Turk, Pagán, or (in Greece) Drakos (see Hartland, Science of Fairy Tales, London, 1891, p. 100 f.). In Greece, too, it is believed that an unbaptized child may disappear as if in a dream of death; the belief of the unbaptized child's being a pagon is further illustrated by the idea, found in various parts of England and in Scotland, that such children, if they die, become fairies, or that their souls wander about restlessly in the air till the day of judgment. They have a curious phrase (in the Liturgy) of leaving the male child's right arm unchristened so that it might delay a deadlier blow. All these customs denote not only the survival of paganms and its ideas in Christianity, but also the continued struggle between the two forces when the latter had ostensibly triumphed (see a paper by G. L. Gomme, Folk-Lore, iii. 17).


J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BAPTISM (New Testament).—The term 'baptism' does not occur in the LXX, either in its more general (βαπτισμός) or more special form (βαπτίσμα). While the verb βάπτισθαι, 'to dip' or 'immerse' (e.g. GEN 14:24; JB 9:19), occurs there frequently, the intensive βαπτίζομαι—with which alone we are concerned when dealing with baptism—only four times: twice in a literal sense, of bathing (2 K 5:4; Jth 12, 12), once metaphorically (Is 25:7 ἄνεμος με βαπτίσει, cf. Mk 10:48; Lk 15:28), and once of ritual purification (Sir 6:4 ἐμπνεῦσον ἡ βαπτισμάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ). The earlier and more usual word for such illustration is λύσθαι (Lv 14:6; 15:28; cf. Jn 13:10, He 10:29 λευκόμουν τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν καθάρων), the middle voice denoting the active participation of the subject of purification, as also in the NT use of ἀφάνοια in connexion with baptism (Ac 22:18; 1 Co 6:15). But with the NT βαπτίζομαι enters prominently and without any explanation of its special sense, viz. thorough washing for religious cleansing, as though this were already fixed by the use of later Jewish halakha. Thus Sir 31:4 is itself a significant instance (cf. Lk 11:38; Mk 7:4). Both forms of the substantive, βαπτισμὸς, βαπτίζω, occur, the former in a more general sense (Mk 7:4; He 9:19, cf. 6:2 where the specific meaning is included), the latter in the technical sense—'cleansing of rite of initiation' into a new religious status (defined by the context), whether John's or Christ's (Mk 1:8; Lk 7:29-30; Ac 1:10; 2:23; 3:11; 6:6; Mk 14:3; Lk 20:38, 34; 19:16; Ro 6:4; Col 2:13; 1 P 3:9). Naturally βαπτίζω becomes the regular ecclesiastical term for the rite, along with λειψάνω ('washing', later passing into the more concrete sense of 'laver, lustration'), already found in Sir 31:4 (34v.), cf. Ca 4:6-15; thus λαύσατε τοῦ ἐναράχων (Ep. 5:14), ε. παλαιτεργίαν (Tit. 3:1.

s. SOURCES.—In what follows we have to do, not with the account of baptism in the Gospels generally, but only with that special form of religious washing which admitted to the Christian sphere of community. Accordingly we say nothing about the preparative, both on Semitic and non-Semitic soil; neither about rites (like the ceremonial of the Essenes) as having no bearing on baptism as a public rite of incorporation into a religious fellowship with God and man, and that once for all. In fact we need begin our study no further back than the point at which the term first emerges in the Bible—

the baptism of John the Baptist, and what it assumes.

(a) The baptism of John and its associations.—OT religion rests upon the notion of a covenant relation between Jehovah the God of Israel and Israel as 'righteous' or religious community, the actual state of Israel was to be accorded with the will of God, as expressed in the Torah unfolding the contents of His covenant, then Israel was 'righteous' and in the enjoyment of 'salvation', or full well-being as determined by Divine favour. But the sign of this inward kingdom of Israel's national prosperity, was felt to have been fully realized only at intervals in the past, and was certainly not Israel's when John the Baptist appeared. For was not the alien in power in the Holy Land? It was felt, also, that by that supreme intervention of God, as Israel's true King, which was thought of as His Messianic Kingdom, and beyond which there was no further horizon—could that betterment or 'redemption of Israel, come for which all true Israelites longed and waited. Yet the contrast them, and John in particular, knew that only through a radical change in the nation's religious state, in conduct both public and private, could this deliverance be reached. Messiah would come only to a righteous Israel, fit to be worthy for God's kingdom to be set up amidst. Hence a general repentance towards God and His covenant, such as the prophets of old had called for, was needed ere the Spirit of the Lord could be 'poured forth' in that fullness which was to mark out the Messianic age. John stood forth, then, in the spirit of those prophets, to preach his 'baptism of repentance'—a repentance symbolized by cleansing with water (Jer 4:14, Ezek 39:29, Zec 13)—with a view to the near approach of the Kingdom of God. Such a baptism was primarily corporate in idea, relative to salvation as of a holy people—an Israel answering to its idea as in vital covenant with its God. This is the main reason, at least, why Jesus was able to accept John's baptism of repentance 'without any feeling of sin save in a corporate sense. To Him personally it was but an act of obedience to a Divine ordinance—'a righteousness' (Mt 3:15).

But as yet salvation, even for Israel, was only a promise conditional upon obedience to Messiah when He should be manifested, and to His Kingdom of God, the Sovereign of the world and of mankind. Hence John claimed no saving virtue for his baptism, only a certain preparedness when it was the outward sign of an inward penitence; the real gift of a new experience was to come with the higher mark of 'baptism' which Messiah Himself would impart. This was not to be with 'water' at all, but with Holy Spirit, i.e. a holy inspiration of soul, such as the prophets had foretold (Mk 1:8, cf. Mt 3:11, Lk 3:5 'holy spirit and fire').

(b) The relation of John's baptism to the Forerunner's. In contrast, however, there was at first no sign in Christ's ministry. While not Himself administering water-baptism, like His forerunner, Jesus permitted His disciples (themselves doubtless baptized by John (cf. Lk 7:29-30, Jn 1:36-37) and so forth to do, that their new Master's preaching what John had done to sell his own) to do so for a time, i.e. during the preliminary stage when He was preaching as parallel, as it were, with John (Jn 3:21-21). During this period Jesus' messengers was outwardly John's in intent. 'Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Mt 4:17, cf. Mk 1:15, which is perhaps rather less accurate here). Such a practice, however, seems confined to the early Judaean preaching; we find nothing of it in the water-stations which began with John's imprisonment and Jesus' return to Galilee (Mk 1:9).
Baptism never appears among the conditions of discipleship (e.g. Mt 8:25, Lk 9:26); and this silence can hardly be accidental. We find instead, in final interviews with the inner circle, promise of a Spirit-baptism, which is later elaborated as distinctive of Messiah (see Lk 24:49, Ac 2:14, 11, Jn 20:22, cf. Jn 14–16). But nothing is said as to water-baptism as entering into Messianic baptism (the two are contrasted in Ac 2:11), which is referred to in terms recalling His own words also applied to the water-baptism of the Gentiles (Mk 10:47–49). Christ’s direct sanction, then, for water-baptism by His followers after His own earthly life (Jn 3:3 does not apply here) must depend on our view of Mt 28:19 (Mk 16:15–16 not being an original part of Mark’s Gospel (Mk 10:47–49)).

There is no real ground for doubting the authenticity of Mt 28:19 as part of Mt’s Gospel in its final form (cf. F. H. Chase in JV/S vi. 633 ff.). But this is far from settling its historicity as a word of Jesus Himself. The clause touching baptism as part of the ‘discipling of all the nations’ might easily arise as merely descriptive and directive of the Church’s actual practice in the matter, whenever and wherever this Gospel was composed. For the same reasons it cannot be held to settle this question that Peter, appealed to for the careful discussion in Rendtorff, Die Taufe im Urchristentum, 1965, p. 392, for both points. Further, had Paul known of such a custom he could hardly have failed to mention it in 1 Cor 11:17. Christ did not commission me to baptize, but to evangelize (c) Apostolic baptism.—This, in its conjunction of water-baptism with the Spirit sensibly out-poured, seems due to the Apostles’ own initiative, like other primitive Christian rites, the forms of which were adopted instinctively from their Jewish training. Thus when, on the crucial Day of Pentecost, the Messianic Spirit described in Jn 20:22, was to be ‘poured out’ upon Messianic Israel, in fulness of Jesus’ promise and in ratification of His Messianic dignity (Ac 2:21–25), it is not strange that the terms of participation in the manifest Divine presence, should reply: ‘Repent, and let each of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Messiah unto remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the free gift of the Holy Spirit,’ and so escape the fate of ‘this crooked generation’—revealed as such in its treatment of Messiah. This thought connected itself with the closing words of the passage just cited from Joel: ‘And it shall be, that whosever shall invoke the name of the Lord shall be saved,’ i.e. the possession of the true faith in Messiah, the great and notable day. There was a recognized connexion between solemn invocation of the Lord as Protector and the rite of baptism. Possibly this had existed in John’s baptism; it certainly existed in that of the Apostles. The word for ‘baptize’ in the former was perhaps felt to have affinity—an affinity which afforded Pharisees and scribes (Lk 7:30). Thus Maimonides (Ib ‘Bar Biah, 13) says: ‘Israel was admitted into covenant by three things—naturally, by circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. Circumcision was in Egypt... Baptism was in the wilderness before the giving of the Law, for it is said: ‘Thou shalt sanctify them... and let them wash their garments...’ So, whenever a Gentile was admitted into the Covenant of Israel and place himself under the wings of the Divine Majesty, and take the yoke of the Law upon him, he must be circumcised and baptized, and bring a sacrifice.’ This passage bears directly upon the baptism of Gentile Christians; but it casts light also on the genesis of Jewish Christian baptism: for, apart from circumcision, the cases were largely parallel. Sinful Israelites, too, needed to re-enter the covenant in a deeper sense (‘the new covenant’ of Jor 81:6–7, Mk 14:8, 1 Co 11:25; cf. Jn 13–14). The basis of this Messianic sacrament, under Messiah, is Lk 6:13 (cf. Jn 1:31–36; He 9:10–12) so placing themselves ‘under the wings of the Shekinah’ for protection (cf. He 6:1 ‘Repentance from dead works and faith fixed upon God,’ and Ac 20: ‘Repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus’), and pledging themselves to obedience to the Lord’s will, under the yoke of His Law; and in this connexion the ‘clean water’ of Ezek 36:25: ‘And I will circumcise your hearts and put My Spirit within you and will cause you to follow My statutes and be observant of My judgments’ (see Zee 13). Here the words of Ananias to Saul are instructive: ‘Arise, get thyself baptized (middle voice, as usual), and so wash away from thyself thy sins, invoking his name’ (Ac 9:18).

How fundamental was this conception of water-baptism as entering into the new and true covenant, confession of sins and renunciation of the old, false allegiance they involved, and, on the other, confession of Jesus as Messiah or Lord (as Jehovah was Israel’s Lord) and loyalty to the new and true allegiance (cf. Ac 20:21), appears as the basic act of baptism. In that passage Christians are described as ‘those who invoke Jesus as Lord,’ Jl 2:1 being cited in support of the description (Ac 9:4). ‘With the mouth confession is made unto salvation’ (Ro 10:9); this is the outward or objective side of the faith in the heart on which ‘righteousness’ is bestowed, and which expresses itself both in the water of baptism and in the word of the mouth to which Paul here directs attention. The very phrasing of this parallel statement suggests that salvation was at first thought of mainly in its collective aspect (in keeping with OT religion). It was the community’s state of true prosperity, in which through confession of faith in baptism—from the old sinful life to the new—those who were justified individually came to participate. Indeed, Judeo-Christian tendencies tended always to realize this objective side of admission to the covenant sphere of ‘the saints’ (cf. Col 1:26, ‘who rescued us from the sway (δοῦλος) of darkness, and transferred us into the kingdom of the Son of God, in whom we have the redemption, the remission of sins’) more than the subjective side of the believer’s ‘ownership, qua believer, for such admission, formally and definitively, in the act and article of baptism, sealed by manifest Holy Spirit power or inspiration. Hence, though Paul’s teaching as to baptism starts from the common basis of primitive Judeo-Christian thought, he goes far further in inwardness and psychological analysis; and it is needful to study the two types of representation apart, though they are closely connected in the rite and its symbolism.

Baptismal ‘laying on of hands’ confirms the view of baptism as simply an Apostolic practice derived from Jewish usage. As referred to in Jn 1:36 (βεβαιώσεις), baptism was, like Jewish, e.g. John’s, cf. Jn 3:5, Ac 2:38 and of laying on of hands, ‘is a piece of Jewish symbolism for which no word of Christ can be cited, adapted to express union between the new believer and the holy community. As such it constituted the psychological moment when the Messianic gift, or Spirit-baptism, was, as a rule, experienced (Ac 8:17, 46, see also 1 Jn 5:13), for the gift ‘before baptism and apart from laying on of hands. There is no evidence that this act was confined to Apostles (the case in Ac 8:17, is exceptional, as the admission through Apostles of a new class of believers might it might be permitted by any member of the Spirit-bearing community. This appears not only from Ac 7:65 (cf. 8:19) but also from 1 Co 1:13, where Paul could not so have spoken if he performed this most impressive act of baptism in the case of his Corinthian converts generally. It was an edifying symbol, with no constant or essential relation to the minds of the simpler sort to Spirit-baptism, God’s ‘seal’ of ownership upon His ‘heritage’ in the saints’ (Gal 1:16, see Tit 3:5).

2. Significance of baptism—(a) One, yet various. From the first, and in all circles, baptism implied definite identification with Jesus as Messiah or Lord, the head of the Messianic kingdom or the Body, the determinative centre of life for the whole sp., citing also the ‘name of the Lord,’ a man was regarded as ‘in Christ’ or in the Lord.’ Jesus the Christ was Himself the Covenant (Is 49:7) for Own his, and He,
as Lord, became the very sphere of the religious personality of the baptized, hence fitly called 'Christians.' The metaphor of the marriage bond, used in the OT of the moral union between Jahweh and Israel, is applied to the relation of Christ and the Church; and baptism was as the marriage rite, openly sealing for the individual this intimate spiritual relation already virtually present in faith, as marriage is in plighted love (Eph 5:22), cf. 1 Co 6:3 'I take that is joined unto the Lord is NOT applied to The matter was, however, conceived rather differently in different circles. Jewish Christians viewed baptism mainly on its objective or collective side, through the OT associations of covenant and Messiah, as related to the solidarity of Israel, the chosen people; while Paul thought more of the subjective and personal side, bound up with his profound idea of faith as the bond between the believer and his spiritual Head, 'our life' (Col 3). But to both baptism was corporate in idea, 'into one body' (1 Co 12:13, cf. 10:16), while repentance and faith were presupposed in the baptized, by Jewish Christians no less than by Paul. Still the difference of emphasis remains, and shows itself in the figures used, Paul's being the more experimental or psychological, Galatians' more practical, like Ro 6:3-7. Gal 2:9-10, implying such spiritual identity with Christ by faith as resulted in his distinctive metaphor of baptism as formally marking transition from death to new life (Ro 6:4, 2 Co 5:17, cf. 1 P 2:4, 4:5-7, 2:2, which are probably adaptations of Pauline ideas to a less mystical mode of thought).

(b) The psychological side of baptism. — In all attempts to extract from the NT a connected view of primitive baptismal thought and practice, we must take into account its experimental nature. Really to enter into its meaning, we must enter into the very souls of the primitive Christians and share their experiences. In so doing, we get our best aid from analogous fresh Christian beginnings, whether in revivals of religious life, as seen, e.g., in George Fox's *Journal*, or on the more virgin soil of the mission field. While the former analogy warns us against exaggerating the value of the rite, as compared with the Spirit-baptism—the distinctive Christian element (Ac 1:8)—the latter helps us to see the potency of baptism, and to discern its great use, and use it altogether from the outer symbol. Due proportion between the two is preserved by the vital experiences of mission converts, in relation both to previous state and to alien environment. So seen, baptism is the seal by which life-giving faith (as in Abraham's circumcision, Ro 4:11) is ratified, and so confirmed through a definitive act in which consciousness of separation from the sphere of moral deathliness, and unto that of full moral life, is enhanced and made the more effective for the subsequent 'walk in newness of life.' It is this truly an 'efficacious seal' for faith, yet only for faith. It completes and makes more vivid the experience of 'regeneration'—both objective, as between the old social world and the new, and subjective, as between two inner states of the soul. So is it 'regenerative washing and Holy Spirit renewal' ('Tit 3') in an experimental, a religiously real sense; it is the final stage in experience of 'salvation' (in principle) from self and the 'world' to God and His Kingdom of Christian fellowship.

4. *The Sacrament.* It is not a bare symbol, as of something already complete, but a sacrament, i.e. a symbol conditioning a present deeper and decisive experience of the Divine grace, already embraced by faith. But all is psychological and experimental, all the higher level of the magical or quasi-physical conception of sacramental grace, native to paganism, but alien to perfected Hebraism—the religion of revelation and faith.

The recent attempt of the strict 'religious-historical' school in Germany to follow the traces of the magico-religious origin of the NT christological formulae and its hygiene or mixed religious consciousness of the age, upon the NT confessors and baptism, is for the most part of no service or help. It fails to trace the early language of primitive Christianity in relation to the Christian person and the Christian while, and to minimize the Hebraic basis of primitive Christianity, not only in Palestine, but also outside it. In particular, it fails to read the NT's language, precisely in relation to the Christian person and Christian's need, as the main problem of Christian baptism; the suggestion of terminology used by him in becoming 'to the Lord' what he is, it conforms with Paul the theologian. The only excuse for this theory as regards baptism lies in false exaggeration of a single passage, 1 Co 12:13, where Paul mentions being neither Jew nor Greek, as a usage existing among his Christian converts, without meaning to give it his positive sanction (see 11:24 for minor abuses as left over against his own coming). On the whole subject see Rendtorff, *Die Taufe im Christentum*, pp. 16-37.

3. The baptismal formula. — To sum up: as baptism was in Judaism come to mean purificatory solemn or formal connexion, with a twofold reference—from an old state and to a new,—so it was in Christianity. It denoted (1) the convert's attitude towards his past sinful state with its 'dead works,' or towards God as sinned against (He 6:1, Ac 20:37)—repentance; and (2) his new attitude, faith towards God and His Son (Ac 6:6) or, more generally, his consecration, his sharing with the life of Christ (cf. 1 P 2:23), for the future, of which Christ's resurrection was the guarantee or type (cf. 1 P 3:22). The practical effect was remission of past sins or justification, the token of which was the gift of the Holy Spirit, in sensible experience, as marking Divine acceptance of the new subject of Messiah's Kingdom.

All this is present in germ in Peter's words (Ac 2:38), 'Repent, and let each of you get himself baptized in the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of sins,' etc. The phrase 'in the name' of Jesus, 'to the name,' or 'by the name,' is quite clear from contemporary usage (e.g. Ac 12:10, 19:5; 11:13) that 'name' was an ancient synonym for 'person.' Parallels, moreover, from the colloquial Greek of the time show that the expression 'in the name' was itself widely used, especially in the *epistolary* and *synonymic* sense, and with special reference to proprietorship. Thus a payment is made εἰς ἴδιον ἴππον, 'into so-and-so's account'; a petition is presented εἰς τὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἱππὸν, 'to the king's person'; and, still more significantly in the case of the crown (εἰς τὸ ἱππὸν τοῦ θεοῦ) 'to the king's daughter' (Rendtorff, op. cit. p. 94). Such solemn invocation of the king's name in token of personal allegiance answers exactly to one marked aspect of baptism (cf. 2 Ti 2:12), which was further developed in Christian thought after the Apostolic Age, in the notion of the *mister Christi*; see Harnack's monograph so entitled. Only, in primitive Christian baptism, 'the name,' possibly as sum of the Divine perfections (cf. Ps 115 where 'mercy' and 'truth' are elements of God's name), was invoked, in the first instance, for mercy and protection. In any case the formula 'in the name of,' with or without associations from OT usage (=ς) rather than 'ς, so Dalmann), came to have in all Christian circles—though with different shades of thought, as between typical Jews and others—the pragmatically sense of identification between the baptized and Him in whose name baptism took place. The one became thereby the personal property of the other, as part of the people of peculiar possession (ἡμᾶς εἰς περιπάτεσιν with other synonyms, 1 P 2:25, cf. 1 P 1:23-25; Tit 2:4, 5). It is the mark of the true Lord (see 2 Co 4), as all NT writers agree in putting it. That this was the essence of the matter appears from the very title, 'the Lord Jesus,' usual among Gentile converts, just as 'the Christ' or 'Son of God' was among the Jewish circles. 'The Lord Jesus' seems, indeed, to grow out of the central phrase of the baptismal con-
fession, viz., 'Jesus is Lord.' Reading 1 Co 12 9: 'No man can say Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ... in the light of Ro 10 9: 'If then confess "the utterance" (φήμα, more fully το θρύλον) of God in this month (πάντας τοις δικαιούσι) quoted from Dt 30 8, cf. Eph 5 2: 'cleanse me with it (το ταπεινώμενον τῆς πεπλατυνσίας της πτωχείας), with the washing of water (ἐν βάρματι), to wit, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς (cf. Ph 2 9), and believe in thy heart that God raised him from out the dead (in proof of Messianic Lordship, Ro 15, thou shalt be saved' — one perceives this clearly. 'Christ-Jesus,' and distinct from 'Jesus Christ' (= Jesus the Christ), perhaps arose from a similar Jewish Christian form of confession, 'Jesus is Christ (Messiah)—whence 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Ep 4). But did the formula used in baptism, as Πάντας τοις δικαιούσι τοῦ Κύριου Ἰησοῦ (Ac 6 8 19, 1 Co 6 9), embrace preserved this distinctive element, having, for instance, such explicit reference to the unity of God as must have been the heart of proselyte baptism? This is suggested not only by 1 Co 8 6 (οὐκ εἶναι εἰς τὸν θάνατον ἀποκλίνεται ἴδιαν εἰς τὸν θάνατον ἀνεφεύρεται, καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, διὸ τὸ πάντα καὶ ἴδιαν διὰ αὐτοῦ, cf. Eph 4 22, but also by the constant dual form of Apostolic salutations and benedictions (cf. Rev 14: having his name and the name of the Father, and of the New Jerusalem) and the use of a Trinitarian formula of any sort is not similarly suggested, in spite of 2 Co 13 3. Ac 16 25, tells against any view that explicit reference to the Holy Spirit occurred in baptism: so also 1 Co 6 9. It is probable, then, that God the Creator was in some way confessed in baptism (cf. Hermas, Mand. I. 1: 'First of all yield belief [πιστεύεις] that God is one, etc.); yet exactly in what form remains an open question, one which depends upon another, to which attention has recently been called by B. Webers, Der Katenismus der Erorschenten (1908).

4. Procedure in baptism. — Here light is cast forward by Jewish proselyte baptism and backward by sub-Apostolic Jewish usage, both of which make it unlikely that baptism was a bare rite of confessing a sacred Name, followed by immersion in water. This were too formal and abstract a conception to suit the intense moral reality of the religious crisis in question. The rite itself had a concrete setting of ethical exhortation (cf. Eph 5 1). The use of a Trinitarian formula of any sort is not similarly suggested, in spite of 2 Co 13 3. Ac 16 25, tells against any view that explicit reference to the Holy Spirit occurred in baptism: so also 1 Co 6 9. It is probable, then, that God the Creator was in some way confessed in baptism (cf. Hermas, Mand. I. 1: 'First of all yield belief [πιστεύεις] that God is one, etc.); yet exactly in what form remains an open question, one which depends upon another, to which attention has recently been called by B. Webers, Der Katenismus der Erorschenten (1908).

Thus the confession in baptism ('in the name of the Lord,' Did. 9, and perhaps originally in 7th likewise) pledged the baptized to the Christian obedience of baptism (literally: 'προσκύνησε'—a pledge which may have been weekly renewed in early Christian worship, at least in certain regions. For in Bithynia-Pontus, according to fliny's Epistle of c. 112 a.D., the Christians used in their Lord's Day morning meeting to 'pledge themselves with a solemn oath (sacramento sacrosante obstruegunt) not to the commission of any crime, but to avoidance of theft, robbery, adultery, breach of faith, denial of deposit when called upon.' This is distinctly a prototype of the primitive Christian worship as profoundly ethical in tone, but also as to the obligations undertaken in baptism, no doubt in very solemn and explicit fashion, including the witness of those best able to answer (sponsors) for the candidate's good faith and fitness for the Dudehe, in the following 'Two Ways,' continues: 'All these things first pronounce and so baptize,' a practice probably referred to in Mt 28 19: 'Disciple all nations, baptizing into the name . . . , teaching (διδάσκαλοι) them to observe all the precepts I have given you' (ὅσα ἐνετείλακας ἐπὶ διδάσκαλος κυρίου consisting of θρυλλαί, but is more especially found in the Didache and related documents, goes back to the Jewish ethical instruction, on a monothetic basis, given to proselytes among the Diaspora, under the figure of a Way of Life and a Way of Death set before them, found in the O.T., but also among Greek moralists. To this, in its earliest Christian form, reference may be found even in the Pauline letters (e.g. 2 Th 2 13 paraodoses αὐτῶν ἔνθετε, Ro 10 6 τοῦτο . . . παρά τὸν διάθηκα γ' ἡμῶν ἐμπρός τούτων, where διάθηκα and σαββατον as in view, 1 Co 4 17 τῆς δόσεως μοι τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ' [Ἰησοῦ], καθὼς πατησάτω εἰς πάντα εὐλογία διάδοσιν]. Most significant is the language of Ro 6 23, where occurs the notion of prior 'bond-service' to sin 'unto death,' followed by obedience to a τίτων διάθεσιν issuing in now 'bond service' to 'righteousness,' or to God and Christ, and the end 'life eternal.' So again 2 Ti 2 23: 'Let every one that nameth the name of the Lord forsake untruth from iniquity,' which is the other side of the moral picture on the other hand, 'the firm foundation of piety among men. All this suggests such a formal renunciation of the service of Sin as the Way of Death, and a placing of oneself under obedience to Christ as Lord, as emerges after the sub-Apostolic age in the abrenuntiatio diaboli and the ranging of oneself with Christ (Χριστῷ συνάνωσασμα) of the two ways of 'teaching and dominion' in Barn. 18. This is perhaps the key to the description of baptism in I P 3 24, 'not a putting away of filth in the sphere of the flesh (as by water), but the putting off the lusts of nature and of life directed to God,' as pledged to give part and lot in Christ's resurrection to those who yield 'obedience of faith' to God in Him. This appeal may refer specially to the invocation of the Name of the candidate, in answer to the baptizer's interrogation as to his acceptance ex animo of the true allegiance; whereupon the latter sealed the reception of the candidate into the holy community by invoking 'the fair name' of the Lord Jesus upon his head (Jon 2 2, cf. Rev 2 14 22).

This humanly Before this sacred formula was normally countersigned, as it were, on the Divine part by the Messianic gift of a holy enthusiasm ('Holy Spirit' as a phenomenon in the human spirit), the spirit of adoption, through the deeper and abiding covenant of the new life, in the very heart of man henceforth utters its soul in the word 'Father' (Ro 8 15, the Aramaic exclamation, Ἀββα, even passing into use in Gentile circles; cf. Maramatha, 'Lord come,' 1 Co 16 22, Did. 10). Such Divine 'confirming' of the baptized 'into Christ' as a member of His Body, by an 'elation,' a sealing, a giving of the Spirit in 'earnest' (ἀρπαξών, 2 Co 1 22), took place in experience at baptism. But as it issued from a more secret working of the Spirit, as author of the faith which qualified for baptism, so it gave place to an abiding 'fellowship of the Holy Spirit' (2 Co 13 14) in which Christians shared and by which they were 'led' in their 'walk' (Ro 8 14 15, Gal 5 19). The effect of all this was such a spiritually real, or mystical, union with Christ that Paul could speak of it as if he had 'put on' like a robe (Gal 3 27), or again as entering the believer as his 'life' (Ro 8 8, Gal 2 5).

Immersion and affusion. — Immersion seems to have been the practice of the Apostolic age, in continuity with the Jewish baptism with which it is implied in Paul's language, especially in his figure of baptism as spiritual burial and resurrection (Ro 6 4 5, Col 2 20). But the form was not held
essential; and when conditions presented practical difficulties—whether local, climatic, or due to physical weakness, the head (trino ephorh) was omitted. (see also D.III.7). The usual form, of which we have evidence from the 2nd cent. onwards, as regards adults, was that of standing semi-immersed in water, up to knees or waist, combined with threefold plunges beneath (trino ephorh). 

5. Adult and infant baptism. — So far we have been dealing with adult baptism only. It alone occupies attention in the NT, as it does mainly in missionary literature to-day. But this by no means exhausts the facts of the case, as we may learn both from the presuppositions and their baptism of proselytes. The idea that a parent should enter a religion or covenant-relations with God as an individual merely, i.e. by himself as distinct from his immediate family, would never occur to the ancient, least of all to a Jew. There were no "individuals" in our sharp modern sense of the term. All were seen as members of larger units, of which the family was the chief in the time of Christ, when the clan and nation were no longer so overshadowing as in earlier days. The parents, however, had their child brought up in the covenant, and either admitted or excluded the members of his household. Any change in his religious status ipso facto affected them. Hence to any one familiar with the modes of antique thought, no proof in any given case is needed that his child was regarded as sharing their parents' religious status, objectively or socially considered: the omnis probandi falls entirely on those who, under the influence of certain modern modes of thought, would maintain the contrary. Now, not only is there no evidence in the NT read historically, i.e. as true to the interest of the writer and his original readers in what is said or implied, that children stood to the Christian community in a different relation from that belonging to them in ancient religions generally, and especially in Judaism; but what we know of the Jewish practice touching proselytes—

which usually regulated practice among Gentile Christians—makes it most improbable that Christianity here introduced any novel usage. Had such been the case, it must have been emphasized, and could hardly have failed to leave its mark somewhere on the NT. Those who were to be reared 'in the Lord's training and admonition,' and to obey their parents 'in the Lord' (i.e. for Christian motives, Eph. 6:1), must have been viewed likewise as having a religious or objectively—ranking, according to their stage of development, with 'those of the household of faith' and not with 'those without.' This went back to infancy; for Paul regards the child of faith, even on one side only, as 'the heir of truth' (i.e. objectively in covenant with God (1 Co 7:14). No subjective difference between such children and others is implied any more than in Judaism itself. But as in Judaism the child's objective status was conditioned by circumcision, it is natural to suppose that in the NT it was baptism (1 Co 7:12). The only possible doubt is whether the child was regarded as baptized vicariously in its parent, or whether the rite was administered to it also. For the latter alternative we have not only the analogy of circumcision in Is. 61, but also proselyte baptism. Thus we read that 'a little proselyte' is baptized without his intelligent consent, on the principle that one may act for another to his advantage, though not to his disadvantage, apart from his knowledge and consent. Where the proselyte former was able to perform his chosen conformity with his as their head or authority is enough to warrant baptism; where only the mother, baptism is conferred 'on the authority of a beth din' or Jewish court of law (see C. Taylor, Two Lectures on the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, p. 54 ff.). In other cases its effect is only provisional; the child is largely in the hands of those of its parents or family life goes, but his personal or subjective relation to the covenant waits on the development of reflective will, just as with the circumcision of a born Jew, who, as a rule, became a 'son of the Law,' and was publicly accepted into the visible community of Israel (Synagogue) only on the thirteenth birthday. Thereupon a father became free from the burden of his son's sins, i.e. full responsibility for his religious condition. Here is the obvious analogue of Christian 'Confirmation,' or conferring the fruits of their professions and their regeneration effected by baptism in the case of an adult proselyte was meant in an objective sense, to define his new relations with his holy environment; for 'a newly made proselyte is like a newborn child' (Deb. Yeb. 495b). So was it with children born of proselytes and of Christians. Their status of holiness or salvation was objective, and from the nature of the case only objective. It related to the holy or saving environment amid which they stood, first by birth and then by formal admission into the covenant. 

The NT, however, speaks of baptism as the regenerative act of faith (cf. Ac 29) so far as human act and recognition could, i.e. corporately and as basis for 'training and admonition' in the Lord. The subjective reality waited for the emergence of the subjective conditions, as with adult proselytes, who, on coming to years of discretion (like Jewish women), were to be induced to repudiate the objective relations in which they found themselves, without thereby beingclassed and treated as 'apostates.' That is, all was provisional as regards subjective reality. There was no mystical idea of initiation or redemption regarded as a part in working a change, which was unconscious for the most part in the minds of Gentile converts. See, further, § 2 of next article.

LITERATURE.—For Jewish baptisms, especially that of proselytes: Schürer, JDPitt. ii. 310 ff. (later German ed., 1895, ii. 329 f.), especially his article, 'Baptism.' For Jewish practice in relation to Christian: C. Taylor, Two Lectures on the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 1866, p. 54 f.; J. E. Hanauer, Baptism, Jewish and Christian, 1866. For the Greek and other ethnic analogies: F. M. Rendtorff, Die Taufe im Urchristentum, Leipzig, 1909, where full references will be found to recent German discussions of the Religiönsgeographische type and a sober criticism of the subject preceding art.). Fuller ref. in Hastings, DB, art. 'Baptism,' to which may be added E. Vaugeois, Le Baptême, Paris, 1894.

J. V. BARTLETT.

BAPTISM (Early Christian).—I. The origin of Christian baptism. — There are three possible views. The traditional belief is that baptism was instituted by Christ in His parting address to His disciples; but in recent times it has been maintained either that baptism was also practiced by Jews, practised by John the Baptist, and inherited by the early Christians, or that it was adopted by the Christians from the Greco-Roman world. Of these three the choice must probably be made between the first and the third—the third is not decided by itself, but must be explained by the facts, though it is probable that the general ideas of the Greco-Roman world did much to determine and modify the exact form which early Christian baptism took. The evidence consists so largely of the
exegesis and criticism of the same passages that the case for and against each view cannot be put separately. The main Scripture passages concerned are Mt 28:19, Mk 16:16, and Jn 3, of which Mt 28:19 is the central piece of evidence for the traditional view of the institution of baptism by Christ as it is recognized as the formula for baptism of His disciples, 'Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' If they were undisputed, this would, of course, be decisive, but its trustworthiness is impugned on the grounds of textual criticism, literary criticism, and historical criticism.

(a) Textual criticism.—In all extant MSS and versions the text is found in the traditional form, πορευόμεθα δὲ μαθητεύσωμεν πάντα τὰ διδάξα, παραπομπῷ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν ψυχικὸν λόγον εὐαγγελίας, διαδικοῦμεν τῷ γενέστερον σώματι διὸ εὐαγγελισμὸν. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that there is no evidence that the text was ever recorded in any form other than the traditional one, whether we consider the number of schools that endorse this view, or the number of MSS and versions that contain it. The question is whether the traditional text is to be interpreted as absolutely unimpeachable. The answer depends on the view taken of the general problem of textual criticism. If a high value is attached to the existing MSS of the NT, the traditional text, though not necessarily an unimpeachable one in its own right, can be used as an important criterion for the determination of the text. If, on the other hand, it is considered that the traditional text was brought about by this influence working on the 'Eusebian' text, then that the latter arose out of the former in spite of it.

(b) Literary criticism.—The objection raised to Mt 28:19 by literary criticism is that it can be shown to be a comparison with the other Gospels to be no part of the earliest tradition. The greater part of Mt 28 rests on a source almost or quite identical with our Mark, which is generally regarded as the only Gospel not put into the hands of the disciples of Christ by the Holy Spirit; it is possible, though perhaps improbable, that the writer was acquainted with the lost conclusion of Mark, but the method in which Matthew treats his sources is such that it is impossible to be certain that any one sentence (such as Mt 28:19) was found earlier than the last. The fact that the parting words of our Lord differ so much, that it is improbable that they may be traced to any common documentary source. Still it is possible that they represent a common tradition which worked our Lord's parting words, and they may be examined in order to see if they suggest that those parting words contained any command to baptize, whether in the trine name or in the name of the Lord.

The accounts which we possess are Mt 28:19-20, Mk 16:14-20, and perhaps Jn 20:22-23. Of these three, Mt 28:19-20 is generally considered to be a patchwork composition based on Matthew and Luke. If this be so, then the words earlier than the last part, when it was written baptism was connected with the preaching of the Gospel. It does not support the trine formula, but rather the 'Eusebian text' cf. Mt 3:1, 6:20-21. It is not easy to the trine form from the last part, but it is possible that the nearest thing to it is as easy to the reference to baptism was derived from contemporary usage as from Mt 28:19. Mt 28:19-20 is more closely allied with our Mark, and whilst it is not possible that both this passage and Jn 20:22-23 suggest that the earliest form of tradition, it is still possible that there is a good deal of nothing about baptism. It may be argued that the question of repentance and forgiveness of sins was for early Christianity so closely connected with the word 'baptism' that it implies the other. But this is not the point. It is probable that baptism and the preaching of the Gospel went hand in hand from the beginning of the Christian life, and it was due to their direct association in the 'parting words' of the Lord, or to other causes. The evidence of Mt 28:19, if the trine text is to be regarded as the form in which the Third and Fourth Gospels suggest that the earliest tradition knew only of a command to preach the gospel of repentance and forgiveness of sins. In the case of the Third Gospel this argument is especially strong. Either Luke knew of the commission to baptize (whether in the trine name or not) and omitted it, or he did not know it. It seems impossible to find any reason why he should have omitted it. At first sight this evidence seems to prove that Eusebius, in his earlier writings at all events, used MSS of the Gospels which omitted the command to baptize in Mt 28:19, but Kiiligenbach ('The trinitariae Tariff,' Belief zur Forschung christl. Theol. 1908) and Chase (TJLS, 1905, p. 431 ff.) have argued that his method of quoting the text is such as to make the omission of the trine formula appear accidental. This suggestion does not seem to bear examination, since the quotations in Eusebius are not found in works intended for use in churches, and that which seems to be the case. Conybeare has shown that the quotations in Eusebius point to a text which omitted the baptismal formula, though this is certainly not the case. The omission is in fact a distortion of the trine text, but the question whether the omission is the result of the trine text or the trine text from the trine text is not the question here. It is obviously in the nature of the case that the textus receptus, on the one hand, and the textus diatesseron, on the other hand, may be used as the textus diatesseron, on the one hand, and the textus diatesseron, on the other hand, may be used as a basis for the determination of the text. It is obviously important to ask whether the trine text is the best evidence for the 'Eusebian' type of text, Conybeare says that he can see traces of both in the Eustaian, Dial. xxxix. 288, and III. 275, and in Hermas, Simil. 17. 4; but none of these passages is convincing, and perhaps more striking than any of them is the passage in which Justin gives a description of the regeneration of Christian converts in conversion with baptism (Apol. I. 61). Here he quotes a saying of Christ (Except ye be born again ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of heaven) as a proof of the necessity of regeneration, but fails back upon the use of the Eucharistic formula, and this was justly the practice of baptism and the use of the trine formula. This certainly suggests that Justin did not know the traditional text of Mt 28:19.

Whether the 'Eusebian' text, if its existence be granted, has any real claim to be regarded as a serious rival to the traditional form, is a wholly different question. The answer depends on the view taken of the general problem of textual criticism. If a high value is attached to the existing MSS of the NT, the traditional text, though not necessarily an unimpeachable one in its own right, can be used as an important criterion for the determination of the text. If, on the other hand, it is considered that the traditional text was brought about by this influence working on the 'Eusebian' text, then that the latter arose out of the former in spite of it.
instituting Christian baptism. If this be so, it is plain that neither Mk \textsuperscript{10} nor Jn \textsuperscript{3} can prove the instance of Mk \textsuperscript{16} which has been incidentally dealt with; Jn \textsuperscript{3} is more difficult. Doubts have been cast on the text of this verse, so far as the reference to water is concerned, but for the present it is enough to point out that, even if the reference to baptism be undisputed, it is clear that it implies the institution of baptism by Christ; it rather suggests a practice which He found existing and accepted. It is also necessary to remember that in the present position of the criticism of the Fourth Gospel no one can confidently build on historical statements which are found only in that document.

The case against the indirect evidence in support of the traditional view is less convincing. The position in defence of that view is that, even if the evidence in Acts be admitted to prove that baptism in the trine name was not instituted by Christ, it shows that from the beginning it was unquestioningly practised by all Christians, and it is urged that this would not be so if it had not been instituted by Christ. Against this View all that can be said is that the evidence is inconclusive, and that there is much of the evidence in the Epistles, properly regarded, tells against rather than for the traditional view.

The crucial passage is 1 Co \textsuperscript{1} 14:\textsuperscript{-17}:

\texttt{συνεισάγων οὖν ἐνώπιον Ἑβραίους ἢ μὴ Κριστόν καὶ Πέτρον ἢ μὴ Χριστόν, ἵνα διηκονηθῇ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἕνας οἶκος ἢ τὸν Σπνῆα ἵνα λοιπὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ άλλῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἔχουσιν ἀρετήν ἀλλὰ ἐγγίζονται.}

It is urged with great force that Paul could not possibly have written this if Christ had given the definite command to baptize, related in Mt \textsuperscript{28}. It is possible to argue that Paul is speaking of himself, not of the other disciples; but this introduces a limitation into the commission to baptize which cannot be supported, and is also contrary to the constant claim of Paul that he was the Apostolic commission as fully as any of the other apostles.

Thus, far as the negative side of the argument is concerned, the opponents of the traditional view have decided the better case. The weak spot in their position is when they attempt to give any positive explanation of the omission of Christian baptism. The suggestion is that baptism was an already existing custom which the Church took over from the beginning. But if so, from what source did it take it? The answer is that that side of baptism is very often connected with cleansing from sin, and is found in Graeco-Roman Jewish life, as well as in Christian baptism, and was a feature of John's baptism, in which also it had an eschatological significance. It was, in fact, part of the common stock of ideas of the 1st century.

Similarly, the use of the 'name' in baptism is only part of the complex of doctrine connected with the use of names as a means of employing the power which belonged to the original owner of the name. This also was common to Jew and Gentile alike. It is not impossible to point out, on what may be termed the negative side of the matter, which is especially connected with purification, and so far as the use of the 'name' is concerned, there is no reason to quarrel with the view that Christian baptism is an adaptation of customs and ideas which were common to the whole world in the time of Christ. There is nothing in them so strange as to force us to suppose that they were due to the special institution of Christ. The more difficult side of the question is concerned with the relation of the rite of the 'name' to the gift of the Spirit. The baptism of John did not claim to give the Spirit, nor did Jewish baptism. It is also not quite possible to prove the existence of exactly the same thing in the Mysteries, though they did undoubtedly present cognate ideas, especially that of regeneration. This is therefore the strongest point of the argument for either a specifically Christian or a specifically Graeco-Roman basis for baptism. Again, the Epistles are the earliest evidence for a connexion between baptism and the gift of the Spirit. If this view was not known to the Jews, St. Paul must have received it from the original disciples of John. He somewhat modified it, but he adopted it from the general stock of Graeco-Roman ideas. Yet the \textit{prima facie} strength of this argument must be qualified by the following considerations:

(1) In the first place, it may be thought with much reason that Christ and the Spirit, and the growth of Christian life, with baptism, was the ground of discipleship to John the Baptist. If so, a natural confusion of thought would be made stronger by the fact that the beginning of the life in the Spirit did, in fact, often coincide with the water-baptism which marked the initiation of the Christian. That it was coincidence and not identity would not be observed until later, but that it was observed can be seen in the Acts.

(2) In the second place, there seems no reason to doubt the tradition in the Gospels that John the Baptist himself referred to a baptism in the Spirit. Such a reference seems to go back to the use of a passage in the OT which lies behind his baptism, viz. 2Kg 36:27-28. In 3Mk 6:9 we read: 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean (baptism). . . a new heart will I give you, and a new spirit I will put within you. . . the fleshy heart of unbelief, and the spirit of heart of stone, that I will put within you.' This is too much to say that the teaching by John the Baptist of a water-baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, to the mind of many Jews familiar with OT, seems to have been suggested. It may be, if so, it is suggested that the gift of the Spirit, which fulfilled the second half and was found in the Christian Church, was to be looked for in the baptism of John.

(3) Moreover, our real knowledge of popular Jewish theology and religious observances in the time of Christ is small. It is true that the religious and popular Jewish life, ritual and cultic observances, were the natural environment of any Jew familiar with the OT, and that we may, therefore, have more certain evidence of them than we can for other matters; and it is possible that this view was as common among Jews outside the Church as among those who became Christians; that it may have been an important factor in the genesis of Christian baptism (see Housen, \textit{Die Religion des Judentums}, pp. 230 and 237 ff.).

These arguments cannot be said to prove that Christ did not institute baptism, but they may fairly be said to show that the existence of Christian baptism is not most intelligible on the supposition that it was a Jewish custom which the Christians took over, modified and adapted by the natural adoption of 'name,' and by an equally natural connection with the gift of the Spirit. Moreover, there is certainly no satisfactory positive evidence that Christ did institute baptism. It is therefore more probable that the origin of Christian baptism was the result of a kind adaptation of a Jewish custom than that it was directly and specially instituted by Christ. This is also far more probable than that it was first borrowed by St. Paul from the Graeco-Roman world. At the same time, baptism was certainly one of the elements in Christianity which was most likely to obtain a favourable reception from the Roman world, and this may have led to the emphasis which was laid upon it, and to the rapid development of the doctrine connected with it.


There are four main ways in which baptism is regarded in the Pauline Epistles.

(a) \textit{Union with Christ}.—In Ro 6\textsuperscript{8} is the immersion in and the rising out of the water are regarded as a union with the death and resurrection of Christ. 'Are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.' Baptism is thus the beginning of a new life of union with the risen Christ. The same idea is found in Gal 3\textsuperscript{27}. 'As many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ,' and in Col 2\textsuperscript{26} '. . . buried with him
in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him. . . . In the light of these passages it is difficult to doubt that St. Paul regarded baptism as more than symbolical; it was an act which really brought about the result ascribed to it, and not simply a symbol of it, as is one born, are one born, so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body. . . . At first sight this seems an idea which is difficult to reconcile with the former; but the difference is probably quite superficial. To St. Paul the Christ of spiritual experience and the Spirit were almost if not quite identical. This may be seen in Ro 8:12-17 and 2 Co 3:7.

d. Cleansing from sin.—In 1 Co 6:9 where baptism is not mentioned but certainly implied, it is represented as a cleansing effected through the name of the Lord and through the Divine spirit: ‘Ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.’ This view is considerably strengthened to the point that the pronunciation of the name of any one could, if properly used, enable the user to enjoy the benefit of the attributes attached to the original owner of the name (see also art. NAME).

Thus the Pauline doctrine of baptism is that on the occasion of baptism there is a union with Christ, which may also be described as inspiration with the Holy Spirit, while on the negative side it cleanses from sin. This it accomplishes by the power of the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the sacramental effect of the water, according to the well-known idea that results could be reached in the unseen spiritual world by the performance of analogous acts in the visible material world. Baptism is regarded as really giving these results, and not merely as a sign that they have been, or can be, obtained in some other way.

d. Vicarious baptism.—It would also seem from 1 Co 15:29 that St. Paul recognized the practice of vicarious baptism for the dead. It is impossible that ‘Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead?’ If the dead are not raised at all, why then are they baptized for them? can refer to anything except vicarious baptism.

(2) In the Pauline Epistles of Doubtful Authenticity.—Under this heading it is perhaps wisest to deal with the evidence of Eph 5:25, Tit 3:5,6.

In Ephesians the cleansing efficacy of the water is emphasized, and is connected with the word ‘baptism’ (‘having cleansed it by the washing with water with the Spirit’) in the same sense as in the other Pauline Epistles, and not as in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, where baptism, with the addition of symbolic meaning, is regarded as a symbol of a certain regeneration in the individual. The phrase ‘regeneration’ is strange to the Pauline vocabulary, but the idea is involved in Ro 8:15-17, where the identity of the Christ and the ‘Spirit of God, these are sons of God,’ when taken in connection with the view that the Spirit was given in baptism (cf. Gal 3:27, where also the idea of sonship to God and baptism are closely connected).

(3) In 1 Peter.—The only place in the Catholic Epistles which explicitly speaks of baptism is 1 P 3:21, which (i.e. water) in the antitype death and resurrection Jesus Christ, were not cleansed outwardly only away of the filth of the flesh, but a ‘question’ of a good conscience toward God. . . . Here the doctrine of the ‘real’ efficacy of baptism is clearly asserted; but there is a protest against too material an emphasis on the water, to counteract which mention is made of a συνεσιάν ἀγγέλου τρέφων. It is in this sense meant. It is improbable that it refers to prayer to God, for ἐνεργεῖσθαι is never used in this sense, or of inquiry after God, for this would require ἐνεργοῖσθαι, and the best interpretation seems to be that it is a reference to the question directed to a convert at his baptism (see C. H. Dodd, The Intern. Crit. Comment. p. 160). In this ‘a good conscience’ probably defines the content of the demand made on the candidate—it was of a moral rather than a doctrinal nature. The writer also goes on to explain that the water of baptism receives this power ‘through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him. This seems to be an explanation why the name of the Lord was so potent in baptism: He had triumphed over death, and regained life, and those who used His name were able to use His power to do the same. It is true that no actual statement is made in 1 Peter that baptism was in the name of the Lord, but no one is likely to dispute that this was the case.

(4) In the Synoptic Gospels.—Christian baptism is mentioned only in Mt 28:19 and Mk 16:15. The former passage (‘Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit’) claims the direct institution of baptism by Christ, but its authenticity is open to doubt (see § 1).

Here it is only necessary to note, What is the meaning of the formula translated in ‘the name of’? The question is whether εἰς τὸ ὄνομα means the same as εἰς τῷ ὄνομα. The probability seems to be that the two phrases are differently used in the NT, identical. It is now common knowledge that εἰς and εἰς were interchangeable in late Greek, and the Latin and Syriac translators of Mt 28:19 clearly took this view, which is convincingly defended by J. Armitage Robinson in JThSt vii. (Jan. 1906) in an article by F. H. Chase in JThSt vii. (July 1905). The meaning of the writer of the Gospel (or of the redactor who added the clause relating to baptism) was that Christians were to give the name of baptism, the power of baptism, and the power of the Holy Spirit translated to them by the Lord who had gained the power (δύναμις) over everything in heaven and earth. The idea is parallel with that of 1 P 3:21-22.

In Mk 16:15 (‘He that believes and is baptized shall be saved’) baptism is regarded as a necessary means to salvation, but no further details are given.

(5) In the Acts.—The references to baptism in the Acts are doctrinally important in connexion with the formula used, and with the relation between baptism and the gift of the Spirit. The former point is sufficiently discussed in § 3. The latter may best be formulated thus: (a) There is in the Acts a series of passages in which baptism seems to be clearly identified with the gift of the Spirit; (b) there is a second series in which it is clearly distinguished from this gift; and (c) there is a third series in which either cannot be taken as the point, or may be interpreted equally well on either hypothesis. This third series can, of course, be disregarded (such passages as Ac 8:16-17 10:21-33 18:29,30); but an attempt must be made either to interpret them, or to remove the apparent contradiction, or to see in the difference between them an indication of different sources.

(a) The passages which seem to identify baptism with the gift of the Spirit are Ac 1:5-8, 11-12 and 2:38. In P. 10 John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence (cf. a contrast apparently drawn between the two by the same hand in Ac 2:16-21); and Christian baptism seems not to be being regarded as baptism with the Holy Spirit; but as the narrative goes on to show, the same thing happens on the day of Pentecost, in which there is no suggestion of baptism.
in the ordinary literal sense, it is probable that the word 'baptize' in 1st is used metaphorically, and not with reference to ordinary Christian baptism. This interpretation is supported by Ac 11:19, which seems to be quoted by St. Peter, in connexion with the episode of Cornelius, for here the gift of the Spirit is conferred on the Gentiles "in the water," given to those who already received the Spirit. In Ac 2:38 St. Peter says: 'Repent and be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.' Here it seems that the gift of the Spirit with baptism, but it is not decisive. The context is that the promise made in Ac 1:5 has just been fulfilled, and the ascension of Christ was a sign of the Holy Spirit. Then it seems as if the greek synonymous words 'be baptized with water' and 'be baptized with the gift of the Spirit' were understood as a single act, which here, as in Eph 4:4-5, is termed the "regenerating baptism." Here the word 'be baptized' is used in its general sense, as in Ac 1:8, and 2:38. The gift of the Spirit was not in the way in which the disciples had received it, and it is significant that we are not told how the disciples received the Spirit. The gift of the Spirit that were added to the Church. Thus it is possible that the meaning of the passage really was that the Spirit was the means of entry into the Church, and not that the members of the Church were, as it is ultimately given. Similarly ambiguous is Ac 10:44. Here we have the case of certain Ephesians who had become Christians and received the Spirit, but with the baptism of John. St. Paul said to them: 'Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed? And they said unto him, Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Spirit was given. And he said, Into what then were ye baptized? And they said, Into the baptism of John.' In the baptism with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him who should come after him, that he was John the Baptist. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came on them. The phrase 'receive the Spirit' indicates the gift of the Spirit with baptism; not so much because the Spirit was actually given, as because the gifts were those associated with the baptism. It is possible that his surprised question was due, not to the non-reception of the Spirit, but to their ignorance; his first question presupposes the connection of baptism with the gift of the Spirit. Thus it is possible that Christian belief and baptism without the gift of the Spirit. It is not yet clear what the writer may have intended to connect the gift of the Spirit with the laying on of hands rather than with baptism. In each case the phrase 'receive the Spirit' of the gift of the Spirit is separate from baptism, and there is no suggestion that the baptism was imperfect; the 'name of the Lord Jesus' is the usual form in Acts for Christian baptism. In 1st it is the same, the name of the Holy Ghost. While St. Peter was speaking, the Holy Spirit fell on Cornelius and his company. 'Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. And they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Obviouly it follows that the gift of the Spirit was not dependent on baptism, but it appears true that the case of Cornelius was regarded as an exception. The general rule amongst the Ephesians may be summed up as: baptism cleanses and infuses the Spirit, but not immediately, but after a time or after the laying on of hands. The explanation is that the Ephesians, unlike the Samaritans, had received imperfect baptism. Therefore St. Paul did not merely 'lay hands' on the Ephesians, as the Samaritans had done on the first hand of baptism. The gift of the Spirit was, however, due to the laying on of hands, and not to the baptism. In this way the two classes of passages can be so interpreted that they all fall into the same system of doctrine, and there is no need to postulate a variation in the Acts with different views on baptism.

A difficulty, however, arises out of the relation of Acts to the Pauline Epistles. Which is the true or earlier presentation of early Christian thought—that which closely connects baptism and the gift of the Spirit, as the Epistles do, or that which separates the two? The former view is espoused by the followers of van Manen; it would probably say that Acts represents an earlier stratum of thought, that early Christian baptism was like John's—only for the remission of sin—and that the idea of the gift of the Spirit in this connexion was a later ecclesiastical development due to Paul, which has left traces in the Epistles. But this is probably an inadequate view. The fact is that the Acts distinguishes where the Epistles do not, and so is probably the later document. St. Paul simply connects baptism with the gift of the Spirit; it makes no fine distinctions. St. Luke, while constantly bringing the two together, is apparently anxious to maintain that the gift of the Spirit is not the direct result of baptism, but is more closely bound up with the laying on of hands by the Apostles.

(6) In the Epistle to the Hebrews.—In Heb 6:4 and in 10:22 the references to baptism are probable but not explicit. In the latter passage the writer says: 'Let us draw near with a true heart in fullness of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water; let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering, for it makes us an approach to the throne of grace.' It is almost certain that this is an indication that the writer regarded baptism as the necessary beginning of Christian life; but, like the writer of 1 Peter, he connects the spiritual cleansing with a general conscience (though he expresses negatively and I Peter positively); and in the last sentence it is probably possible to see a reference to the baptismal profession of faith represented in 1 Peter by ἐπεράτευσα. In the former passage he says: 'For touching those who were once enlightened and tasted the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come, and fell away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance.' Here the reference to baptism is rendered probable by the fact that ἐπεράτευσα afterwards became a technical term for baptism. It is, however, necessary to point out one qualification to the view that 'enlightenment' means baptism.

In the immediately preceding verses the writer says: 'Therefore let us strive to enter into that rest, lest anyone fall after the same example of unbelief; for the gospel which has been preached unto us is of the same kind as that which was preached to them; but he that had escaped a wave of sin after baptism, press on unto perfection; not laying again a foundation of repentance and of justification; for they are condemned in their works and of their unbelief.' Here he recapitulates the foundation of Christian life, but he joins it to the laying on of hands. Now it seems probable that St. Luke connected the gift of the Spirit with the laying on of hands rather than with baptism itself (see 2 Tim 4:17), whereas St. Paul connected it with the latter. Therefore it is impossible to say precisely what the writer of Hebrews regarded as the effect of baptism, and what as the effect of the laying on of hands. It is possible that enlightenment and converts were either specially connected with the effect of the laying on of hands; or else connected with a second baptism in case of relapse; or else connected with baptism, and the gift of the Spirit with the laying on of hands; or else in the absence of further evidence cannot be said to be possible, and St. Luke was not concerned with this question. His interest lay rather in the question of sin after baptism; from passages such as 2 Pet 3:9-12, there is clear evidence that he regarded a relapse into sin as unforgivable, and it is probable that 6:4 ought to be regarded as implying the existence of a theology of Christian life, which maintained the possibility of a second baptism in case of relapse.

(7) In the Johannine Writings. These books give little information on the subject of baptism. In Jn 3:3 it is stated that Jesus baptized, but the text is open to suspicion in view of Jn 4:2 which denies that He did so: 'Jesus himself used not to baptize, but his disciples.' In any case there is no reference to the laying on of hands after the received text there is a clear reference to baptism, which is described as regeneration by
water and the Spirit. It may, however, fairly be questioned whether the words ‘water and’ are really original in the text. They are without connection with the context, and seem to have been unknown to Justin Martyr. If they be omitted, the passage reads ‘in the baptism of Jesus Christ’—an anxious phrase which has led to the addition of such passages as Tit 3:5. It can scarcely be doubted that there is some connection, but it would seem to be rather of the nature of a significant silence as to the material element, which amounts to a protest against the emphasis laid on it in other circles. Even if the text is correct, it remains true that the emphasis in the passage is entirely on the Spirit and not the water. This characteristic treatment of baptism is exactly parallel with that of the Eucharist, the institution of which is not mentioned, but the doctrine of which is fully expounded on the spiritual side.

In the Johannine Epistles there is no definite allusion to baptism; there are many references to the gift of the Holy Spirit, but there is no proof that the writer connected it with baptism, though in the light of the information of other documents it is extremely probable that this is the meaning in 1 Jev 5:8 of the “baptism of the Spirit.” Perhaps more important, though even less explicit, is Gk 2.71 where a brother seeking a sign says, ‘If you shall ask, and God will give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is sin unto death: not concerning this do I say that you should sin, neither should you shun sin; but if you sin, there is sin not unto death.’ This passage is intelligible only in light of the writer’s intention to the possibility of baptism ‘after anointing’ for sin after baptism. The writer tries to solve the difficulty by introducing a distinction between mortal and venial sin.

Summary of doctrine of baptism in NT.—As a summary of these results from a study of the NT, certain lines of development of doctrine which begin to manifest themselves may be pointed out. The earliest writings, the Pauline Epistles, regard baptism as a cleansing from sin and as the means whereby Christians join the life of Christ—which in 1 Cor 12:13 is identified with the Spirit—identical with the gift of the Spirit. There is, however, no attempt to explain its working except that it was ‘in the name of,’ and so ended with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, who had been raised from the dead. In later documents the development of more than one line of thought may be traced. In the Pauline Epistles of doubtful authenticity emphasis is laid on the cleansing from sin given by the water of baptism, and the idea (already implied by the other Epistles) of regeneration is more emphasized; baptism is in the direction of a magical conception of baptism. Against this we find traces of protest. (a) The writer of the Acts would seem to represent a school of thought which associated the gift of the Spirit with the laying on of the hands of the Apostles rather than with baptism itself. (b) In 1 Peter and perhaps in Hebrews emphasis is laid on a confession of faith by the baptized person, probably of a moral rather than a theological nature. It is possible that this is a protest against a magical view of the ‘gift’ in baptism. (c) The writer of the Fourth Gospel is anxious to emphasize the importance of the gift of the Spirit rather than that of the water; obviously this is closely related to the line of thought represented by Acts; and if 1 Peter represents a protest against a magical view of the ‘name,’ these documents represent a protest against a magical view of the water. (d) A different line of development is testified to by the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 John. As soon as baptism was regarded as the forgiveness of sins—that is, from the beginning—the question of sin after baptism must have arisen. Hebrews bears witness to, and protests against, a tendency to allow a repetition of baptism. The writer regards sin after baptism as beyond forgiveness. The writer of 1 John, on the other hand, bears witness to the fact that this teaching was already found to be too severe, and begins the distinction, so important for the later Church, between mortal and venial sin.

ii. Method of baptism.—On this point we have hardly any information in the NT. The language of Ro 6:3 is thought to point to immersion, and this view is supported by the description of the baptismal practice in the NT, the descriptions in the Gospels of the baptism of Christ; but these arguments cannot be pressed. It is still less safe to argue from the etymological meaning of βαπτιζω as a frequentative of βαπτιζω; for the meaning of words depends ultimately on use, not on etymology, and baptism means by use ‘to wash ceremonially’ (cf. Lk 11:26 ‘he wondered that he had not washed [βαπτισθην] before dinner’). There is no mention of pouring water on the head, as is the case in the Roman rite; or the head being immersed, a point to which the formulary adds, ‘he shall give thee to drink from thine own breast’ (cf. Rom 6:5). In the AV the baptism of the NT is certainly late.

There is no indication of the baptism of children, and no suggestion that baptism was the privilege of a class; but it would seem from 1 Co 1 that St. Paul delegated the office of baptizing to some one else, and Blast argues that this is implied by Ac 10:44 ‘And lie (St. Peter) commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.’ The suggestion is that he did not actually baptize them himself.

3. Baptism in the 1st and 2nd Centuries.—i. In ORTHODOX CIRCLES.—(1) Barnabas. The writer of Barnabas is interested in baptism only so far as it is connected with the mystical meaning of the OT refer to the Christians and not to the Jews. In ch. 11 he illustrates this thesis from baptism. He argues that Is 16:10-15; 33:10, 12 are all prophecies which find a fulfilment in Christian baptism. It is only incidentally in the last paragraph (§ 11) that he gives any description of baptism: καταβαίνετε εἰς τὸ πάρθον ἰματίαν καὶ χρύσου, καὶ ἀναβαίνετε κρατοῦντες ἐν τῷ πάρθενε ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ πειναίῳ ἐφορεῖτε. This seems to imply that baptism is not a ‘real’ cleansing from sin opere operato. It is possible that he regarded it as conferring the gift of the Spirit, and that this is the meaning of the phrase εἰς τὸ παρθένον . . . βαπτισθεῖν (Smyrn. viii. 2)—which probably means without the permission of, rather than without the presence of, the bishop.

(2) 1 Clement. —There is no reference to baptism in this document.

(3) Ignatius. —Nothing in the genuine epistles of Ignatius throws any light on the doctrine of baptism, but in accordance with his general emphasis on episcopal supremacy he insists that baptism may not be performed ‘without the bishop’—οἰκ. ἔλθε καὶ προσευχήθω τοῦ ἐν τῇ βαπτισμῇ . . . βαπτισθείπ (Smyrn. viii. 2)—which probably means without the permission of, rather than without the presence of, the bishop.

(4) Hermas. —The Shepherd of Hermas gives little information as to the practice of baptism, but manifests a considerable interest in the doctrine. The passages which are important are Vls. iii. 3, ii ii. 7, i. 4, iii. 5, 3, Sim. ix. 16. The foundation, he says, is a belief in the necessity and efficacy of baptism. In ii. 2 the sheep is compared to the tower built over water, and in iii. 3 it is explained that this is because ἐν ὁμοίῳ θεῷ
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Two Ways'). This seems to imply a developed system of preparation for candidates for baptism, of a moral rather than a theological kind.

(b) Baptism in the trine name. But it must be noted that in the following eucharistic section mention is made of those who are baptized 'in the name of the Lord,' which is another name.

(c) Immersion, by preference in running (ISW) water, is the rule, but affusion is recognized as legitimate.

(d) Previous to baptism, the baptizer, the baptized, and any other who will be to fast.

It is probable that this document belongs to the 2nd cent., perhaps to the earlier half; but the evidence is not conclusive, and one must not regard arguments based on the 'Two Ways' as valid for the dating of the Didache as a whole.

II. 6.—In II Clement vii. 6, viii. 6, and viii. 5–6 there are three indirect references to baptism, which are of the nature of the name baptize. They are all concerned with emphasizing the necessity of sinless life after baptism, and so form one of the links between this document and Hermas; but they are only homiletic, and do not throw any light on the question of repentance after baptism.

The use of φωνή, which afterwards became very common, has sometimes been traced to the influence of the Mysteries; but this is probably too simple an explanation. It has been suggested, in any other expression it emphasizes the eschatological hope which was never far from the early Christian mind: those who had staked everything on the passing of the Kingdom of the day of judgment. It thus helped to unite the two—logically somewhat inconsistent—ideas of sinlessness and eternal salvation. Passages of importance, besides those in II Clement, are Hermas, Sim. viii. 6, 16: Clem. Al. Quis Deus esto, 20. 21, 25: Strom., ii. 5, 7, 11, 13: Origen, Contra Cels. iv. 4, 6. 2. See also Hatch, Hibbert Lectures, p. 298 ff.; Anich, Das andere Mysterienwesen, p. 45; and Gebhardt and Harnack, Patres Apost., note on II Clem. vi. 6.

3) JUSTIN MARTYR.—In his first Apology (c. 150) Justin gives (ch. 61 ff.) a description of Christian baptism. It may be best treated as failing under three heads: (a) the nature of the baptism; (b) the public and private ceremonies; (c) the exposition of the doctrine concerning it. (a) Description of the rite. This is given in ch. 61. 65:

'One of the perplexities and most common errors...is...the idea that the rite of baptism...is called epiphfismos or a mystery of glory. And yet it is obvious that the rite of baptism...is based on...the idea that baptism is a mystery of...the...mystery of glory.'

(b) The public and private ceremonies. These are described under the form of a formal instruction, and begin with the words: 'Thus shall...be done.'

(c) The exposition of the doctrine concerning it. This exposition is: (c) a justification of this doctrine.

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The important points in this description are the definite allusion to a period of instruction preceding baptism; the trine formula; the moral vow; and the obviously developed character of the service. It is also usually thought, probably rightly, that the opening words of the description imply a reference to a definite creed; if so, this may perhaps be identified with an early form of the Symbolon Romanum, to which some critics see allusions in I Apol. 13, 21, 31, 42, 46, 52, in Dial. 52, and in some other passages which are collected in Gebhardt and Harnack's Patres Apost. 1. 2, p. 128 ff. Negatively it is remarkable that there is no allusion to the laying on of hands, such as is prominent in Acts, or to any connexion of baptism with the laying on of hands, such as is found in Acts and in the Didache. The agreement with the Didache, both negatively and positively, is remarkable.

(b) The doctrine of baptism. Justin regards baptism chiefly as a new birth, and in the passage quoted above refers to it as ἀναγέννησις. He also regards it as a forgiveness for past sins, and he
expresses his doctrine (apparently using some older source, see below) on this point in ch. 61:

"The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are co-eternal, co-eternal and co-equal..."

It was, however, the name that gave the water the power to remove sin. Justin also regarded baptism as bestowing the gift of the Spirit. In Dial. 29 he says: "And, in the case of the Holy Spirit, he says in the passage quoted above (Apol. 61). It is remarkable that it is to this Logos, and not to Mt 28:19, that Justin turns for a justification of the trine formula.

Besides this direct justification, Justin uses a cursory argument from heathen religion. His view was that this was the result of demonic attempts to deceive the world by producing false fulfilsments of prophecy. This theory he applied to the whole of Christian and heathen systems, which represented the true and false fulfilment of OT prophecy. Thus the interpretations of the Greeks were demonic recognition of the truth of baptismal doctrine.

(8) IRENÆUS.—This writer nowhere gives an account of the practice of baptism, but his doctrine concerning it is expressed positively in the Adversus Heresies, while from these passages it is also possible to find some reference to the practice of the Church in this time.

In the Adversus Heresies, ch. 3 (TU xxxi, 1), he says:

"The Father...as the Presbyters, the disciples of the Apostles, have delivered it to us..." above all teaches us that we have received baptism for the forgiveness of sins in the name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was incarnate, died, and rose again, and in the Holy Spirit of God; and that this baptism is the seal of eternal life, and the regeneration to God, by which we become the children, not of mortal man, but of the eternal and everlasting God."

In ch. 7 he explains why the trine formula was necessary:

"And therefore the baptism of our regeneration takes place through these three points, because God the Father blesses with regeneration through the Holy Spirit by means of His Son. For those who bear the Spirit of God in themselves are led to the Father, and the Father is, and the Son is, and the Holy Spirit is..."

(9) TERTULLIAN.—This writer tells us more about the practice and doctrine of baptism than any previous authority.

(a) The practice.—This is summed up in de Corona, 3:

"...for the baptismal waters are the flesh and blood of Christ, and the soul of the Holy Spirit."

(b) A public remonstrance of the devil before the head of the community, which is followed (de Cor. 3, 7) by the statement that Tertullian was acquainted with the Symbolum Apostolicum, reveals that this was not the only baptism practiced by the Church; but there appears to be no definite statement to that effect in Tertullian.

(10) There was a preliminary period of preparation by fasting, vigil, and confession (de Bapt. 21): "Ingressus baptismatis sacramentum crebris jejunibus et penitentialibus orae operet et confesse confectione omnino retro defalleretur."

(c) Immediately after coming out of the water the words "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

(11) There followed the laying on of hands (de Bapt. 5): "...diligentius nuncem...per benedictam...et invitant...sacramentum..."

(12) There was a ceremonial tasting of milk and honey (de Cor. 36). "...sacramentum lacte...et meli...consecratum..."

(13) There was an ascertainment of the devil’s consent concerning the baptism (de Bapt. 6): "...inquo...cimet..."
(b) The doctrine of baptism.—Tertullian's views, though in the main the same as those of earlier writers, show a development on certain points.

Baptism is the source of remission of sins, a forgiveness of sins, a regeneration, and a gift of the Holy Spirit. But the following points are elaborated:

(a) The question is raised in the de Baptismo 5-6 why and how the soul is cleansed. To be found in the answer given by Tertullian is too long to quote in full, but the argument is as follows:—There was from the beginning a special efficacy of Christ's blood (the death of Christ), as shown in its operation on the Creation (Gen 15), and the same spirit returns to the water if God be invoked, and so gives it the power of imparting sanctification. Tertullian also raises the question whether the water itself has any power in this connection, and seems to doubt this, seeing that it is generally recognized that water is frequently the means by which evil spirits are expelled. The answer is that the water is not known or is the present purpose material, how far Tertullian identified this angel with the Spirit itself (cf. Adan, Leg. de Bapt. 18: non minus ac de camiin, in the Quaestiones Quattuorlib., Jan. 1900).

(b) The distinction between cleansing from sin and the gift of the Spirit, which is made in Acts, is emphasized, and a further distinction is introduced between the cleansing of the soul and the gift of the Spirit. The soul is cleansed by the water, the soul by the 'answer' of the candidate (de Resurr. Carv. 48) (where it is argued that baptism implies a resurrection of the soul, but not in a human sense 'sanctification'). The gift of the Spirit in baptism is connected with the laying on of hands and not with the water (de Bapt. 6 and 8; cf. ad Conc. Carthaginiensium in Bapt. 5); and it follows that baptism is essentially in the Spirit. This is the substance of the doctrine of Tertullian as to the relation between the water and the Spirit would not have been strange to Clement. He argues that there is a special reason for water in baptism, because of its identification with the element of milk in the Logos, and thinks that the union of the Logos with baptism is similar to that of milk with water:

\[\text{and the Logos, }\text{in fact, is the Baptism of milk, and it is the Logos that follows.}\]

Similarly in Protrept. 10 (p. 72, ed. Stahlin) he speaks of the l\textit{now} Logos, yet it must be admitted that it is not easy to say precisely what was Clement's view as to the exact relation between symbols and their signification; there is room for a good monograph on his sacramental doctrine.

Clement, like Tertullian, did not recognize the baptism of heretics as genuine. This is proved by an exegesis of the St. John's epistle.

The main authority for the doctrine of these heretics is the Excerpta Theotidi of Clement of Alexandria. The whole passage, Ecce. Theod. 76-96, is most instructive, and is the most important extant passage for deter-
miming the doctrine of baptism as it existed among the
Valentinsians, or, indeed, any other heretics, for it differs from the evidence of almost all other
writers in being extracted from heretical writings,
and not from orthodox polemical books.

Baptism is said to be born into the
world dominated by Father, Son, and Spirit, and so become
superior to all other powers. It is also the
lifeblood of the visible Church, not to the body (σῶμα).
Up to the time of baptism man is under the control of Fatce
(σώμα) and has passed through water and fire from this
control, and the verdict of astrologers (which is recognized as
valid for the rest of mankind) is rendered unimportant.
The baptized person is, through regeneration by Christ, taken
into the Ogdoad. It was further explained that as the water
of baptism quenched the σάτανα πυρί, the invisible part could
quench this also. If we pray for water, we
are told that fasting and prayer are desirable before baptism in
order to prevent the entrance of evil angelic spirits to the
regeneration of the soul (σώμα), and the entrance of the
πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ into the body (σῶμα).

(3) THE MARCIONIANS.—The authorities for these
heretics are Irenæus and Hippolytus. They belonged to
the Valentinian school, and, like the chiliasm which they
reproached, was more developed by the Pistas Sophia.
This new form of baptism was re-introduced and accor-
ding to Hippolytus was regarded as raising those
whom they called the "baptism of purification," though they
committed it (i. e., to die) as it is called to die in the
τέλεια δυνάμεως, καὶ μετέχῃ τῆς αἰνότητος ξεσαυτό, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ βάπτισμα θεόν ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν
The justification for this was found, as in some way con-
ected, heretical baptism ( ketogenic baptism) (Baptism of
the Spirit) which entered Jesus at His baptism, and
the power of regeneration and of entrance into the
Pleroma (λέγοντες δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὸν τέλειον γράφον, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑπτὰ πάντα δύναμιν ὑποδειγμένον) and of
κατά τὸ βάπτισμα κατέστη εὐαγγελίστα, οὗτος εὐαγγελίστας εἶναι τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ βράχου οὗ εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ βράχου αὐτοῦ, καταστάσεις, αὐτοῦ λεγοντος, Iren. loc. cit.)

As to the rite itself there seems to have been
no uniformity of practice. Irenæus distinguishes
seven varieties, and leaves it quite uncertain what
was the relationship subsisting between them
(Iren. i. xiv. 2).
The seven varieties are as follows: (a) A ceremony referred
to in the Formula of Rituale Sanctae Sedis. There is no
mention of this that a water-baptism formed part of it, and
perhaps the contrary is to be inferred from the general
drift of Irenæus's language. (b) The Baptism of Marcion,
who were under the control of the Holy Spirit and the
living word of God, and in baptism they were born of
water, with the formula: Ναρκώμεθα τῷ Βαπτισμῷ τοῦ ἀνωτέρου ἑαυτῶν, εἰς τὸν αὐτῆς μετάβασιν, τὸν τελείον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Φωτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῇ τελείᾳ γραπτοῖς τοῦ ἱστορίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. (c) The Baptism of the Cathari, described in
the Ephesus Theodotus (it also appears that this rite
of baptism contained an imposition of hands, and that
the formula used ended with the phrase
τοῦτο σωτηρίας ἐν τῇ καταστροφῇ). (d) The Baptism of
Valentinians, which was called the Baptism of the
Spirit, which entered Jesus at His baptism, and
the power of regeneration and of entrance into the
Pleroma (λέγοντες δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὸν τέλειον γράφον, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑπτὰ πάντα δύναμιν ὑποδειγμένον) and of
κατά τὸ βάπτισμα κατέστη εὐαγγελίστα, οὗτος εὐαγγελίστας εἶναι τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ βράχου. (e) The Baptism of
Valentinians, which was called the Baptism of the
Spirit, which entered Jesus at His baptism, and
the power of regeneration and of entrance into the
Pleroma (λέγοντες δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὸν τέλειον γράφον, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑπτὰ πάντα δύναμιν ὑποδειγμένον) and of
κατά τὸ βάπτισμα κατέστη εὐαγγελίστα, οὗτος εὐαγγελίστας εἶναι τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ βράχου. (f) The Baptism of
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Pleroma (λέγοντες δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὸν τέλειον γράφον, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑπτὰ πάντα δύναμιν ὑποδειγμένον) and of
κατά τὸ βάπτισμα κατέστη εὐαγγελίστα, οὗτος εὐαγγελίστας εἶναι τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ βράχου.
oil, which is called σάρξις. The formula which is used is: ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὠμός τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠμοῦ ἐκ τῆς θαυμάσιας καταλύσεως τῆς ἀναβολής παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. This is followed by the words: ἢ μήτηρ ἢ θεοπλησία ἢ ζωή ἢ ταῖς ἡμερολογίας ἢ ζωή ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀναβολής ἢ τὰ μισθώρια ἀποκαλύπτουσα τὰ αὐτά, ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὠμός τοῦ Χριστοῦ. In the monastic practice of the Athonite monasteries, ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὠμός τοῦ Χριστοῦ is the usual sequence. In the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions, the sequence is different, with ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὠμός τοῦ Χριστοῦ being followed by ἢ μήτηρ ἢ θεοπλησία ἢ ζωή ἢ ταῖς ἡμερολογίας.

(6) In ch. 131 Mygdonia is baptized in the trine name, and the Greek order is adopted. This practice is not prescribed in the trine name, and finally the Eucharist.

(6) In ch. 157-158 is the account of the baptism of Ozenoxen, Terris, and Messara. The main features are the same: first, inunction with oil (over which the name of Jesus has been invoked) and the trine name, and that the Eucharist always followed immediately. The inunction with oil was more important than the water-baptism—so much so that in ch. 26 the latter is not mentioned at all. It is recorded that water-baptism was practiced in the other passages are interpolations. The doctrinal ideas which play the greatest part are regeneration, forgiveness of sin, a new life, and the gift of the Spirit, which seem to be communicated directly through the inunction. It is also noticeable that the Acts of Thomas regards baptism and married life as incompatible.

Summary of 1st and 2nd centuries.—The data supplied by the preceding paragraphs give the material for making certain generalizations as to the baptism of the sects of the 1st and 2nd centuries. It is, of course, the special object of an Encyclopedia article to give information rather than draw conclusions; but attention may be directed to the following points, which seem to be cardinal:

(1) That the information given as to the practice of baptism is, as a rule, incidental, and never quite explicit; yet the main features are fairly clear. As might have been expected, the rite gradually became more and more complicated. The earliest form, represented in the Acts, was simple immersion (not necessarily submersion) in water, the use of the name of the Lord, and the laying on of hands. To these were added, at various times and places which cannot be safely identified, (a) the trine name (Justin), (b) a moral vow (Justin and Tertullian), (c) Trinitarianism, (d) a confession of faith (Irenaeus, or perhaps Justin), (e) inunction (Tertullian), (f) sponsors (Tertullian), (g) milk and honey (Tertullian). There was also, no doubt, an infinite variety of minor points of detail, especially among heretical sects (cf. especially the Marcionists, and there were probably fixed forms for the administration of the sacraments, of which traces may be seen even in this period (Justin, Tertullian, and possibly the Didache), but the existing baptismal services strictly belong to the 3rd century.

(2) As to the doctrine of baptism we have more information, though here also much of it is incidental. The dominant ideas were those of forgiveness of sin, regeneration, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. To some extent these three ideas may be fairly clearly distinguished in the Acts and baptism rather than as three separate benefits conferred by it. In baptism, the Christian passes from one sphere of life to another. He is born again to another world, and, whereas in the world which he leaves he was under the control of sin, evil spirits, and fate,* in the world in which he enters he is under the control of the Holy Spirit. So far is this view carried, that baptism can be spoken of as a resurrection, though, as a rule, the gift conferred in baptism was regarded eschatologically as far as its complete realization was concerned (see the use of σαρκίζεi in II Clem., p. 350 above).

The change effected by baptism was attributed to the 'name' and to the water, which were regarded as actually effective and not merely symbolic. This view is strange to modern minds, especially to Protestants, but it was part of the common stock of ideas of the 2nd cent., among heathen and Christians alike. A somewhat sub-

ordinat e part is usually played by the laying on of hands and by inunction; but probably both of these were regarded as cardi
dinally, especially Tertullian and the Acts of Thomas). The general theory which underlies these views seems to be the well-known belief that by using the correct name it was possible to exercise the power of the bearer of the name. By this means the Spirit was brought into the water (in the Acts of Thomas into the oil) and thus communicated to the baptized person. The clearest expression of this view is found in Tertullian, but in a more or less developed form it was no doubt universal, except among a few heretics (e.g. Tertullian's opponents, and some of the Marcionists).

As the rite became more complicated, there was a tendency to connect various details with various sides of the doctrine. Especially this was so with regard to the laying on of hands; this, at least sometimes, was peculiarly connected with the gift of the Spirit, and the effect of the immersion in water was limited to the forgiveness of sins (see especially Tertullian, and compare the same tendency even in the Jewish tradition). But this distinction was probably never universal, or to any large extent the subject of discussion.

In its crudest form the theory of baptism was quite meagre; and there are many traces among early writers that they were aware of this difficulty. None of the earliest writers, remarkable as they were, more than putting ethical requirements side by side with their sacramental theories, and demanding both without really co-ordinating them intelligibly (cf. Hermas and the development of the moral vow of which the first traces can probably be found in 1 Peter).

In connexion with the name (which may mean one or more names) the question of formula arises. The earliest known formula is 'in the name of the Lord Jesus,' or some similar phrase; this is found in the Acts, and was perhaps still used by Hermas, but by the time of Justin Martyr the trine formula had become general. It is possible that the older formula survived in isolated communities, but there is no decisive contemporary evidence. The tendency was all the other way, and it is clear that there was an increase in the number of elaborate nature (see the Marcionists and the Acts of Thomas). The difficulty is to distinguish between

* The question of Fait will receive a full treatment in a separate article, and the orthodox and heretical opinions are inclined to deny its influence, but some Gnostics recognized its supremacy over the unbaptized (Theodotus in Clement of Alexandria).
the formula properly so called, and what we should now call the baptismal service attached to it. Probably the truth is that this distinction was somewhat limited to the Holy Spirit, men naturally were forced to ask what was the relation of the regenerate person to sin. The earliest view was that sin was excluded. Probably some even thought that sin was impossible to the baptized, but at least it is certain that a repetition of baptism was not anticipated. It is clear that sin after baptism was in some circles regarded as irredeemable. Practical experience must soon have shown that if this view were held few could hope to see salvation, and the problem which thus arose was dealt with in diverse ways. The most obvious solution was to re-baptize those who sinned. This view was adopted by the school opposed to that of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and was common to most of the Gnostic sects (see e.g. Marcion). In the orthodox (and perhaps most of the Marciosans) view, baptism was always rejected, and the difficulty was met in two ways—by the introduction of the notion of 'peradvent', rapidly developing in Penance, and by the attempt to distinguish between deadly and venial sin (cf. especially Hermas and 1 John). Among the practical results of this difficulty was the tendency, which long survived, to postpone baptism until death was approaching (cf. especially Hermas and Tertullian; similarly the Marciosans, whose sacrament of 'Redemption' was partly a repetition of baptism, partly a new rite that seems sometimes to have postponed its reception to the time of death). It would be an interesting subject for study how far the Catholic practice of extreme unction may once have been connected with a similar view. It is, however, plain that this postponement must sometimes have been carried too far, and death anticipated baptism. Baptism for the dead seems to have been practised by the Marciosans in such cases, and there are a few traces of a parallel custom of vicarious baptism.

The Marciosans realized that sin after baptism was possible, there was another which denied that the regenerate were able to sin. They were risen from death, and any sin which their bodies might commit belonged to the realm of death; it was thus indifferent, and could not affect the regenerate. This theory, which was obviously likely to give rise to the wildest excesses, is probably a partial explanation of the charge of immorality often brought against Christians. It appears from Hippolytus that some of the Marciosans adopted this view, and it is probable that the same is true of the Carpocratians.

The relation of baptism to marriage is a cognate question. Some sects certainly thought that marriage was of the nature of sin, and rejected it altogether (cf. especially Marcion and the Acts of Thomas). The Church in general never seems to have taken this view; but Tertullian, probably even in his pre-Montanist days, regarded marriage as forbidden to those who had already been baptized. If this was the case, of course, the problem was rendered more difficult. If baptism was regarded as a sacrament which could be administered by all Christians, though it was in practice doubtless reserved for the head of the community (cf. Justin Martyr), the question of the rite of baptism was represented in the Acts, which distinguished between the actual immersion in water (which gave forgiveness of sins, and could be administered by every Christian) and the laying on of hands (which gave the Spirit, and was the prerogative of the Apostles), perhaps survived only in part. Tertullian shows that the doctrine of spiritual baptism was characteristic of the African Church (it seems very doubtful if this was true of every Church), but the evidence is not clear that the distinction was made between the ministerial rights of clergy and laity. In any case, as it was certainly the practice for the clergy not the laity—to baptize, the question was not likely to come to the front. But a similar problem began to appear during the 2nd century. What was the value of heretical baptism? The answer, of course, turned on that given to the question of the 1st century. When 2nd century writers did not really reach a more advanced point than the affirmation that only a Christian could give Christian baptism (the attempt of Ignatius to define the administration of the rite to the bishop and those whom he licensed was really only a secondary result of quite a different question), and the Catholic Church triumphed in its attempt to exclude all the heretical sects as non-Christian, then the rule was more or less fixed that heretical baptism was invalid, whereas in the 1st century there were the Marciosans and other Gnostics, and the question probably never became a burning one. Still the principle was established, and became extremely important in the 3rd cent., when it was applied to the quite different types of heresy which then became predominant.

Literature.—There is no satisfactory book on the history of early Christian baptism before the great baptismal controversy in the 3rd century. Useful information will be found in Höffing, Das Sacrament d.Tauft, Erlangen, 1848; W. Heinze, 'Im Namen Jesu, Göttin, 1895, and Baptismus im Anschluß an Paukin, Göttin, 1900; F. K. Rendtorff, Die Taufe im Uchchristentum, Leipzig, 1910; W. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, Göttin, 1912. See also F. Windsch, Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum, Tübingen, 1912.

KESSEPP LAKE.

BAPTISM (Later Christian).—I. From the second to the eighth century.—Since the middle of the second century the notions of baptism in the Church have not essentially altered. The result of baptism was universally considered to be forgiveness of sins, and this pardon was supposed to effect an actual sinlessness which now required a new birth (see 2 Cor. 5:17, etc.). This was still the case in the fourth century, when it was taught by the Bishop of Toledo (cf. tr. vol. ii. p. 190). Baptism, in the words of Firmilian, was the life-giving bath (laverum salvare), the second nativity: it involved the washing away of the filth of the old man, the forgiveness of sins, and the rise of the sons of God through a heavenly re-birth, the being renewed unto life eternal by the sanctification of the Divine bath (see Ep. 75, ap. Cyprian). How the nature and effects of regeneration were conceived by some of the leading writers in these centuries will be discussed in a later paragraph. The net result of the development of thought and practice in this period was to define the essentials of Baptism, and to lay stress on the importance of the act itself, as itself conferring indispensable spiritual blessings. 'In Baptism by the institution of God, the material element of water, together with the prescribed form of words, is used to confer spiritual gifts' (Stone, Holy Baptism, p. 214). This sentence from a modern writer adequately describes the conviction which, with increasing clearness, came into the mind of the Church subsequently to the 2nd century.

I. THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF THE RITUAL ACT.

—This was emphasized primarily (a) in the dread of repetition, (b) in the diminished importance attaching to the rite as such, (c) in the tendency to regard conscious faith on the part of the recipient as non-essential. The first two points are evidenced mainly by the recognition of schis-
mantic and even of heretical baptism as valid, provided water was used, and the subjects were baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The third point most clearly emerges in the growing custom of infant baptism. (a) The question of heretical baptism was raised as an important issue between Cyprian and Pope Stephen. In dealing with converted heretics, different Churches followed divergent traditions. The Roman Church required only that the returning heretic be received with the laying on of hands. Pope Stephen’s position is summed up in the sentence: “Si quis ergo a quacunque heresii venerit ad vos, nihil innovetur nisi quod traditionit est, ut mannis illi imponatur in pententiam” (Cyp. Ep. 74). The practice in Alexandria appears to have been the same (Eus. vii. 2, 7). Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (c. 250), in a letter to Cyprian concerning the baptism of Asian Minor to the custom of the Romans. There it had always been assumed that any baptism outside the Church was invalid. Returning heretics were re-baptized, or rather received true baptism for the first time. At Carthage, the Roman custom seems to have prevailed (in spite of the attitude of Tertullian [see above, p. 386 f.]), and Cyprian was making an innovation when he insisted that all heretics should be baptized on joining the Church (see Eus. HE vi. 3, and note Cyprian’s defense of truth against Ceres. in Ep. 74). The African bishops followed Cyprian’s lead. The divergence in the customs of Rome and Asia may be accounted for by the differing characters of the heresies with which they had to deal. In Rome and Asia, in general were troubled with a variety of fantastic sects, and it appears from a letter of Ieronymus, in Eus. HE vi. 9, that some who came over from heresy had the gravest misgivings as to the worth of the baptism they had received. The sects in the East, frequently united such peculiarieties both with a new practice as to enable the recipient of baptism to be able, as opposed to the heretical practice, to receive the reception of baptism, namely, that of the de Receptanam ap- aposmatically accepted the use of the earlier formula as sufficient. The invocation of the name of Jesus ought never to seem vain to us, because of the reverence due to it and the power that resides in it. Stephen adopted this position that where water and the correct formula were used, the character and creed of the administrators became a matter of indifference. The positions laid down by the author of the de Raptis are not necessarily representative of his side, but they deserve notice. He held that heretical baptism did not in itself confer the gift of the Spirit, but it created a possibility of spiritual rebirth. He was able to distinguish between a position of hands supplied all defects. He distinguished baptism with water from baptism with the Spirit; and though within the Church, if they later found a private formula connected with it, it would eventually be the special function of the de Receptanam to accept such a formula and baptize the Spirit through the laying on of hands at his entrance into the Church. He also claims that sound faith in the administrator cannot be an essential to the validity of water-baptism; for the disciples baptized while the Lord was with them, and while they understood His doctrine very incompletely. The admission of wording, however, when invoked by men who do not believe. Strangers to Christ, workers of iniquity, have cast out devils in his name. Conse-

gently the name, by whosoever invoked in baptism, is of itself operative, and a further invocation means reiterating baptism. This distinction of Cyprian’s is that the baptism was valid when the Spirit really turned the flanks of Cyprian’s position. He main-
tained that heretics could not give Christian baptism, because they did not possess the Holy Spirit. Cyprian seemed to be interested in the contradiction of asserting that a man could be born spiritually in a community desolate of the Spirit (Ep. 74). But Cyprian’s baptism is a baptism of the Holy Spirit; but it is impossible for heretics who do not possess the Holy Spirit to call down His blessing on the water (Ep. 70). If baptism is considered important, if it is really spiritual, then it is impossible outside the Church. Nor can it be contended that the heretical Christian can be worded with the same faith, like the Novilians, are at bottom heretics, and do not hold the same creed. Their baptismal confession does not coincide with that of the Church. The candidate and say, ‘Creda remissionem peccatorum et vitam eternum per sanctum eucharistiam;’ then they lie, because they have not the Church. The heretics are, as it were, bestow forgiveness of sins; that is, their baptism cannot confer any of the blessings associated with baptism. In other words, they cannot baptize. There is only one baptism, that of the Church; and so, Cyprian maintained, those who come over from heresy are not re-baptized in the Church, but baptized (Ep. 71).

The controversy did not immediately arrive at a definitive issue. The divergence of practice did not at once disappear. The Donatists in the 4th century practically took their stand on Cyprian’s rejection of heretical baptism, and they seem at one time to have received this national act of the Donatists. But in general neither Cyprian’s sweeping rejection nor Stephen’s indiscriminate acceptance received the approval of the Church. The Catholic line was that laid down in the Council of Arles (314), whose eighth c. declared, “De a quacunque heresi deputa
lege sua untutur iuxta baptizatem, placuit ut si ad ecclesiam aliiquis de hereticis venericet, interrogant cum symbolum, et si perviderint eum in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse baptizatum, manus ei tantum imponatur ut acceptat Spiritum Sanctum. Quod si interrogatus non responderit, ipsae benevolentiae, licet trinitatem, baptizetur.” In this council the African bishops, who sided with Cyprian against the Donatists, abandoned Cyprian’s attitude to
wards heretical baptism. This rule eventually met with general acceptance. In the East, at any rate in Asia, it was reluctantly adopted (Cyril) and care-
fully applied. The title-deeds of any heretical baptism were carefully scrutinized. Any departure from orthodox custom, such as the Eunomians’ sub-
stitution of one immersion for three, was eagerly contested and condemned. By the end of the 4th century the view of Firmilian and Cyprian, but gradually admits the canonical validity of baptism by the Cathari (see letter 1881 in ‘Library of Post-Nicene Fathers’). In the West, the rule was more readily adopted and was graciously received. The volume of Augustine’s authority was thrown on this side (see de unico bapt. c. Petit. ch. 3, for the main principle).

The central significance of the whole controversy lay (1) in the assumption, common to both parties, that there can be only one baptism, and that this baptism is essential to salvation; and (2) in the progress made towards establishing the objective val-
idity of the sacrament, defined as complete in the use of the correct material and the orthodox formula. (b) The controversy was also a discussion of the objective validity of the sacrament still further. The gist of the Donatist contention was that the sacrament was invalidated by the misbelief or misconduct of the administrator. More particularly, the denial of the faith in time of persecution rendered all the sacramental acts of such traitors worthless. The Donatists followed Cyprian in believing that the character of the administrator affected the value of the rite. To admit this would have thrown doubt on the sacramental life of the Church, and with it the efficacy of the sac-
ments depend upon men. The defenders of the Catholic position would never consent to this conclu-

Ultimately this was disputed only by the obscure sect of Hermobaptists.
BAPTISM (Later Christian)

sion. Optatus asserts unhesitatingly the essential efficacy of the ritual act: 'The sacraments are holy in themselves and their essential sanctity is esse sancta, non per homines,' de Schismate Don. v. 4. The three essentials to baptism are the Holy Trinity, the believer, and the administrator. But, while the first two are indispensable, the last is only quite-essential. The administrator is not the lesser of the two, for it is he who imparts the grace of baptism. He will serve the purpose (see Harnack, op. cit. v. 45). Augustine took up a similar standpoint. Baptism, as defined in the 8th canon of the Council of Arles, confers an indelible stamp on the recipient, which cannot be removed, not even by men. He argued that it does not is to do wrong to the sacrament, to deny the power of God in it. It is impossible to summarize here the numerous writings of Aug. against the Donatists, but the following points may be noted:

(1) Augustine is clear that the use of water, together with the words prescribed in the Gospel, suffices to make a valid baptism. The correct episcopal benediction is not essential. Heretical prayers may even be permitted, as long as they cannot destroy the efficacy of the sacrament, provided the Gospel words are employed (De catech. v. 29). Here Aug. distinctly denies the importance attributed by Cyprian (see supra, p. 347).

(2) The act of cleansing the water by a correct benediction.—(5) In accordance with the Galatians, Aug. regards baptism as a sacerdotal act. He is inclined to assert that anyone who has truly received baptism "can pass on the gift, though, of course, he distinguishes this from the washing from the sins of baptism itself, baptismum. But Aug. does not doubt that a layman who baptizes in the name of the Trinity has conferred a valid baptism, whether his formula be correct or not. This development of the idea of the act, as a case of urgency, his action is at least pardonable, if not praiseworthy. If he baptizes when there is no need for him to undertake another man's office, his action is wrong, and may mean damnation for baptizer and baptized alike, but none the less is the baptism itself (contra Tert. Ep. xii. 13). This has become an emphatic statement of the comparative unimportance of the minister, and of the all-importance of the ritual act. (4—5) It is difficult to see why the author of the de baptismo was so concerned about the formality of the baptism, and that he appears to be more concerned with the efficacy of the rite than with the act of the baptism itself.

The Donatist controversy thus completed the development of infant baptism, as a subject of dispute between Cyprian and Stephen. The two essentials of baptism, water and the Gospel formula, stand out with increasing clarity, and the minister is recognized as being of comparative unimportance.

(c) The persistence of the intrinsic efficacy of the ritual act is further evidenced by the tendency to regard conscious faith on the part of the recipient as non-essential. It is interesting to notice that this was one of the points of difference between the Donatists and the Christians. To the former, a baptism carried out in faith was absurd.

There is an illuminating story in Aug. 's Confess. bearing on this point. A sick friend of his was baptized while unconscious. Aug. who was at the time under the influence of Manichaean ideas, was ready to treat the mater as a joke, thinking that the baptism was a mere form. But when the sick man had had his baptism, he was "utterly at ease both in mind and feeling" (mente et sensu abundantissimo). The friend, however, told him that he was baptized a few months before, and that he had not been "utterly at ease both in mind and feeling."" And this is the case of a man who was baptized while unconscious, and who said that the baptism had wrought a real change in his conscience (scripturis. 4. 4).

But the principal evidence for the growth of the view that baptism was of worth apart from conscious faith in the recipient is to be found in the custom of infant baptism. The existence of the custom from the time of Tertullian is undeniable, but Tertullian's plea for delaying the baptism of children does not imply that the practice against which he protests was of recent growth.

Origen is familiar with the practice of child baptism, and assumes that it comes down from Apostolic times (Comm. in Rom. v.). Cyprian's letter to Fidus (q. v.) discusses the question whether, in the case of infants, baptism should be postponed till the eighth day or not. Fidus wished to make the rite parallel with circumcision, and suggested that the babe was unclean immediately after birth. Origen presumably held that a babe might be baptized at the earliest possible moment, and they repudiated Fidus's suggestion, by saying that to kiss a new-born babe is in a manner to kiss the hands of God the creator. The whole discussion implies that infant baptism had long been in vogue. In the third century, infant baptism was regarded as an Apostolic institution at least in North Africa and in the Alexandrian churches. But while the evidence for the existence of the custom in the third century is overwhelming, the evidence for the complete obscurity as to the Church's adoption of the practice is clear. The 3rd cent. references to child baptism interpret it in the light of original sin, and if the adoption of the practice is due to this interpretation, it is most certainly an early Christian development. Cyprian's letter on infant baptism in this sense (Ep. 50). Origen seems to have based its necessity on the pollution acquired in birth (Hom. viii. and xii. in 1 Cor.), while in his case the idea of pre-existence also suggested that infants were polluted with the sins of a previous life which might be removed in baptism (de Prin. iii. 5). This deduction of the need of infant baptism from the idea of original sin, or from that of pre-existence, may safely be regarded as a theological after-thought. The first is the product of reflection on the writings of St. Paul. It is probable that men pondered long on the conception of original sin before they drew any such conclusion. References to original sin in Clement of Rome or other writers earlier than Cyprian cannot be held to imply a knowledge of the custom of infant baptism. Moreover, the idea that infants needed to be baptized for the remission of sins is contrary to all that is known of early Christian feeling towards childhood. The teaching of Jesus about children runs counter to any such notion, and the little affection and sympathy for the young was appreciated, it was not forgotten (see Burkitt, Gospel Hist. and its Transmission, p. 285 f.). The most natural interpretation of the much-disputed text in St. Paul, 1 Co 7 f., is that Christian parenthood in itself somehow bailed childhood. Tert. speaks of the innocence, the guiltlessness of children, and apparently deduced from it that baptism was unnecessary (see de Bapt., ed. Lupton, p. 52, n. 1). In this he represents what seems to have been the primitive Christian feeling towards childhood. The story of Aristides interprets that feeling aright: 'And when a child is born to any one of them, they praise God; and if, again, it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins' (Syrac. Version, c. 15, ed. J. Reuel Harris, Camb., 75). Perpetua's vision of her little brother Doinocrates, as in heaven, alive and well, shows how people clung to the idea that children as such belong to the

* The fact that Tert. uses the term parvulus and not infans is of no particular significance. He is not thinking of newborn babies, but the word also means a newly-born child (see our previous discussion) implies that the children concerned are incapable of a public profession of faith. The presence of the word parvulus, though clear evidence for the baptism of newborn babies is not forthcoming till Cyprian's letter to Fidus.
Kingdom. In such an atmosphere, a baptism of infants for the remission of sins is hardly conceivable.

But it is probable that the custom did not originate with theologians. It should be noted that even in the earliest infancy the doctrine of a second baptism cannot be described as a Church-custom. That the Church allowed parents to bring their infants to be baptized is obvious: that some teachers and bishops may have encouraged them to do so is probable, though there is no reason to suppose that Tertullian’s position was peculiarly his own. In other words, infant baptism was not at this time enjoined or incorporated in the standing orders of the Church. [It was not till the middle of the 5th cent. that the Syrian Church made infant baptism obligatory (see DCAD p. 170.)] Indeed, in the 4th cent., a prominent and widely respected Gregory of Nazianzus, who was in general censer to persuade people not to postpone baptism, urged the inadvisability of baptizing children before they were three years old, ‘when they are capable to hear and answer some of the holy words’ (Gr. de Bapt., ap. Wall., ch. 11, 27). Again, this does not sound like a personal idiosyncrasy of Gregory. In any case, it is probable that the custom arose from the pressure of parents and not through the direct advocacy of the Church. If this be so, the viewpoint of John Chrysostom is in line with it; he may perhaps be looking outside the idea of the remission of sins. The Pelagians held that infants were baptized, not in order that their sins might be remitted, but in order that they might be sure of admission into the Kingdom of Heaven. Unbaptized infants would not be punished, but could not go to Heaven. Among other passages, they set great store by a well-known utterance of John Chrysostom, which runs thus:

‘You see how many are the benefits of Baptism. And yet your children do not have to reason upon the forgiveness of sins; but have reckoned up ten advantages of it. For this is the fact: a child baptized also, though they are not defiled with sin; that they may be surpassed to the Holiness, Righteousness, Adoption, Inheritance, a Brotherhood with Christ, and to be made Members of him’ (see Aug. c. Julian. v. 1.f.).

Aug., in commenting on this extract, has no difficulty in showing that Chrysostom believed in original sin; but he does not succeed in disproving the Pelagian contention that Chrysostom found a reason for baptizing infants other than the need of the remission of sins or the need of getting rid of original sin. In and though at first sight the Pelagian view of the necessity of infant baptism—the view that through it alone can certain positive advantages be secured—looks as if it were hammered out in the exigencies of controversy, yet it may after all be more primitive than that which eventually came to the front through the influence of Augustine.

Undoubtedly the Pelagian position harmonizes with some seemingly primitive Christian ideas about baptism. It has been suggested that baptism was from the first regarded as a Mosaic rite. To the Jews baptized was to be sealed for the coming Kingdom (see Schweitzer, Von Reimarus zu Wrede, p. 373 f.; and note use of term σφαζός referred to on p. 385, and on Hermas, p. 384 f.). Baptism had a positive eschatological importance. To enter the Kingdom at all, one must wear the seal. The thought is expressed most simply in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas, where one of the Apostle’s converts says: ‘Give us the seal: for we have heard you say that the God whom you preach recognizes His sheep by the seal.’ And though at first sight the Pelagian view of the necessity of infant baptism—the view that through it alone can certain positive advantages be secured—looks as if it were hammered out in the exigencies of controversy, yet it may after all be more primitive than that which eventually came to the front through the influence of Augustine.

Though, as Höfling maintains, the final preva-
The practice of infant baptism broke in on the natural connexion between instruction, conscious faith, and the sacrament. The customary arrangements for the ceremony and the prescribed order rested on the assumption of conscious faith in the subjects. Up to the close of the 5th century the bishop administered the rite himself, but with the advent of the Eastward Church, the bishop himself sometimes performed the ceremony; in this he followed the usual custom of the Western Church, and from the close of the 5th century, many Popes made repeated attempts to confine baptism to those seasons (see DCA, p. 165). The Western Churches further set apart Epiphany for this purpose, and local churches developed special usages. In case of necessity, baptism was administered at any time. Arrangements of this kind were natural when baptism regularly followed the catechumenate. The special seasons disappear when infant baptism becomes universal. Similarly, the whole ritual was designed for adults. The confession of faith in particular points to this; and it must be admitted that the institution of sponsors was a somewhat clumsy device to adapt infants to a ceremony which had clearly been ordered at a time when their baptism was not thought of. The Church, indeed, ascribes to the infant the knowledge of the faith. The awkwardness of speaking of infants as fidélos was felt by Ep. Boniface, to whom Aug. addresses a letter on the subject (Ep. 23). In the 5th cent., Theodulph (de Ordine Baptism. 1) namely remarks: 'Infantes ergo et adulentes et catechumenos omnibus, quorum recta et instrui et doceri possint, sed ut antiquus mos servetur, quo apostolos eos quasi baptizaturos erant primum docebat et instruanc.' The ritual is frankly unsuitable for infants, but it is retained because the tradition that instruction and faith precede baptism is undeniably primitive. It should, however, be noted in this connexion, that it was never supposed that baptism apart from faith would suffice to secure eternal life. Faith was still essential; but whereas faith had as a rule preceded baptism, it was now held that baptism would be equally effective if it preceded faith. And even so, a vicarious faith was required for the valid baptism of infants. Not only the sponsors, but the whole congregation, help to forward the confessor of the infant. And so the grace of the Sacrament of Baptism is no longer confined to the baptized infant; it is not confined to the baptized infant; it is not to be limited to the baptized infant, but to be extended to all the faithful. It is a fact that faith and baptism are inseparable, as Basil, de Sp. Sanc. 12, makes evident. It is also true that baptism was administered only to children who would be instructed and trained in the Christian faith. Theologians of the Church were never encouraged to think, that the mere isolated act of baptism ensured salvation, even though the African Christians called it salus. It remains to explain the ultimate prevalence of infant baptism. The catechumenate, and with it adult baptism, continued so long as the Church was making converts from heathenism. But infant baptism was not universally adopted by believers. For not only was the example of Constantine the Great, who postponed his baptism until near death, echoed; it was not only many who were within the close range of Christian influence delay the decisive step, but there is reason to suppose that many baptized Christians did not in the 4th cent. push forward the baptism of their children. Gregory of Nazianzus, whose parents were both Christians, was not baptized till he was come to years of discretion (see Wall, vol. ii. ch. 3). The same was true of Ephraim Syrus (Butler, Lives of the Saints), and probably of Basil the Great (see Intro. to vol. viii. in 'Library of the Fathers'). Moreover, ascribed to the want of reference to infant baptism in Basil's discussions of the subject, and the general character of his treatise, suggest that many were brought up in their homes, and were not put forward as candidates for baptism until they entered the catechumenate in riper years. The postponement of Aug.'s baptism till he was thirty-three years old is usually attributed to the heathenism of his father. But the passage in the Confessions (bk. i. ch. xi. in Gibb and Montgomery's ed.) suggests that Monica was not anxious to have Aug. baptized, except when he was in danger of dying. During an illness, Aug. was on the point of being baptized, when he recovered. The crucial passage runs thus: 'Diletta est etaque mundatio mea, quasi necesse esset, ut adinse sordidarem, si viveream, quia edoctam, etiam in soribus delictorum reatus foris.' The alleged reason must have weighed with his Christian mother, not with his heathen father. If this interpretation be correct, then Monica's view was characteristic of many Christians in her time. 'Although,' says Harnack, 'the principle was maintained that baptism was indispensable to salvation, still people dreaded more the unworthy reception of it than the risk of ultimately failing to receive it. In the 4th cent. it had become very common to postpone it, in order not to use this sovereign remedy till the hour of death' (op. cit. iv. 284). Another motive of such conduct lay in the thought that a life of indulgence could be washed clean by a deferred baptism. The unbaptized man could safely enjoy himself. 'Let him alone, let him do what he will; he is not yet baptized' (Aug. Conf. i. xi.). This sentiment is echoed by the objectors to whom Basil addresses his work. Aug. and other Church teachers could not deny the main premise here assumed. They could urge the dangers of delay, but they did not deny that baptism, so deferred, would still be efficacious if received. Aug. regards it as one of the signs that grace does much more abound that, whereas Adam's fall involves us in original sin, the grace of the Sacrament of Baptism in the normal order of things gives us no original sin but all the sins we have ourselves committed. Many were anxious that they and their children should secure this more abound-522-351 grace. Moreover, men hesitated before the novus baptismus, if it were to be a mere ordinary matter. In Edessa, at the time of Arians, baptism may have meant the adoption of celibacy and been confined to a spiritual aristocracy, the sons of the
Covenant' (see Burkitt, Early Eastern Christianity, p. 255), but see also Connolly, *JThSt* vi.)

In the course of the 5th cent. infant baptism became the prevailing usage. The action of the Syrian Church in enforcing on parents the duty of having their children baptized has already been noticed. Many a martyrdom was caused by this result. The Christianization of society diminished the numbers of adult converts, and so lowered the importance of the catechumenate. The influence of Aug. and other Church Fathers was east on this side. The growth of the penitential system served to remove in part man's fear of being rejected while the readiness of the Church to administer the *viatium*, or last sacrament, to all (see DCA, p. 2014), and eventually the practice of Extreme Unction, combined to meet the needs which had previously sought satisfaction in deferred and elice baptism. Also, towards the latter part of this period, the penitential system became the means of moral instruction, which had previously been provided by the catechumenate. In the Church's dealings with the Teutonic nations, the baptism of convert was probably prior to the baptism of infants, as far as systematic instruction in the faith was postponed till after baptism. It is true, Clovis and his followers were baptized on confession of faith but the rude German warriors did not submit, and were not expected to come to the Church such, as had been given to catechumens. The catechumenate disappeared in the West, because, as whole peoples were baptized at once, infant baptism was introduced as a matter of course (K. Müller). The Church opened her doors to infant and barbarian, partly because only so could she influence them, and partly because she believed that baptism could of itself confer benefits before faith was instructed or even existent.

(d) Some further illustrations of the importance attached to baptism at least in the latter portion of this period, may be adduced here. (1) As soon as Christianity became the State religion, *baptisteries* were among the first public buildings to be erected by believers. Of the construction of baptisteries in the time of Constantine the Great we have abundant proof (DCA, p. 174). The practice of erecting separate buildings for the celebration of baptism continued in the West at least all through this period. It served to add solemnity to the rite of initiation. (2) The elaboration of the ritual surrounding baptism, as also the development of the practice of receiving infants and adults, up to the time of Tert., is briefly summarized. If we compare the account in Theodulf of Orleans with that statement, the following additions are obvious. The practice of infant baptism by the close of the 5th cent. has led to the inclusion of the rites of the catechumenate in the Ordo *Baptismi*. The infants are first made catechumens, then breathed upon by the priest to receive the breath of the new life (insufflation). This is followed by exorcism and the reception of salt. It is probably the same as the rite recommended *c. Pet. i. 34*, that those rites were associated with infant baptism as early as his day. The *serumtion*, to which Theodulf next refers, can have been only a form in the case of infants. The nose and ears were then touched with spittle, while the priest said 'Exsultation.' This was followed by an anointing of the breast and shoulders with oil. This seems to be a weakened form of the preparatory unction which was certainly in use in the East in the time of Cyril of Jerusalem (see Catech. *Lect. i. 6*). The Theodulf mentions the bestowing of white robes and of a mystic veil on the candidate, in addition to the chrism referred to by Tertullian. The clothing of the baptized with white garments is quite early, well-attested in the 4th cent. Theodulf does not refer to the practice of handing over candles or torches to the neophytes to be lit up towards the close of the service, but the usage is clearly evidenced in Gregory of Nazianzus and in Ambrose, and is still preserved in the Roman ritual (see Höffing, l. 543). The use of milk and honey, mentioned in Tert., does not appear in the primitive story. Perhaps the most important addition after the 2nd cent. was the elaborate renunciation of the devil, together with all his works and pomps. The ceremonial development is an elaborate repetition of the central idea of the rite in additional symbolic acts. It tended to increase the mystery element in baptism. (3) A well-known story related in Socrates (*Hist. ii. 16*) forms the most striking illustration of the 4th cent. belief in the objective *remission* of sins, from which the story is told that the bishop of Alexandria accepted as valid a baptism administered by Athanasius as a boy to some companions who joined him in a game of presence in which the ceremonial was imitated. The writer in DCA (p. 167) remarks that, whether true or legendary, the idea of the feeling of the Church at the time the story was first told. Though baptism declined somewhat in importance after the 5th cent., the point of view here obtained was never lost. It was held (1) that baptism is essential to salvation; (2) that baptism is valid if water and the true formula be used; (3) that baptism so administered confers an indispensable spiritual gift. This leads to the discussion of—

II. THE CONCEPTION OF BAPTISMAL GRACE IN THIS PERIOD.

The primary gift in baptism is, of course, the remission of sins. *Baptizati sumus, et fugit nobis solitudo vitæ pretiterit* (Aug. *Conf.* ix. 6). In the case of children, it is the gift of original sin which is removed. There is an interesting observation in Cyril to the effect that *remission of sins* is given corporally to all, but the communication of the Holy Ghost is bestowed according to each man's faith (Catech. *Lect. i. 5*). The grace of forgiveness was, at any rate, assured. But baptism means more than this. It is essentially *salvation* and *conversion*, and these two ideas may be grouped under this head: (1) The loosening of Satan's hold over the soul, (2) An organic inward change. (1) It is clear that to Cyrilian baptism appealed as a peculiarly strong form of exorcism. Just as the Red Sea drowned Pharaoh, so baptism drowns the devil out of a man. *Cura tamen ad aquam salutarem, atque ad baptismi sanctificacionem venitur, scire debemos et fidere, quia illae diabolus opprimitur et homo Deus deus divina indulgentia liberatur ... Spiritus nequum ... lumen per immortalitatem perfecit, et quod baptizato et sanctificato incipit spiritus sanctus sanctitur* (*Ep. 76*). Cyrilian has previously pointed out that in exorcism the devil often plays the deceiver and says he has gone out when he has not; but the life-giving water is a sure means of expunction. Somewhat similarly in *Comment. in Acts of Thomas*, a woman out of whom a devil has been cast asks the Apostle to give her the seal, 'that yonder fiend may not return to me again' (*Thomas-akten*, § 49; *op. Hennecke, Neuest. Apocr.*). In the baptism of the exorcism and the renunciation were but parts of the process which was
completed in immersion. Every one, in virtue of birth, stands within the kingdom of Satan. This, to Aug., is clear from the fact that the soul of a sinner suffers several pains and torturings of the body, and, what is more dreadful, the outrage of evil spirits' (de Pec. iii. 10). Why are infants execrated at all, if they do not belong to the household of Satan? (de Pec. i. 34). Aug.'s view here rests ultimately on the grand conception of the City of God and its rival. The transition from the latter to the former is effected in baptism.

(2) Not only, however, is the devil driven out of possession, but the soul is cleansed and reformed in the same manner. At times, and in the case of some persons, even bodily types are completely removed. In a wonderful letter (Ep. 1), Cyp. speaks of the thorough change of character wrought in baptism. He explains to Donatus that for a long time he was sceptical on the subject. He could not believe that the extragramen man could be made thrifty, the luxurious induced to return to simplicity, the licentious persuaded into chastity.

With enticements always gripping a man fast, revelling must at least be undelayed; but moral infection, anger increased, will not cease to disquiet, cruelty will not lose its sting. The delight of ambition, the overwhelming power of lust, will not be less. So the soul of a man is, at least in part, the remnant of my past life. I make it here away with the aid of the regenerating wave, after light had poured from above into my heart, I have a cleansed heart, my heart, after the second birth had made me a new man by the draught of the heavenly-born spirit, then with labour, in a wonderful fashion, thereon, where the sun has often set, the sun appears again; certain; closed doors are opened; places were filled with light; what had seemed difficult was now easy; what I thought impossible became possible: so that I could not but see. With the aid of my previous freedom lived bound to sins, had been of the earth, whereas the "I," in which the Holy Spirit now breathed, had begun to be of God (Ep. ii. 9).

Without attempting to analyze this beautiful passage, we may recognize that for Cyp. baptism meant the lessening of temptation. On this he is elsewhere very emphatic; for when a correspondent is puzzled that sick persons after being baptized are still tempted of the devil, Cyprian’s answer is practically to deny the fact (see Ep. 76). The same thought is expressed more crudely in the Acts of Paul and Thekla, where Thekla says, ‘Give me the seal in Christ, and no temptation will invade me’ (Hennecke, op. cit. ‘Paulussakten,’ § 25). The passage in the Confessions (i. 11), where Aug. wonders whether it would not have been better for him to have been baptized earlier, suggests that he would have made a difference in that case, not only because of the sense of responsibility attaching to the grace of confirmation, but also because of the grace to live up to that responsibility which he would thereby have received. But this idea hardly needs illustration.

The lessening of the power of temptation is brought about in two ways, viz. by the loosening of the hold of previously formed sinful habits, and by the gift of new life in the Spirit. The distinction is most interestingly presented in a passage from Basil: ‘Hence it follows that the answer to our question why the water was associated with the Spirit is clear: the reason is because in baptism two ends are proposed: on the one hand, the destruction of the powers of sin, viz. of the new Adam, the dethronement of the old; on the other, our living with the Spirit and having our fruit in holiness: the water receiving the body as in a tomb figures death, while the Spirit pours in the quickening power, renewing our souls from the deadness of sin unto their original life. Then this is what it is to be born again of water and of the Spirit, the being made dead being effected in the water, while the life is wrought in us through the Spirit (de Sp. Sanct., ch. v. n. 11).’

This first-end—the death unto sin in baptism—is, of course, a commonplace in all discussions of the subject. The tendency was to conceive the grace of baptism as specially directed to counteract concrete tendencies of sinwardness, to wash away the original sin (see Aug. Ench. 64). Among the rhetorical epithets which Gregory of Nazianzus applies to baptism, not the least significant is his description of the new birth as ηφίστασθαι, in con-

trast to carnal birth. Basil, again, explains the pillar of cloud as ‘a shadow of the gift of the Spirit who cools the flame of our passions by the mortification of our members’ (de Sp. Sanct., ch. 14). So much, indeed, that Ambrose speaks of the mortification of sinward tendencies, that Hilary had to warn his readers against supposed that baptism would restore to them the innocence of childhood. Similarly Aug. is very careful not to exaggerate the benefits of baptism when he says (de Pec. i. 30): ‘Evacuat [caro peccati] non ut in ipsa vivente censeatur concupiscencia consopera et innata repente absolutione et non sic, sed ut futura mortuus [pententiae] quia interessant baptismum vivixterit, idem habet cumqua pugnet, eumque adividente Deo superet, si non in vacuo gratiam eliam suae superet. Nee nec grandissimae hoc in baptismo, quia in oculis in rebus [infeclabili omnipotentissimae creaturis] ut lex peccati quia inest in membris responans legi mentis, penitus extinguatur et non sit: ut quidquid habet, non suscipat.’

For Aug. baptism means the breaking down of sinful habit, the bestowal of a special grace of resistance, but not the entire removal of the enemy. The new life in the Holy Spirit is not altogether distinct from the lingering of sin, for what is sin is something more than this. ‘Baptism purges our sins and conveys to us the gift of the Holy Spirit’ (Cyril, Catech. Lett. xx. 6). More than once in the 4th and 5th cent. literature the thought appears that baptism makes a Divine impose (offices) on the raw material (terra). At this point, for instance, the Elephantine papyri (pl. xiii. 12). The raw material is, so to speak, cleansed for the reception of the Spirit, and then receives the stamp of the image of God. ‘The water cleanses the body, the Spirit seals the soul’ (Cyril, Catech. Lett. iii. 4). Thenceforth the persons so cleansed and there receive a Divine reinforcement. Hilary claims that the doctrine of the Trinity can be understood only by the regenerate mind. ‘Novis enim regeneratis ingeni sensibus opus est ut unumqueque conscientia sua secundum coelestis ordinis processus illum illuminet’ (III. de Sp. v. 18). The power and presence of the Spirit were bestowed in baptism, though, according to Cyril, the gift of the Spirit was proportioned to faith (Catech. Lett. i. 5).

Thus baptism did not simply secure the remission of sins: it tamed the fierceness of temptation; it broke the power of cancelled sin; it began the new life.

Note on Confirmation and Baptism.—At the beginning of the 3rd cent., Confirmation and Baptism were parts of the same rite. This close connexion continued to be normal for the 3rd and 4th cents., though in the West Confirmation began to be detached (as early as the middle of the 3rd cent.) (Harnack, op. cit. ii. 141, n. 5). By the close of the period, however, they are usually separated in the West (see Thackeray, de Orbe Divinum Baptism. 17); but it was not till the thirteenth century that the two ordinations were permanently separated, and an interval of seven to fourteen years allowed to intervene (‘DCCA’, p. 425).

The writers of this period do not hesitate to attribute the very highest spiritual blessings to baptism (see, e.g., the authorities cited in Stone, Holy Baptism, ch. v. n. 11). But it is difficult to say how far they attributed these blessings to baptism in the narrow sense of the term, as distinct from Confirmation. A definite line of doctrine associated the cleansings with immersion of the body in the water, the imposition of the hands of the bishop. The man who was baptized and confirmed was like a cleansed temple without Divine tenant. This is the form of the earlier period (see p. 382 f. on Acts and 387 on Tert.). It appears in Cyp. (Ep. 71, § 5), and most clearly in Cornelius’s verdict on Novatian (Ep. 84, B.B.VI. 49). Novatian had been baptized on his bed during sickness. On recovery he failed to receive the supplementary rites: more particularly he was not sealed by the bishop. Since he missed this, how could he have received the Holy Ghost? (ος μεν ειδε των λαοις ην ημεως, δεδομεν την γησην, ου κηρυχθη αλαμμενον κατα την εκκλησιαν κουμας, τη εργαζουμενω εν τω εμπορικω, τοιτ ης σε τω ταυ, ποι αυτου του Θεου Πινακων ημουν έκτος) . Perhaps this passage should not be pressed, as currently to be interpreted: it is evidence for the practice of the Church in the case of ‘clinics’. If they are interpreted, their basis of appeal, which was only counted sufficient in itself, must be completed by Confirmation.

* The connexion between baptism and confirmation had been over-

emphasized in some heretical sects. Cf. p. 385 in Marcion, and also note Acts of Thomas here.
BAPTISM (Later Christian)

If it was to be effective. It further shows that normally baptism was not complete without the laying on of hands, and consequently this ceremony was essential to the reception of the Holy Ghost.

The development of thought on the subject during this period is briefly as follows:

(1) Cyprian and his supporters regarded immersion and the laying on of hands as inseparable, and also the sacrament, inasmuch as it completed the Confirmation. This latter assertion is stated at the Rouan view. See Ep. 73, and note the references to the Cyprianische Acta, cited by Hartel, p. 630: 'Quoque enim spiritus sanctus sine aqua separata operari potest nec aqua sine spiritu. Male ergo sibi eumiam dicere diutius positionem spiritum sanctum accepiant et sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque sacramentum debeo eorum necesse in ecclesia manere.' (Op. cit. I. c. 114, p. 121).

(2) As we have seen earlier, the author of the de Re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Church (324?) ordered that in the case of those who had been baptized by the obsequies of a bishop 'holy benedicitionum perferer debere.' In this edict, baptism by the presbyter includes the laying on of hands: but Jerome seems to mean that the ordinary laymen, who might round the altars and lay hands on the baptized at invocation in Sp. Sancti, (see DCJ, Confirmation, p. 452, where a. Lucif. is cited), without being consecrated bishops, might also be invested with Confirmation to the bishop. However, the canon of the Council of Nicaea (325) which is referred to as the necessary complement to Baptism, and that the two ordinances could be received at different times (cf. also Tracts for the Times, 67, p. 152).

Jerome, in his discussion with the Lucianians, asserts that the Holy Spirit is bestowed in true baptism; and he regards the imposition of hands on the head, as a matter of Church order, intended rather for the honour of the priesthood than for the bestowment of the Spirit (ad Romanum, sanctum quan ad legem necessitatem). He argues that those who are baptized in outlying districts, and who fail to be confirmed, would be deprived of the benefits, if the gift of the Holy Spirit can be received only through the laying on of hands. He claims that the case of the churches of which Philip baptized those in the name of the Lord Jesus as an addition to the name of the Lord, separate from within the Church, and the separation was no longer that between heretical baptism and confirmed sacrament. In the latter case, it was natural to assert that the gift of the Holy Spirit depended on Confirmation; in the former it was equally natural to assume it as a necessary part of the same sacrament of baptism apart from Confirmation. The ultimately predominant view in the West was expressed in a Gallican homily (author unknown, but from which the following sentences are taken): 'Ego Sp. Sanctus, qui super aqua baptismi salutis nostrae descendit, in ipso, non ad legem, sed ad manifestandum, immundo non ad peccatum praestat ad gratiam. Quin in honesto, sicut vires vires invisibilis hoste et perspiciatur, ad vita, post baptismum confirmamus ad pugnam, in b. abstrinmus, post b. reoramus. Ac sic continuo transubstantia sufficit regeneranda; hic in anima noua et aliis confirmatur auctoritas auxilia.' In this way Baptism and Confirmation tend to become two independent sacraments, each really bestowing the Spirit, and each endowed with a special grace.

In Augustine's discussion of heretical baptism, the conception of baptism as a simple rite to baptism, the laying on of hands, and of the Sacrament, had been clearly emphasized. Baptism of itself imparted a certain stamp to the soul, and the manus imposita resulted in the spiritual regeneration of the entire soul. The second gift of the Holy Spirit, which could be received only in communication with the Catholic Church (see passages collected in Hoffme, i. 500), this higher gift was necessary for the work of those who were not baptized in the Spirit"; it was not felt to be indispensable, the reason is that all water has not been consecrated; it is mentioned in the Gospel of the epiphany at the Jordan, as well as in the Gospel of the baptism of Jesus; and the fact of the Holy Spirit brooding over it, it could not be water in the natural instrument of the Spirit, and it is cleansing only to the extent that Jesus, and the reality of the Spirit, is the gift of the Spirit they point out that, though Christians are said to be born of water, they are not sons of water, but sons of the Spirit and of their mother the Church. The Church is the place in baptism is spiritual; and even those who connect the Holy Spirit most closely with Confirmation recognize a gift of the Spirit who are baptized in the name of the Lord, and of the Spirit in the name of the Lord. Indeed it is mainly in limiting the benefits of heretical baptism to the catechumen, whereas the Church regards it as extending the gift of the Spirit in the fullest sense to baptism. Thus Basil (op. cit. 15) distinctly connects the pouring in of the Spirit and the beginning of the new life with immersion: 'The water receiving the body as in a tomb death, while the Spirit pours in the quickening power, renewing our souls from the deadness of sin unto their original life,' etc. In three immersions, then, and with three invocations, the great mystery of baptism is performed. Though Basil even here does not use the term the 'inwelling of the Spirit,' yet surely it is implied, and this is the unembarrassed expression of the natural Christian view of baptism. For further discussion see Mason, Relation of Confirmation and Baptism, Tracts for the Times, 67, p. 154.

III. THE BEARING OF BAPTISM ON THE CHURCH LIFE OF THIS PERIOD. One or two general observations must be added here.

(a) The whole development in the earlier centuries here under review, shows distinctly the great bearing which baptism has on the Church's life. It is true that the institution of baptism cannot be traced to a Gentile source. But the insistence on the objective efficacy of the sacrament is largely the result of pagan presuppositions. The idea of regeneration may not be derived from the heathen world; men's preoccupation with it comes from this source (cf. Heitmüller on John, in Die Schriften des NT, ii. 743). It may be that no parts of the Christian ceremonial are borrowed from the Mysteries; but the tendency to add to the solemnity of initiation, which is implied in the ceremonial development, is one of the characteristics of the Mysteries. The close connection of baptism with exorcism and with the renunciation of the devil is derived not from the NT, but from the development of a sacrament in which men are actually living. If the bestowal of grace through visible objects be a primitive Christian conception, the emphasis on the material means was largely evoked by pagan feeling. The purpose of the sacramental side of the Christian religious life has been destined to give assurance of real contact with God somewhere which so many despating pagans failed to find anywhere. It may be doubted whether the certainty about God for which men longed intensely could have been mediated on any large scale in a world that time except through the conception of sacramental means of grace.

In this connection the reader must be referred to the popular views mentioned on p. 394. Some of these betray a non-Christian emphasis which is perhaps not probable that some of the late Sp. Sancti implied much that Aug. would have hesitated to endorse. A perhaps more than Christian confidence seems to be displayed on a passage of the 4th and 5th centuries, since the present writer understands that the description of the deceased as 'baptized' was as reassuring as phrases like inter sanatam. (b) The rite of baptism focused attention on some central Christian truths. Thus, those who received it were led to reflect on the doctrine of the Trinity. In the time of Cyprian, Aug. the expression in itself suggested and enforced the fundamental concept of baptism. Baptism meant that salvation is God's work, and apart from Him it does not even begin (cf. Tracts for the Times, 67, pp. 91-97). BAPTISM, as the new birth, as the regenerate, e.g. Basil and Cyril of Jerusalem, baptism became a powerful moral lever. The ethical and the sacra-
mental were neither separated nor opposed in the minds of the Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries. The view of de Vincentio is simply to adopt the position of Basil's on the occasion of the discussion of the first question in Bk. ii. of Basil's on Baptism. It is the motto of all his treatment of the subject. To him baptism is primarily a death, which commits us to a new life (see his de Bapt. i., and de Sp. Sanct. 45, § 83, and cf. Cyril, Catech. Lect., Introd. § 4, and Lect. ii.). Clearly his view of baptism and its moral effects is derived from the conversions which must have been constantly associated with the rite. And his exposition of the life demanded from the baptized seems primarily a later proposition, built up on the renewed character. The association of this moral change with baptism, and the emphasis on the moral obligations therein assumed, must have made it a powerful factor in raising the moral life. Moreover, the preparation for baptism and the actual ceremony marked most impressively the convert's complete break with paganism. The Christians thought of themselves as a distinct race (cf. Aristides); it is difficult to over-estimate the moral stimulus of the solemn initiation which made a man member of this new race. But the influence of baptism in this direction was certainly diminished as the catechumenate decayed. The moral power of infant baptism could never be as great.

(6) It must, however, be remembered that the doctrine of infant baptism as distinct from that of later baptism was maintained, primarily by the Schoolmen, as a doctrine of faith, not of reason. Infant baptism enabled the Church to Christianize the barbarian nations more rapidly than if the older system had been retained. 'At a later time, baptism brought a man under the jurisdiction of the Church. The Inquisition had no authority over a non-baptized person. To baptize a man was therefore to bring him under jurisdiction. Thus, in the case of the Saxons in Charles the Great's day, and the Danes in Alfred's, baptism was a token of submission' (note by Fonkes-Jackson). With this reader admission to the Church went, no doubt, the dying of the Puritan conception of the Church. 'But it is clear that if the Church was to gain any hold upon the society of the old world which was to pass away, or upon the new races that were to take their place, it must receive them into its fold. This is the doctrine of infant baptism, and is certainly true of the new races.

2. The Middle Ages and the Council of Trent.

—Though Scholasticism devoted much attention to the doctrine of infant baptism, it was in and of itself an inoperative doctrine. The Scholastics, early and late, emphasized the real effectiveness of baptism. To Hugo de S. Victor, Augustine's definition of a sacrament as signum rei divinae seemed inadequate. He preferred to speak of a sacrament as 'corporale vel materiae elementum foris sensibilis et interna' (S. August. contra haereses, vii. 1). Thus, if a sacrament were to be distinguished from an inefficacious sign, it was necessary to confine the idea of sacrament to those that were truly spiritual, and therefore chose an adequate term, the word sacramentum. From this standpoint the Lateran Council of 1216 had rebuked the Greeks for re-baptizing those whom the Latins had already baptized (Denz. 301). Some of the Schoolmen seem to have doubted whether baptism conveyed to infants anything more than the remission of the guilt of original sin. But in 1312, Clement v. lent the weight of his authority to the alternative doctrine that not only was guilt remitted, but 'virtutes ac infirmitates in baptismis non pro uilitatem temporis quodam ussim' (Denzinger, 411).

(6) The general necessity of water-baptism to salvation was steadily maintained, if not being the chief authority for the position (see Bull of Eng. iv.; cf. Denz. 301). Thomas Aquinas, however, regarded the Flagellants as, equally with the martyrs, baptized in blood; and such baptism made the use of water non-essential. Also, the clear intention to be baptized might stand for the deed. Thus Innocent iii. declares that an unbaptized priest, who died sine uada baptismatis but strong in faith, must be held to have reached the joy of the land celestial (see Denz. 343). But baptism aut in voto aut in re is necessary. This position was maintained against the Cathari, who rejected water-baptism as an empty ceremony. It would also be maintained against those who, following Joachim de Flores, regarded sacraments as a temporary expedient, doomed to disappear in the Kingdom of the Spirit. That the sacraments might ultimately be left behind was not denied; but that such a stage had been reached as a permanent, or that such a stage would ever come to the Church Militant on earth, was not to be admitted.

(c) The minister of baptism was usually the priest, and in the mission churches of Germany
the ceremony was by preference administered in the mother-church of a given group (Haeck, Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, iv. 23). But the Lateran Council of 1216 is careful to state that baptism is valid, by whomever duly administered. In consequence of this the act of administering baptism is now provided the minister keeps to the Church's form and intends to do what the Church does. Eugenius iv. states the matter thus: 'Minister hinc sacramenti est sacerdos, cui ex officio competit baptizare. In causae sanctissimae non solum sacripeces, sed etiam leporides, hominum etiam paganos et heretics baptizare potest dummodo formam servat Ecclesie et facere intensionem ac forma fidei.' (Denz. 591). Innocent iii. does not even emphasize the occasion of necessity, and in the earlier Middle Ages the number of cases may have been not infrequent. The Church was also careful to assert that the character of the minister did not impugn the validity of the sacrament. This view was urged against the Waldensians, on whom Innocent iii. imposed the following recantation: 'Sacerdotes quoque . . . inten- dant quod quid facit Ecclesie' (Denz. 591). In the infancy of the Church its baptismal ceremony was often the result of an epidemic (Denz. 591). The Council of Lateran ii. and the Council of Trent subsequently emphasized the importance of sponsors for the baptism of the child, and the Church's instruction in the matter of baptism was given much more systematic attention. In Germany, at least, an attempt was made to magnify the office of godfather. It was expected that godfathers would instruct their godchildren in the Creed, for the Lord's Prayer (Haeck, op. cit. iv. 38). This was a poor substitute for systematic instruction by the priest, but it was an attempt to attach a real responsibility to the office of godfather. The Council of Trent subsequently emphasized the importance of sponsors for forbidding marriage between persons who stood in the relationship of godfather and godchild. They were regarded as within the prohibited degrees (Sessio 24, ch. 2).

The moral power and general importance of baptism were diminished by the enhanced value set on the sacrament of Penance. In the decrees of the Council of Trent, the tendency to regard baptism as the first step to salvation is immediately followed by a reference to penance: 'Et si post suspicionem baptismi quasquam procul suscipiatur in peccatum, per veram penitentiam sine potest reparari.' The early Church had refused to follow the Novatians and condemn penitents to despair; but, whereas the early Church held out hope to the penitent, the medieval Church offered them the assurance of recovery in the sacrament of Penance. This tended to minimize the horror of post-baptismal sin, or, perhaps it would be truer to say, it recognized the absence of any such distress in the medieval believer.

The Council of Trent systematized the medieval doctrine and practice. In the 5th session, original sin and the relation of baptism to original sin were discussed. Adam's transgression meant that he lost his original righteousness, incurred God's wrath, became liable to death, was under the power of Satan, and suffered a change for the worse in body and spirit. These effects are transmitted to his offspring. They were passed on to every one, and can be removed only by the merit of Christ. His merit avails for young and old in the sacrament of baptism. Infants are to be baptized, not that sins of their own committing may be forgiven, but 'ut in eis regenerationis mundetur quasi generationem contraxerunt.' The necessity of regeneration rests on Jn 3. The guilt of original sin is removed in baptism, and the regenerate are no longer sinful in the eyes of God, though there remains in them a root of concupiscence which will express itself through sins. This concupiscence must not be called 'sin,' if by the term it is implied that there is anything in the regenerate which can properly be called sin. It is sin only in so far as it comes from sin and leads to it. During the 7th session, the Council put forth 16 anathemas on the subject of baptism. They assert the following points: the baptism of John is not the same as that of Christ; natural water is necessary to baptism; the Church of Rome has the true doctrine on this subject; heretical baptism, administered in the name of the Trinity and with the true intention of the Church, is valid; baptism is not a matter of choice, but is necessary to salvation; the baptized can lose grace, through sin, even if they retain faith; the baptized are bound not simply to believe, but also to keep the whole
law of Christ: the baptized must conform to the teaching of the Church; vows made after baptism cannot be regarded as cancelled by the baptismal ceremony; sins of others are not forgiven by baptism; there is no mechanical dispensation. The emphasis is placed upon the state of repentance, though it tended to produce popular superstition.\footnote{Attention was in the main concentrated on the gift of God in the sacrament. The grace accorded in baptism was held by the Reformers to have been gratuitous and reasonably unmerited, while the Scots regarded the spiritual aspect as an arbitrarily predetermined determination with the use of the element. The emphasis is thrown on the sacrament as a certain and indispensable means of grace.}\footnotetext*{Attention was in the main concentrated on the gift of God in the sacrament. The grace accorded in baptism was held by the Reformers to have been gratuitous and reasonably unmerited, while the Scots regarded the spiritual aspect as an arbitrarily predetermined determination with the use of the element. The emphasis is thrown on the sacrament as a certain and indispensable means of grace.} For good or ill, it increased the importance of the ceremony. This standard of doctrine and practice underwent considerable modification in the Protestant Churches. There would involve an unnecessary detail to follow in detail the position of each Church. Instead, we shall show how the views of the sacrament were affected by some of the leading ideas of the Reformation, giving illustrations from the forms of services of various Elizabethan Churches. The changed concept of grace and the fresh emphasis thrown upon it; the appeal from tradition to the Bible; the humanism and rationalism of the Renaissance — all these influences in their several ways profoundly affected the doctrine and practice of baptism. These leading forces may be discussed in order, though any attempt to keep them rigidly apart must be artificial.

4. THE CONCEPTIONS OF GRACE AND FAITH.

The Reformers' conceptions of grace and faith are inseparably connected. It is a commonplace that the fundamental fact in the Reformation, at least as dominated by Luther, was the renewal of the Pauline experience of justification. Forgiveness of sins and fellowship with God became realities to a penitent trust in the Divine Love. The assurance to which faith clung was mediated through the word or promise of God, however preached. The entry of the believer into the believing heart might be effected in many ways — by prayer, by the ministry of a preacher, by the reading of the Bible. Faith comes by hearing. Wherever the influence of Luther or of Calvin went, this kind of faith — a conscious penitent trust in the Gospel — was aroused, and it tended to revolutionize men's views of the sacraments.

(1) The sacraments came to be regarded as one means of grace among others. To Luther the sacraments are nothing but "a peculiar form of act which the saving word of God (of the self-realizing promise of God)" (Harnack, vii. p. 216). The influence of the sacraments was thus assimilated to the influence of preaching. Calvin, in the first edition of the Institutes, discusses prayer and the sacraments to the same effect. The sacraments have ceased to be central. Other means of grace — prayer, the devotional study of the Scriptures, the development of preaching — have been placed alongside of and even above them. This tendency has worked itself out in Protestantism over against Roman Catholicism, in Calvinism as contrasted with Lutheranism, and in the Puritanism of Dissent in distinction from Anglicanism. To illustrate from the last only, the Puritans wanted lectures, Archbishop Laud wanted an altar; and, as Dr. Forsyth says, the sermon holds the central place in the church life of Nonconformity which the Mass holds in Roman Catholicism. In general, it followed that for the Reformers the sacraments were no longer absolutely indispensable; they did not communicate a grace which could not otherwise be mediated. 'Believers before and without the use of sacraments communicate with Christ' is one of the heads of agreement between Zurich and Geneva in 1554. It is not true, that all Old and Reformed Churches would have accepted the following position of Calvin, but it represents an undeniable characteristic of Protestantism:

\footnotetext*{See Tyn dall, Doctrinal Treatises, p. 2761.}
(2) It followed from this that the outward elements in the sacrament became of less importance. The Reformers denied the doctrine that the sacraments confer grace ex opere operato. At least in his earlier period, Luther held that the sign of baptism is conferred 'not certainly by the water, but by the word of God, which is with and beside the water, and by the faith which trusts in such word of God in the water' (Harnack, vi. 47 n.). Calvin was more emphatic: 'Not that such graces are included and bound in the sacrament, so as to be conferred by its efficacy, but only that by this badge the Lord declares to us that He is pleased to bestow all these things upon us' (Inst. iv. xv. 14). In the heads of agreement between the Churches of Geneva and Zurich, drawn up in 1554, it was asserted that the spiritual effect was not necessarily annexed to the elements: 'For those who were baptized as infants, God regenerates in childhood or adolescence, occasionally even in old age.' (Hardwick, i. 217). Also, the sacraments could of themselves convey no benefit to the reproule, who, however, undoubtedly participated in them. The Tridentine position that the right use of the elements confers grace unless its reception is opposed by mortal sin, was by then only a gesture to the face of enthusiasts who made all turn on inner feeling. This meant the doctrine held out in the particular Churches of Geneva and Zurich, that baptism 'is not for infants, but that water and spirit' in this passage are one and the same thing—'the action of the Spirit is cleansing, like that of water.'

The Reformed Churches differed widely in their estimates of the importance of the sacraments, ranging from the high esteem accorded to them in the Anglican and Lutheran Churches, to their complete rejection by the Baptists. But even where baptism meant most, its absolute necessity to salvation was not asserted. Thus in the Church of England the two sacraments are held to be generally necessary to salvation. This was certainly not a view with the Elizabethans to mean generally, i.e. ordinarily, though not absolutely necessary (2 Whitg. 523, 537). Wilful rejection of baptism was no doubt damnable, and a probable sign of reprobation. But God's grace was not tied to it (2 Jew. 1167, 2 Whitg. 553). The fathers of the Church of England refused to assert with Rome the damnation of the unbaptized, though they hesitated to make any large assertion on the other side. Hooker criticizes Calvin's supposition that predestination overrides the necessity of baptism. Hooker held that it is possible for those who are certain that they are not to be saved and who wish to assure their salvation that baptism is necessary. (Eccl. Pol. v. 60, 64). Though it is quite open to an English Churchman to hold a stricter view, the Church of England left the outsider who wishes to be saved to the larger hope, and, while emphasizing the value of baptism, hesitated to affirm its absolute necessity. So far she sided with Protestantism against the Middle Ages. Other Protestant Churches went further. Calvin's position (see above) represents the attitude of Scottish Christianity, while the view of Independents may be summed up in this article from a Baptist Confession, on which it was hoped all Protestants would unite.

'We do believe that all little children dying in their infancy, viz. before they are capable to choose either good or evil, whether they be the children of saints or unbelieving parents, shall be saved by the grace of God and merit of Christ, their Redeemer, and the work of the Holy Ghost, and so being made members of Christ, shall enter into the communion of the Church; for our Lord Jesus saith, Of such belongs the kingdom of heaven. Ergo, we conclude, that that opinion is false, which saith that infant baptism is absolutely necessary (Orthodox Creed, § 44, in Confessions of Faith, Harsdorff Notes Sec.).' If the majority of Protestants did not fall under the anathema of Trent by regarding baptism as liberation, free or indifferent, none gave exactly the Roman sense to necessarius.

for original sin and for sins committed before baptism. According to Luther, baptism is, for penitent faith, the assurance that God is a forgiving God. Baptism brings infinite grace, a limited forgiveness, to meet particular sins. According to the latter, baptism witnesses to the constant attitude of God towards a contrite heart. It follows from this, that in the Roman Catholic view, baptism requires a fresh bestowal of grace. A further sacrament; in Luther's view, it suffices to remember the assurance of forgiveness once received in baptism. So the Council of Trent aimed the 9th anathema of Session vii. at this latter doctrine, while Luther held that the Council did not understand Scripture.

Calvin's teaching does not differ in essentials from that of Luther on this point. Baptism is first and foremost an assurance of forgiveness and of imputed righteousness. In baptism we perceive that we are covered and protected by the blood of Christ, lest the wrath of God, which is truly an intolerable flame, should lie upon us (Inst. iv. xv. 9). Or, as Becon says, 'By it we are removed from the fierce judging-place to the right hand of God.' Calvin, too, says that 'at whatsoever time we are baptized, we are washed and purified once for our whole life. Wherefore as often as we fail we must recall the remembrance of our baptism, and thus fortify our minds' (cf. 4 Bul. Soc. 14, 149 in Parker Soc.). The grace given in baptism is not confined to forgiveness. According to Calvin, baptism is conducive to faith, not only by being an assurance of forgiveness, but also by giving us the grace of the Holy Spirit, to form us again to newness of life. Christ by baptism has made us partakers of His death, ingraining us into it. This is mortification (the death of the old man) and regeneration (the birth of the new). Moreover, baptism so unites us to Christ Himself as to make us partakers of all His blessings (Inst. iv. xv. 6). Somewhat similar definitions of baptismal grace may be found in Article 27 of the Church of England and in the Westminster Confession.

It should be noted that, though Calvin speaks of regeneration in baptism, his master-thought is still the forgiveness of sins and the imputing of Christ's righteousness to us. For he holds that baptism is not a means of regeneration, but not the destruction of original sin itself. Ro 7 is the experience of the baptized Christian. Here he would fall under the анатæма pronounced on the Tridentine theology of original sin (Sessio vi. 5). For a vigorous statement of Calvin's view, compare the Westminster Confession, 'The 6th' paragraph.

The most important than the definition of baptismal grace is the thought that baptism is not so much the means whereby God conveys these blessings to the soul, as the sign and seal whereby He confirms and ratifies His promises to the believer. The only authoritative view of the sacrament is the essentially Calvinist view. Baptism is a kind of sealed instrument assuring us of forgiveness. It is an authoritative declaration on God's part of His willingness to fulfil the new covenant with the baptized. The phrase 'sign and seal' is the characteristic one. Depraved human nature can dispense with no prop for faith. In the sacrament, God condescends to give an outward attestation of inward blessings.

The following Illustrations may be adduced:—(1) Art. 27, Church of England: 'Baptism is... also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, we are incorporated into the Church: the promises of the forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost are given in Baptism, being confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God.' It has already been observed that this article goes beyond the Calvinistic view of incorporating the sacrament as something more than a sign or seal (see above, under (2)). But the blessing of the forgiveness of sin is surely understood to be beyond the capacity of man's reason, sense, and the language about the signing and sealing of the promises is quite in accord with Geneva.' (2) The Westminster Confession (ch. xviii.) states of Baptism: 'It is a sign and seal of the Covenant of Grace, of His ingrafting into the whole捧ination, of remission of sins, and of His giving up unto through Jesus Christ to walk in newness of life. The sacrament of baptism goes beyond the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to which (whether of age or infants) as that grace is received, unto which (not God's own will.' But this means little more than that baptism was a reliable sign of assurance—for the elect.) The last words throw the whole question into doubt. The position is that of Calvin. A Particular Baptist (i.e. Calvinistic Baptist) Confession of 1688 holds almost exactly the same language (see our confessions, Hamack, Art. 48, p. 200.)

It was in pursuance of this obscurantist view of the sacraments that those of the OT were placed by Calvinists alongside of those of the NT. OT sacraments and the baptism of John were signs similar to witnessing to the Divine promises. They were as effective signs as the sacraments of the NT. Calvin maintained, against the Schoolmen, that the baptism of John was the same as Christian baptism, 'only he baptized in the name of him who was to come, the Apostles in the name of him who was already manifested.' Similarly, the Westminster Confession (ch. xxvii.) asserts that 'the Sacraments of the Old Testament in regard to the spirit and substance of the new.' The Baptist Society (1653) also holds that baptism is a sign for substance, the same with those of the New' (cf. 4 Bul. Soc. 354, Parker Soc.).

(4) As Baptism is primarily a confirmation of faith, it presupposes conscious faith. The effectiveness of the sacraments depends on faith. The sacraments, including baptism, are appeals to faith; they cannot act where faith is not.

As of sacraments in general, Luther laid down the proposition that they are efficacious, non dum sunt et dum creduntur (Harnack, vii. 216). Leo X. condemned Luther for considering it heretical to suppose that John regarded baptismal confession for grace for a man who did not make active objection (Denz. 623). In other words, Luther held that passive reception was not enough, positive faith was essential. Of Baptism in particular, the Larger Catechism asserts that 'in the absence of faith, baptism continues to be a bare and ineffectual sign' (Harnack, v. 251). Luther also claimed that baptism represents and requires a continual penitence. 'Baptism means that the old Adam must be drowned in us day by day through daily sorrow, and that daily, daily come forth and arise a new man' (Harnack, v. 217 n.). Calvin is equally clear: 'From this sacrament, as from all others, we gain nothing, unless in so far as we receive faith in it' (Inst. iv. xv. 15). Of grace of Divine righteousness a man is made only to a living faith. Moreover, baptism is also a confession of such faith. It is not only God's seal to the New Covenant; it is man's. It is 'a sign of profession' (Art. 27, Church of England). Baptism had always been a confession of faith. Almost every Ordo Baptismus contains a recital of the Creed. But to the Protestant, faith meant more than the recital of the Creed. It presupposed penitence, and was an undertaking to walk in newness of life. A passage in Gosse, Father and Son (p. 201) represents an idea of faith which obtained a wide currency in Protestantism:

As a rule, no one could possess the Spirit of Christ without a conscious and demonstrable abandonment of the old life. What carefully led up to and prepared for with tears and renunciations, was not, could not be, made except as a set moment of time. Faith in an external and absolute sense, was not possible. This is certainly an old English sense, and the language about the signing and sealing of the promises...
necessary, and could not be a result of argument, but was a state of heart.'

But if baptism be the public confession of such a faith, and if it be the assurance of God's forgiveness in answer to prayer; and if the Christian life and corollary of that faith is baptism, should baptism be administered only to such as have passed through this experience?

If the fundamental evangelical and Lutheran principle is valid, that grace and faith are inseparable and that evidences of grace are the demands of grace itself, no Sacrament, but an ecclesiastical observance: if it is in the strict sense a Sacrament, then that principle is false (Harnack). But many Baptists were prepared to draw the logical conclusion and abandon the practice of infant baptism. A threefold division of the Reformed Churches followed. (a) There were those who confined baptism to adults, or rather to conversion, e.g., the Baptists in Holland and Germany (see separate article), the Baptists in England and America, and the Plymouth Brethren. (b) Some Churches retained infant baptism, and fell back on earlier ideas of baptismal regeneration. The Lutheran and Anglican Churches represent this tendency. (c) Yet other Churches retained the custom, but altered its significance.

(a) The position of the first requires little further explanation. The earliest Baptist Confe

Art. 13 declares that 'every Church is to receive all their members by baptism upon the confession of their faith and sins, and such as are regenerate by the work of the Holy Spirit in the ordinates institution and practice. And therefore Churches constituted after any other manner, or of any other persons, are not according to Christ's testament.' Art. 14: 'Baptism, or washing with water, is the outward manifestation of dying unto sin and walking in newness of life; and therefore impossible to infants.' Other Confessions add little to this.

The following points deserve attention: (a) The Baptist position involved the Puritan conception of the Church and the position of the Church and its members. As one of the Confessions says (Hanserd Knollys Soc. i. 40), the servants of God are 'to tend their lives in a walled sheepfold, and in a watered garden.' The early Baptist Churches were apt to be strongly disciplinary. (b) Though in other Confessions (op. cit. pp. 42, 226) the benefits signified by baptism are unfolded, yet the emphasis falls on the idea of baptism as a public profession of personal faith. This is still characteristic (cf. art. ANABAPTIST, i. 410). (c) The essence of the Baptist position is, that baptism is to be administered to all that can believe, that no one can or should be made a Christian without the conscious co-operation of his own will. They asserted the liberty of the individual conscience. Their opposition to 'the Bloody Tenet of Persecution' was based on first principles, and was not simply due to their being in a minority. Similarly, it seems a natural development of their position that communion should be open. At first, most Baptists were strict Baptists, i.e. only baptized believers could join the Church and take part in communion (see Art. 13 of Confession just cited). The American Churches still lean to this side. But from early days some Baptists held that the question must be left to the individual for decision, i.e. those who were personally convinced of the truth of believers' baptism must act up to the conviction. Those who did not share this conviction, but still professed belief in Jesus Christ, were welcomed to Church-fellowship. See app. to Confession drawn up in 1688 (Conf. of England Soc. 244): 'The known principle and state of the church members, or believers of us . . . is such that we cannot hold church communion with any other than baptized believers, and Churches constituted of such: yet some others of us have a greater liberty and freedom in our spirits that way. The majority of Baptist Churches in England to-day are open in this sense, and the throwing open of Church membership in the face of trust-deeds led to one or two interesting lawsuits in the 19th cent. (see G. Gould, Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich, 1860). The practice of open communion seems to be the natural issue of the interests laid on an individual will. (For the whole point cf. Harnack, vii. 125, on 'The Anabaptists.') (d) The dangers of the Baptist position clearly lie on the side of spiritual pride and the over-development of religious self-consciousness. An exceptional, because boyish but still instructive, instance may be studied in Gosse, Father and Son, pp. 211-217.

(b) The dilemma as to infant baptism, occasioned by the new emphasis on faith, was met by Luther in another manner. 'Luther retained infant baptism rather as the sacrament of regeneration' (Harnack, vii. 251). He fell back on the Roman doctrine. He strove to retain the connexion between faith and baptism by continuing the interregnum of Fide and the presence of sponsors in the rite, and by supposing that there is a kind of faith bestowed on infants. Similarly, Calvin maintained that 'infants may have infused into them a kind of faith and knowledge, though not ours.' Or, again, the faith of the parents might be taken as standing for the faith of the children. Thus Calvinists maintained that 'the infant is of itself a Christian parent; the infant is of itself a Christian parent; the infant is by nature a Christian parent.' This was, in fact, the abandonment of the Protestant view of faith (see Harnack, loc. cit.). As already pointed out, some Calvinists were prepared to give baptism as a sign of a regeneration that should follow (see p. 401). Luther, on the other hand, distinguished between regeneration and justification. Regeneration was an inward effect, wrought in baptism. Justification, the inner experience of repentance and forgiveness, was a distinct and later stage in religious development. Thus in the Calvinists infant baptism on somewhat similar terms. Regeneration is carefully distinguished from conversion, and the former may precede the latter.

Conversion is the act whereby, in response to and by the power of divine grace, the soul turns to God in the desire to accept and do His will. Regeneration is the gift which God bestows on the soul by producing in its nature such a change as is necessary to the reception of original sin and acceptance of God instead of under his wrath' (Darwell Stone, op. cit. p. 39).

The Church of England likewise retained sponsors and the interregnum of Fide, which is essentially an attempt to make faith still the introduction to baptism. Again, the Reformers' first conceptions of faith and of regeneration are abandoned, and an approximation is made to the Roman doctrine.

(c) The retention of infant baptism did not, however, always mean the restoration of the older interpretation of the practice. The Puritans in England objected to the institution of godfathers and godmothers, and in their Admonition of 1571 complained that 'they propose holy baptism for the children, but by the intercessions of the parents accepted by God instead of under His wrath' (Puritan Manifestoes, p. 26). In the form of baptism adopted in Geneva there are no sponsors, and no profession of faith is made on behalf of the child. The parents or other responsible persons recite the Creed, as the faith which they hold and in which they intend to bring up the child. Thus in the order for the administration of baptism in the Presbyterian Church of England, based on the Westminster Confession, the minister has to say: 'I do most solemnly and affectionately exhort every father to bring up this child for God, it is fitting that you renew the confession of your faith before God and this congregation.' There is no attempt to preserve the connexion between faith and baptism by a vicarious declaration of faith and of willingness to be bap-
tized, made in the name and on behalf of the child. The Calvinist Churches thus broke with a practice that claimed to come down from Hyginus in the 2nd century and that had been accepted as in itself conveying regeneration at the time. Baptism (is) the sacrament of admission into the visible Church, in which are set forth our union to Christ and regeneration by the Spirit, the remission of our sins and our engagement to be the Lord's (Articles of Faith, Presbyterian Ch. of Eng., 20). And in the ritual service, the minister is directed to pray that God will grant 'that this child, having been in God's own good time born again by the Holy Ghost, may come to years of understanding, that he may confess the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent.' Baptism then stands not for an inner change necessarily wrought at the moment in the unconsciously child, but for the recognition of the fact that the children of believers are already part of the visible Church, and should be at once admitted. It is, further, a declaration of God's goodwill towards the child, and the sign and seal that He will in His good time fulfil in the child the promises set forth therein. In baptism the parents solemnly engage themselves to bring up the child in the fear of the Lord.

The Wesleyan Church, which did not start from the Calvinist basis, but made much of conversion, retains infant baptism in a similar sense. There is no legalization in the Creed at all. The new Christians, for instance, are baptized as soon as possible, the minister says: 'We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, that he may be instructed and trained in the doctrines, privileges, and duties of the Christian religion; and trust that he will be Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end.' It is most significant that this declaration is followed by the four short petitions (e.g. 'Grant that the old Adam in this child may be buried') which in the Church of England service precede baptism. The Wesleyans pray that God will fulfill in the future the promises symbolized in the ritual act: in the Church of England, prayer is offered that these results may then and there be initiated.

To the Congregationalists infant baptism is little more than a dedication service. The Calvinist Churches generally retained it, but the United States, having retained the practice, altered its meaning.

In the Churches which retained infant baptism, the sense of personal responsibility connected with believers' baptism was attached to a later right of admission to full membership. Confirmation in the Church of England is administered to the baptized when they have come to years of discretion, "to the end that they may themselves with their own mouth and consent ratify and confirm" the promises made for them in baptism. The view and use of Confirmation is distinctly Protestant. In the West, Baptism and Confirmation had become separated in point of time; they were still united in the East, and were administered to children in succession, being immediately followed by the Communion. The Western separation of the two Sacraments did not, however, imply that Confirmation was to be given only to those who had made a profession of conscious faith after reaching years of discretion. Confirmation was not intended to be so harsh as to exclude children. The Council of Trent anathematized those who regarded Confirmation as nothing else than a catechetical exercise by which those on the borders of manhood professed the grounds of their faith before the Church (Sessio 7, 'De Conf.,' canon 1). The Church of England did not treat Confirmation as simply this, but, under the influence of Protestantism, she did not admit of its being given to children under twelve, in order that it might serve this purpose.

(Cf. D. Stone's plea for restoring the primitive and Greek practice of conferring infants. He notes that the Church of England continued and developed the medieval view and use of Confirmation from Baptism. He does not sufficiently recognize that this emphasis is the result of the Reformations—a concession to the Protestant conception of faith (Holy Baptism, p. 180.)

The sacrament of Confirmation is in effect dependent on the previous confession of faith. This meant a recognition of the fundamental connexion between grace and profession. In the case of infant baptism, most Protestant Churches put a fresh meaning into Confirmation or its equivalent. They thus adhered to the view that the full privileges of the Christian life could not be bestowed unless consciously desired.

The reasons for the retention of infant baptism were many and complex. The Reformers were not all eager iconoclasts. Luther and the most influential Elizabethans departed only slowly from traditional doctrine and custom. With them, the new practice of adult baptism was connected with a party that was socially despised and politically discredited. A supporter of adult baptism might be supposed to come from Münster. All the leading Reformers ascribed Anabaptism to the devil. A clear sign of aspiration to paganism was to be found over Baptists and Mennonites in the 17th century. They were suspected of being ignorant and revolutionary.

The Baptist historian, Thomas Crosby, is constantly wringing his hands, the learned author of the History of the Puritans, with an affected contempt for Baptists. Here is one passage: 'The Rev. Mr. Neal has given us an account of (Vavasor Powell), and tells us he was educated at Jesus Coll., Oxon.; and had he been an illiterate man, it's not unlikely but he would have told us also that he was a Baptist' (Crosby, Hist. of Baptists, i. 6).

But there were deeper reasons than conservatism and the bad name attaching to the practice of believers' baptism through the early Anabaptists.

(a) Wherever a lively belief in original sin and the guilt attaching thereto continued, it was natural to bestow on infants the sign of the forgiveness of sins. It is perhaps noteworthy in this connexion that the first little group of Baptists or Armenians was formed in 1433.

(b) The doctrine of election made some recollected from the Puritan conception of the Church. It is, they argued, presumption to anticipate God's judgment by confining church membership to those apparently saved. The very attempt tended to petrifaction. They were for a new birth rather to welcome all men. Along these lines Zwingli very strongly criticizes the 'Catabaptists' and defends the practice of infant baptism. As baptism is admission to the visible Church, it is not for human judgment to attach conditions. But more important than these was the feeling that in this religion one cannot separate parent and child. The child of believing parents has, ipso facto, a claim on the Church. The Church must recognize the 'spiritual unity of the family' by welcoming the child. Burnet (on Art. 27) says, 'It is legitimate that parents be allowed to bring their children under federal obligations, and, therefore, procure to them a share in federal blessings.' The idea of the covenant, and the parallel between baptism and circumcision, powerfully influenced men's minds. A covenant that binds the parent binds the child also. And if the covenant of the OT admitted children by circumcision on the eighth day, surely the terms of the new covenant are not so harsh as to exclude children. The Lord's welcome to little children, and the fact that children were reckoned holy through their parentage alone (1 Co 7), were held to put any such restriction out of court. The anomalies presented
by infant baptism to the Protestant conception of faith was due to the parallel institution of circumcision. Baptism, Calvin admits, imparts repentence; but so did circumcision, as is clear from Jer 4:4. The rule that baptism should follow faith is not invariable: for circumcision comes after faith in Abraham and before intelligence. The chief reason for supposing that circumcision was the chief ground for defending infant baptism as agreeable with the Scriptures, while Mk 16:15 and I Co 7:14 were the chief reasons for supposing it to be agreeable with the institution of Christ. It was further urged that, since men believed in God's goodwill towards children, the sign of that goodwill should not be withheld from them. 'How sweet is it to pious minds to be assured not only by word, but even by ocular demonstration, that they are so much in favor with their heavenly Father, that He interests Himself in their posterity!... It is no slight stimulus to us to bring them up in the fear of God' (Calvin, Inst. xii. v. vii. 32). (b) With others, especially in the Church of England, the earlier ideas of sacramental efficacy, as in the sense of Jn 3:17, were the dominant influence.

(5) Before passing on to discuss the effect of the Protestant appeal to Scripture, one other development of the conceptions of faith and grace as essentially inward must be examined. The Quakers, as we have seen, possessed, no doubt, in part on principles peculiar or almost peculiar to them; but it also sprang from the renewed experience of justification by faith which they possessed in common with other Protestants. Both points require illustration.

(a) The doctrine of the inner light was not a universally accepted doctrine among the Reformers. Its assertion sullied the Quakers from the Calvinists. Calvin advocated the use of sacraments because carnal, depraved, human nature could grasp the spiritual only through the material, and needed every sort of aid if it was to retain faith at all. To Calvin, sin was the fundamental thing in men. But if Calvin preached sin, G. Fox preached perfection. He and his followers denied the dogma of human depravity. Deeper than sin lies the something of God in every man. Men must be turned to this inward teacher, and cease to trust in the outward and the creaturely. From this point of view sacraments are not a means of grace but a symbol of or intanglement in the lower realms of religious life.

(b) But, without pushing their peculiar tenets, the Quakers had a strong case in the ground they shared with Protestants in general. It was admitted that God's answer to faith was not tied to the sacraments. All Protestants agreed that the grace of God was conveyed, if not as certainly, yet as really, through preaching and through prayer as through the sacraments. To the Calvinist, baptism was the sign and seal of a spiritual reality, which it did not necessarily follow. But if this be so, if the forgiveness signified in baptism and the communion with Christ offered in the Eucharist are granted to us in other ways, why insist thus on the outward ceremonies? Our opponents, says Barclay, account not those who are surely baptized with the baptism of the Spirit, baptized, neither will they have them so denominated, unless they be also sprinkled with or dipped in water: but he who is so sprinkled is always preferred to the form the substance to the shadow: and where the substance and power is, we doubt not to denominate the person accordingly, though the form be wanting. Therefore, we always adhere to the first and plead for the substance and power, as knowing that to be indispensable in baptism; thereby, though the form sometimes may be dispensed with, and the figure or type may be kept when the substance and antitype come to be enjoyed, as it doth in this case" (Apology, p. 260).

The essential thing in baptism is the answer of a good conscience towards God. Where that pure and spiritual baptism is consistent, it is used by both parties as indifferent. The Quaker position raised the question of the nature of the New Covenant. Did not the new differ essentially from the old in this, that now God would directly and immediately commune with the individual? Barclay's attempts to explain and reconcile both views are bits of unsuccessful exegesis; but the truth 'the kingdom of God is within you' (Lk 17:21) does not depend on the correct interpretation of ωτός.

(c) The Quakers were indirectly the successors of the Anabaptists, who thought sacramentism would disappear in the realm of the Spirit. 'The baptism of John,' said Barclay, 'was a figure, commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever' (Apol. Prop. xii.). He, with good reason, identified water-baptism with that of John. The other Protestant Churches vehemently denied this view of baptism as a temporary institution. Thus the Westminster Confession (ch. xxviii.) asserts that 'Baptism is by Christ's own appointment to be continued until the end of the world.' With this point the Quakers failed to agree. There was the censure of the Baptist and Anabaptist confessions of faith (Hanserd Knollys Soc. p. 147).

B. THE APPEAL FROM TRADITION TO THE BIBLE.—The influence of the Reformers' appeal to Scripture is more easily traced in the realm of practice than in that of doctrine. That the study of the Scriptures was increased, no one doubts; but it is beyond doubt that the beginnings of the Baptist denomination consisted of two small groups who successively detached themselves from the Independents because they were convinced, rightly or wrongly, that in the NT baptism was administered only to believers. The first group, the General or Arminian Baptists, broke off from the Independents in Amsterdam in 1611, under John Smith and Helwisse. These two had derived their views from their own study of the Scriptures. They first baptized themselves; but when John Smith discovered that the Mennonites were already teaching the doctrine of believers' baptism, he was baptized again by a Mennonite pastor. The first Partial or Calvinistic Baptist Church was formed in a similar way in England about the year 1639. Certain members of an Independent church in London became convinced that 'Baptism was not for infants, but professed believers' (see Shakespeare, Baptist and Congregational Believers, pp. 180-184). Therefore, too, the notion of the existence of ceremonies was the prime factor. But all Protestant Churches claimed to justify their positions from the Scriptures, and it would be tedious to explain the justification each advanced. The more general effects of the appeal to Scripture may be traced in (a) the Protestant simplification of ritual, and (b) the tendency to take a somewhat legalistic view of the obligation of baptism.

(a) The simplification of ritual was not everywhere carried out with equal thoroughness. Lutheranism at first retained an outward element; but it stood, though the traditional developments were accorded a steadily diminishing importance. When the demand for a simpler ritual, based on the appeal to Scripture, made itself effectively heard, it was resisted on the ground that the Church is free to make modifications in such comparatively non-essential matters. (For the whole history, see Höfling, vol. ii. §§119-121.) In England, the signing with the cross and the presence of sponsors were retained, and the other ceremonies were summarily done away with. The Church of England, like the Lutherans, showed a greater reverence for tradition; at the same time, the simplifications introduced to avoid superstition, and to promote decency and order, were really the outcome of a desire to get nearer to NT usage.
The Puritans objected to the traditional elements still remaining in the Prayer-Book Order of Baptism, as having no warrant in Scripture. The Genevan Order was still simpler. 'Christians, tapers, and other popish superstitions have been devised without authority from the word of God.' Baptism by immersion was reintroduced by the believers in adult baptism, as being the scriptural and only lawful method. In brief, all Protestant Churches held themselves at liberty to baptize in any way, and its elements were derived from tradition and not from Scripture; while some wished to make the ritual conform to a Scriptural model.

(b) The authority attributed to the Scriptures was used to create a new foundation. Thus the Baptists insisted on the duty of accepting the immersion. This was the form instituted by Christ, and it became part of religious obedience to follow it. To be immersed was to fulfill more perfectly than others a command of Christ. This tended to legalize the religion of Jesus, and to emphasize the value of obedience to a ceremonial observance—a step towards Pharisaism. From a literalism of this kind the more conservative Churches were preserved by their adherence to tradition, and the Baptist position gained in common sense.† The other Churches did not escape legalism in other directions. When the sacramental efficacy of Baptism and its bearing on salvation were questioned by Rationalism, the defense was to maintain that this is part of the Divine will revealed in the NT, and it will be accepted. Hooker's defense of the Church of England doctrine of Baptism rests largely on the plain sense of Jn 3, which is taken as the final ruling of the Divine Lawgiver on this subject. The Baptist view of Scripture is simply rationalistic. It may further be paralleled in the strong tendency to interpret the NT in harmony with the OT. The explanation of baptism by means of circumcision seems to belong to a new Judaistic Christianity.

C. THE HUMANISM AND RATIONALISM OF THE RENAISSANCE. The Reformation was influenced by the growing interest in the natural as opposed to the supernatural, and the assertion of individual independence which marked the later Middle Ages. This favored views of baptism which accorded with the humanist theory of the sign, not of a man's dependence on, but of his adhesion to, the Church. Baptism then becomes a mere symbol or a confession of faith.

† Sprinkling and immersion. It has already been noted that the dipping of infants continued in England after the custom had altered in Europe. Sprinkling became more general in England about 1600, and was apparently the accepted custom by 1640 (Denne, Contention for Truth, 1659). With regard to adults, the first Mennonites and Baptists received the rite by immersion. Mr. Shakespeare says of the former, that they 'administered baptism by suction, until in 1620 a section called the Colophonians, at Rheythaym, began to immerse.' A certain Mr. Blunt introduced baptism by immersion among the particular Baptists at the beginning of 1642. The practice was widely taken up, many being baptized in the second, or third time, as the case might be. It was this that roused up Dr. Daniel Feaster to write his six arguments against the same, in which he claimed to dip the queller's head out in arguing. Partially in reply to this work, the Baptist Churches published a Confession in 1646, which is generally taken as an expression of the declaration in favour of immersion.

† That the way and manner of the dispensing this ordinance is dipping or plunging the body under water: it being a sign and token of his new birth, which is an inward, spiritual change, in which all the saints have in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ (Confessions, p. 43). For the whole subject, see Shakespeare, esp. pp. 150-159.

The Socinians, as is clear from the Racovian catechism of 1609, and some Anabaptists had baptized by immersion before this.

† Whether a person is to be wholly immersed, and that whether once or thrice, or whether only washed with water, is not of the least consequence: Churches should be at liberty to adopt either according to the diversity of climates, although it is not the mind of the Baptist mode of "immersing" and this was the form used by the primitive Church (Inst. iv. xv. 19).

Zwingli treated baptism as a symbol, though by no means as insignificant. "Baptismus est regenerationis symbolum... sed non ita ut baptisati sunt ob id renati sunt" (Answer to Quest. 17, in a letter on some questions raised by Cranachus). Many other views may be found in Lecky's Hist. of Rationalism.

Socinians emphasized the confession-side of Baptism. It is—

the rite of initiation by which men, after obtaining knowledge of the doctrine of Christ and acknowledging Him, become bound to Christ and His disciples, or are enrolled in the Church, removing the words of profession, besides, that they will regard the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as the only Guide and Master in religion, and in the whole of their life and conversation, and by their speech and imposture, as it were, declaring and as it were exhibiting that they lay aside the defilement of sin, that they are buried with Christ, that they desire henceforth to die with Him and to rise to newness of life, and pledging themselves that they will really carry this out, receiving also at the same time at which this profession is made and this pledge taken the symbol and sign of the remission of sins and even the remission itself' (Harnack, vii. 135).

As Harnack says, the stress is laid here on the confession, and the last clause reads like an after-thought. The tendency to emphasize the confession made in baptism was not confined to Socinianism; the Anabaptists, e.g., regarded baptism mainly as a badge or mark distinguishing Christians from others (cf. article Anabaptists). This shows the influence of Rationalism in so far as it implies less interest in the sacramental side.

But the ultimate influence of Rationalism is to be discerned in the serious issues, for the doctrine of baptism, raised by Biblical criticism, by the science of comparative religion, and by the study of religious experience.


ROMAN POSITION: Wilhelm and Scannell, Manual of Theology, vol. ii. (1858), give a clear concise statement; De Laubier, Eucharistie, 1854, is indispensable.


LUTHERAN CHURCH: for the development of the doctrine besides being of great historical value, represents the distinctly conservative Lutheran attitude.

CALVINISM: Calvin, Inst. iv. chs. xiv.-xvi. in Beveridge's later tr. vol. ii. (1853); Westminster Confession, any edition.

BAPTISTS: Confessions of Faith, Hanserd Knollys Soc. 1854; T. Croswy, Hist. of Baptism, 1724-40; Ten Points, 1897; T. Croswy, Baptist and Congregational Pioneers, 1897.


H. G. WOOD.
The Sikh religion, which is professed by about two millions of the people of the Punjab, is of comparatively modern origin. Nanak, its founder, who flourished in the 16th century, was one of the many religious scholars of India in whose mind the philosophy which underlies Hinduism awakened a profound interest. The Charnamrit, a religious book of the Sikhs, is probably the work of Nanak. While Hindu pantheism easily lends itself to the support of polytheism and idolatry, that side of it which emphasizes the oneness of the Supreme Existence has always been cropping up in the form of protest against the current idolatry. The religious books of the Sikhs, the Guru Granth Sahib, have a tendency to be the support of the orthodox religion. So far as this doctrine dissociated itself from its original pantheistic foundation and approached the deistic conception, we may recognize in its subsequent development the influence of the Christian religion with which it was in constant contact.

The distinct religious community into which the followers of Nanak were ultimately organized bears the name of the Khalsa. Initiation into the Sikh religion takes place by admission to the Khalsa by means of a rite called the Pakhul.

The Pakhul is thus described in the Life of Govind Singh, the last of the gurus:

"When the guru had returned from the hills to Anander, he assembled the societies of the disciples and told them that he knew that the people of the Khalsa of his days had ceased to do the things that his gurus should make them offering. Most of them were terror-stricken, and fled; but five of them rose and offered resolutely their heads. These five he took into a room, and told them that, as he had found them true, he would give them the pakhul of the true religion. He made them bathe, and seated them side by side; he dissolved puriled sugar in water and stirred it with a two-edged dagger, and, having recited over it some verses taken from his Granth in praise of the Timeless One, he made them drink some of this shering: some of it he poured on their heads and then passed it on to the others, who drank it and bathed with them his hand, he cried with a loud voice, "Say, The Khalsa of the Vah Guru! Victory to the holy Vah Guru!" After this, he gave them the pakhul to these five in a similar manner, and, failing to join them, took it likewise from them; and in this way all the rest of his disciples were initiated, to whom he gave the name of the Khalsa, added of the name of the master to the name of the disciple (i.e., they are known as the Bap suckhi, or the sons of the master). Then he gave the order that whoever desired to be his disciple must always have five things with him, the names of which begin with the letter `S': viz., a sacred thread (karma), a knife (katar), a sword (kathpath), and breeches reaching to the knee (kochh); otherwise he would not consider him a disciple;"

The rite itself is older than this mention of it in the Life of Govind Singh, for it is referred to in the Life of Nanak, written by Guru Arjun, the fifth guru, in the beginning of the 17th century. As it is not to be found in the main works, we do not know when it would appear to be later in origin than the time of Nanak. It was not, however, instituted by the last guru, Govind Singh, who in the passage just quoted from his life is described as administering an older rite against the current idolatry. He was a pantheist against the Hinduism.

It is by no means clear that we ought to regard this rite as parallel to baptism except in the mere fact that it marks initiation into the membership of a religious community. The place given to baptism in the description quoted is subsidiary; the essential parts are the drinking of the shering and the utterance of the words 'Vah Guru!' In its oldest form the rite included nothing more than this, and its original as well as its later purpose is to express communion and fellowship through joint participation in food and drink.

This, according to all Hindu standards, is the ultimate test of religious fellowship, and the Sikh pakhul appears to be only one form of expressing this fact of religious communion. It is interesting to note that, while devotion to the guru is included in the ceremony, the stress is laid on the marks of fellowship. The Christian rite of baptism admits to the fellowship of the visible Church; but the emphasis is not laid on this side of the sacrament. The sacrament of baptism expresses in the first instance a relation of the individual to God, not to the community. His people. Even in the sacrament, the Christian rite of baptism, communion of believers with each other is an important element in the meaning of the rite, the thought of the believer's relation to his Lord is predominant in every interpretation of the sacrament. This is an illustration of a characteristic difference between Indian religions and Christianity.

In orthodox Hinduism the ceremony that approaches nearest in its specific function to baptism is the Maury ceremony, called also Upasana, 'prayer,' or Skr. upa, 'one who is in a position of subjection' (i.e., 'initiation'), by which the members of the twice-born (devjita) castes are admitted to their respective privileges. The material element in this ceremony is the investiture with the sacred thread; and, as the sacred thread is the mark of admission to a caste, it is the subject with a girdle made of mauji grass, in the case of Brahmans, it is known amongst them as the Maury ceremony. This investiture with the sacred thread, called upavita (upa and vyati, 'to cover' or 'clothe') or yajnopavita because it entitles to the privilege of offering sacrifices, must take place between the ages of 8 and 16, 11 and 24, and 17 and 24, in the Brahman, Ksatriya, and Vaisy castes respectively.

Bathing is not an integral part of this ceremony. The yajnopavita is the sacred thread, which, in the case of the Brahman is a triple thread of cotton yarn, in the case of the Ksatriya of hemp, and in the case of the Vaisy of wool, is placed over the left shoulder and allowed to hang down on the right side of the wearer. At the time of investiture the youth is placed with his face turned towards the sun, and is made to walk round a fire three times. Then the guru, taking the thread in his hand, consecrates it by repeating the Gayatri, the invocation to Savitri, the sun, taken from Rigveda, iiii. 2, 2, 31 sundar savitri vayur devasya dhimah dhiyo yo na prachodayat, 'that we may attain the glorious light of the god Savitri, may he further our prayer.'

After the thread is put on, the youth takes a staff in his hand (of different kinds of wood, according to caste) and goes forth to beg alms. This alma he begs of his mother, or, if she is dead, of his maternal aunt, and, failing her, of a sister. This symbolizes a covenant to support his guru and himself.

The next step is the learning of the sanadhyaa, or prayers appointed for the principal parts of the day, morning, noon, and evening.

The last act of the ceremony is the maurya, or the tying on of a girdle of mauji grass. Before the girdle is put on, the guru teaches the boy the Savitri mantra. Then the guru, wrapping the hands of the boy with his garment, takes hold of him with both his hands and makes him repeat the mantra, at first line by line, and finally the whole. The young man thus initiated enters on the Brahmanahari ('disciple') period of his life (see ASKAMA).

Now, while all the external features of baptism are absent from this rite, there is a certain inner
BAPTISM (Jewish)

resemblance between the two in the place which each occupancies in the scheme of the religious life. The most striking fact in connexion with the Hindu rite is that by virtue of its performance the initiated neophyte becomes at once the symbol of a new birth. Certain act of religion marks the second birth presents a parallel to the Christian idea of baptism, whether regarded as 'a sensible sign' or as a sacrament carrying with it a spiritual effect, in its relation to regeneration. Looking beneath the outward surface of the rite, we may extend the grace in it the expression of a deep human conviction that man as he enters this world is not fit for his spiritual kingdom, that he must be born again if he is to possess it. 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' (John 3:3.)

If we look for any parallel to baptism in the Zoroastrian religion, which, although the non-ton home of the faith is in more northern lands, is to-day an Indian religion, we may find it in the ceremony called *Nanjot*, by which Parsi children, both boys and girls, receive religious initiation after they have attained the age of six years and three months. Indeed the modern Parsi sometimes actually speaks of it as baptism. The name *Nanjot* indicates that it marks the beginning of a new religious authority and a new symbol of spiritual life. It is indicative of the investiture with the *sudra*, or sacred shirt, and the *kusti*, or sacred thread, a thread of seventy-two strands wound round the body. In this ceremony the officiating priest recites verses from the Avesta and washes with his own hands places the *sudra* on the boy or girl to be initiated, and binds the sacred thread. On each side stands a brazier from which flames arise, fed by pieces of fragrant sandal-wood; and, while the verses are being chanted, grains of rice are thrown towards the reciter from the neck of the ordinant. The *Nanjot* is frequently made the occasion of a great social gathering, followed by a feast in which sometimes many hundreds of persons participate. So much does the social aspect predominate over the religious, that the chanting of the priest is sometimes drowned by the strains of a brass band discoursing the most secular and jovial airs. The sense of incongruity is felt by any one who tries to associate the ceremony with a spiritual purpose. In their origin such ceremonies had, no doubt, a religious import, and may have been the aboriginal ceremony of their ancestors. We know, and have become the badges of a community rather than a vehicle of spiritual instruction. An interesting fact in connexion with the *Nanjot* ceremony is its administration to girls as well as to boys. The ceremony is then placed on the sacred thread. No Hindu woman can wear it.

In the light of such developments the high spiritual significance of Christian baptism stands out more clearly; but even Christian baptism may lose its higher meaning if the purpose which it subserves as a mark of the Christian faith be permitted to overshadow its meaning for the individual soul.

LITERATURE.—See under Initiation.

D. MACKICHAN.

BAPTISM (Jewish).—The fact that Judaism gained accessions from the Gentile world gave rise to an application of the practice of ceremonial ablation altogether new in Jewish religious life, viz., the baptism of proselytes. Precisely as the rite of purification was considered as at once a purification from heathenism and an initiation or consecration of the convert before his admission amongst the people of God. It was a ceremony not unlike Christian baptism so far as the individual who desired to become a Jew was conducted to the bath, and there immersed himself in the presence of the Rabbis, who recited to him portions of the Scripture.

The proper term, however, is the 'immersion of proselytes' (*nachriti*), as it is designated, e.g., by Rash. 

The antiquity of proselyte baptism.—Ephesiotes, the Stoic philosopher, who lived in Rome till a.d. 120, says in his works: 'I have lived at Nicopolis, in Epirus, had heard of the practice, and speaks of it, indeed, as a matter of common knowledge. In his conversations, as the practice was spread over the Greek world by the early missionaries there, he must have spoken of it, borrowed it from the Galileans, the Egyptians, the Persians, or the Jews, because they have adopted the religious usages of one or other of these peoples. But, he proceeds, when a man was actually circumcised, he was usually said of him that 'he is no Jew, but has merely the semblance of one'; while, if he takes upon himself a purer life of 'the baptized and the elect,' he is really what he calls himself (viz. a Jew).

In the Rabbinical literature (Midrash, on Ex 12,19) it is stated that a lady named Valeria, along with her female slaves, was received into Judaism by baptism. The story may possibly go back to a time at least equally remote. The Babylonian Talmud (Yebamoth, fol. 46b, at foot) contains the tradition that Rabbi Eleazar and Joshua, the two earliest illumined rabbis, were the first to institute and practice this ceremony. Disregarding the views of the 1st cent. A.D., disapproved in their views regarding the conditions under which a proselyte should be received, Rabbi Eleazar assert that circumcision was not the only ceremony; an immersion in water was sufficient. It has been allowed as the admittently valid finding that both immersion and circumcision, and either one of them, is indispensable condition of admission to the Jewish community. We have thus only the ceremony of baptism, for the ceremony of baptism was practised towards the end of the 1st century. It is probably, however, that till about this time baptism was not regarded by all in all countries, if only in all countries; the ceremony was associated with the act of embracing Judaism. In view of this circumstance the silence of certain writers, in passages of their works from a reference to the practice might have been expected, lost the force which has sometimes been attributed to it in an attempt to riddle *Christianism s apocrinares* of the Mishna, proselyte baptism seems to be merely a bath of ceremonial purification, which the proselyte must take as one who 'comes from the Gentiles in the name of the king.' The ceremonies of the Magi were likewise would be developed gradually. Making all the reservations necessary in view of the diffusion, conception, and various forms of the rite, we may perhaps assume that the baptism of proselytes was not of later origin than Christian baptism.

According to Talmudic testimony, the baptism of proselytes took the form of an immersion carried out in accordance with the Rabbinical regulations for ceremonial purification, and in presence of three, or at least two, witnesses. The candidate, if a male, was first of all circumcised, and when the wound had healed (this is left out of account in *Pes. viii. 18*), he was taken to the bath. While he stood in the water the Rabbis ('disciples of the wise') who happened to be among the witnesses once more recited to him some of the great and the lesser commandments. Then the convert made a complete immersion, and emerged forth as a Jew.

A female was, for modesty's sake, taken to the water by women, the 'disciples of the wise,' as legal witnesses, standing behind the curtain that served as a door. She was then placed in water up to the neck, and, while she remained in this position, the Rabbis, without seeing her, but within hearing, gave their protection upon the commandments. She thereafter drew her head under water, and at that moment it was necessary for the witnesses to look on; then, as she was lifted out of the bath, the men retired with averted faces. The baptism.

* Pes. viii. 5: A mourner may bathe and eat his pechah in the evening, but not along with the sacred meats. One who receives news of a death and goes the latter part of that evening bathe and eat (his pechah) along with the sacred meats. A proselyte who has become a proselyte on the evening before he pechah, i.e., the day before, is free to eat the latter with his meals. He also says: 'He may bathe and eat his pechah in the evening.'
* Pes. viii. 8: One who came up from the dead, and on the 28th day of his mourning is free to eat (his pechah), and bathe. He also says: 'He may bathe and eat his pechah in the evening.'
* Ibid. viii. 9: One who comes up from the dead, and on the 28th day of his mourning is free to eat (his pechah), and bathe. He also says: 'He may bathe and eat his pechah in the evening.'

This applies specially to Philo Alex., Josephus (Ant. xiii. ix., xiv. v., and Jom. 111), and the 'Christian Authors.'

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tism of a proselyte could not legally be performed by
baptism, or on a Sabbath or any other holy day."
This description is to be understood as one of con-
stitutive validity. Baptism, according to it, must be
administered by orthodox Judaism whenever proselytes are to be received into its community.

The necessity of the latter to be baptised was argued by Talmudic scholars from the fact that,
according to Ex 19:14, 22, the Israelites were com-
manded ‘to sanctify themselves’ before the deliver-
ance of the Law at Sinai. That sanctification
involved ablution, but was designed by the writer
as a necessary condition of neophytes. Deut. 30:18.
The Rabbis, however, believed that this act was
ordained in view of the holy covenant which was
to be completed by a sacrifice (Ex 24:9), but which was about to be instituted from the Divine side by the
the giving of the Law (Ex 29). They thus assumed that
even at that early stage an ablution was the
ordained means of gaining admission into the
covenant.† We find, however, that proselyte bap-
tism was regarded also as a bath of purification,
designed to remove the uncleanness of heathenism
(cf. Acts 1:5; 8:13, where the same idea is already
quoted).
Thus, in the case of a woman who was
desirous of embracing Judaism, and who had taken
the bath required after menstruation, this act was
credited to her by a certain Rabbi Joshua as equiva-
lement to circumcision. It is the present
current opinion among Christian theologians that
baptism (of children) takes the place of circumcision.
The incident just referred to might suggest the
idea that proselyte baptism was originally sanctioned by Jewish teachers anxious to make
conversions, as a more agreeable rite than the other.
This surmise, however, has not a shred of evidence
to support it; while in the case mentioned by
Josephus (Ant. XX. ii. 4), circumcision was simply
replied.
From the fact that the Jewish religion claimed
to be a Divine revelation, and from such utterances
as that of Philo (de Pon. i.), ‘the proselyte comes
from darkness into light,’ or the Rabbinical
principle that ‘the proselyte is like a newborn child,’
it would be erroneous to infer that the baptism
of proselytes was the rite of initiation into the
mysteries of the Jewish religion. As a matter of
fact, the baptism was always preceded by instruc-
tion in religious doctrine, and thenceforward there
were no further revelations to be made. The
Rabbis, in local principle just quoted, to judge from its
discussion amongst the teachers themselves, was
concerned exclusively with the civil relations of the
proselyte: he was required, on this interpreta-
tion, to alienate himself entirely from his former
interests, and even from his still heathen kindred; he
must not inherit their property, he cannot
commit incest with them, etc.§

Our prefatory note regarding the characteristics of
proselyte baptism is thus confirmed by these
early references. This testimony, at the very
most, is debatable, but its answer to the more
importance question, with its twofold signification, was not
seldom understood as merely a bath of purifica-
tion.

Literature.—Rabbinic texts (Talmudic, etc.) are collected by
H. Ainsworth, Annals of the Pontifex. 1012, fol. 32; fol.
(Ga 17); John Lightfoot, Horae Hebraicae (vt. Mt 29); J. A.
Bengel, Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselytengewohnheiten, 1814;
M. von Oppenheim, Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselytengewohnheiten
und deren Zusammenhang mit dem jüdischen u. christl. Ritual, Berlin,
1823 (pp. 86, survey of the older literature); E. Schüler, Jb. 1915, fol. 129 ff.;
ant. Baptism, by Krause, ibid.; ‘Proselyt,’ by E. G. Hirsch, in JB; and also art. ‘Proselyte,’ by
W. Brandt.

† All this is set forth in the Bab. Talm. (ed. Munk), fol. 45-47.
† Bab. Tishb. 46 a; b; Ket. 7b.
§ Bab. Tishb. 46 b; cf. the Heb. commentators.

BAPTISM (Muhammadan).—Historically con-
sidered, the Muslim rite of purificatory ablution,
*wudu’ and ghusl (see MUHAMMADANISM, § 6),
goes back to divergent forms of Christian baptism.
Muhammad and his early followers were called by
the heathen Arabs Subheans (q.v.), a name applied
also in the 7th century to all converts to Islam, to
be mentioned with respect beside the Jews and the
Christians. This name, evidently, is derived from
the Arabic root wجد, or hجد, ‘to dip,’ ‘immerse,’
and means ‘dippers,’ or ‘baptizers,’ and was used
originally for different heretical Christian sects
of Homero-baptism, Ethiopic (q.v.), and Mandæism
(q.v.), who practised frequent ceremonial ablution
(see Wellhausen, l.c., p. 286 f.; in 1st ed. p. 265 ff.);
Of baptism, however, in the precise sense, no trace
appears in Islam, although there are many stories
in European crusading legend of Muslims who
accepted it; and that some distinguished Muslims
were knighted by Christians, with all the necessary
ceremonies, appears to be practically certain (Lanc-
Poole, Saladin, p. 387 ff.).
Baptism among Christians is regarded by Mus-
lims as an innovation, and the rite of purification,
parallel with circumcision. A very curious description
of the rite, as viewed by them, is given by al-Biruni,
from Abu-l-Husain al-Ahwazi, in his Chronology
of Ancient Nations (tr. Scehan, p. 258 f.). He
introduces it as the 10th Sacrament of the calendar of the Melkite Syrian Christians in
Khwarizm, as Epiphany for the Oriental Church is
a commemoration of the baptism of Christ. This
description is either fanciful and imaginary or is
of some obscure local rite. It agrees with none of
the great Oriental rites. In Egypt the Copts used
to observe the Eve of Epiphany (bailat al-ghitas),
the 10th of Tala (= the 17th or 18th of January),
as a great river-festival, plunging into the Nile as
a memorial of the baptism of Christ, and believing
that on this day, if one could put water to its
illnesses. In this festival and usage the Muslims
also joined, and al-Mas‘ud, who was in Egypt in
A.D. 942, describes it as a great popular ceremony
presided over by the Ihash himself (Mur’i ad-
dakhah, ii. 364 f. of Paris ed.). It is now observed
by Copts only, and by them not to any great
extent. Even the plunging into the Epiphany
tank in churches has become greatly disused, and
the foot-washing of Mundy Thursday has taken
its place. For the religious ceremony see The
Blessing of the Water by John, Marquess of Bute, London, 1901. But
among Muslims there is at least one custom which
appears to be a survival. In the mosque of
al-Dashtü’u, just outside of the Bab ash-Sharifa
at Cairo, there is a well and a tank (maqsa‘a), and
it is the popular belief that if any one afflicted with
a fever (hnnam) plunges into the tank three times
in three weeks he will be healed (Al-bišat al-jadidah, iv. 112). Others make the healing power of
this məqṣa‘a much more general, and describe how the
sick folk: drink from the holy mounument; and
question, with its twofold signification, was not
seldom understood as merely a bath of purifica-
tion.

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† Bab. Tishb. 46 a; b; Ket. 7b.
§ Bab. Tishb. 46 b; cf. the Heb. commentators.
BAPTISM (Teutonic).—The practice of sprinkling children with water shortly after birth, as found among many aboriginal races, prevailed also among the Teutons in heathen times. In the 2nd cent. A.D. the famous physician Galen had learned that it was their custom to immerse the infant directly after birth in cold river-water; and about the same period, as well as later, it is recorded by Greek writers that the inhabitants of the Rhine country, who are designated Celts, but who were unquestionably Teutons, employed the river as a test of legitimacy, immersing all their infants therein in the belief that the illegitimate would sink. Unfortunately our authorities for the southern Teutons, and, to a large extent, those for the northern, yield no evidence regarding this primitive rite, the reason being that those authorities date almost entirely from Christian times, when Christian baptism had become the general custom. On the other hand, the practice finds frequent mention in the Icelandic sagas and the Early English poetry. It is there spoken of as 'to sprinkle with water,' and in the sources it is clearly discriminated from *skirt*, 'to cleanse,' 'to baptize' in the Christian sense.

The writings in which the expression occurs belong in all likelihood to a time when the people spoken of as actually observing the practice were certainly pagans (cf. K. Maurer, *Wasserreiche, 5th ed.*). The custom probably took its rise in religious ceremonial. By the Teutons, as by many other races, water was thought to be the *habitat* of supernatural, and especially of beneficent, powers, and the act of suffusion therefore brought the child under the influence of these. Hence the claim of the master-nagician in the *Hiemanni* (v. 158): 'This I can make sure when I suffuse a man-child with water—he shall not fall when his fights in the host; no sword shall bring him low. The rite was performed by the child's father, or by one near of kin, or by some person of standing with whom the father was socially on familiar terms.

Intimately connected with this initiation or water was the act of naming the child. Both ceremonies, in fact, were performed at the same time by one and the same person, and between the infant and the name-giver there was thus constituted a legal bond of union, which was of life-long duration, and was signalized by the name-giver's bestowing a gift upon the child at the ceremony itself. In connexion with the birth of Harald Gråfeld, for instance, we are told that 'Eirik and Gunnhild had a son whom Harald
Haarager suffered with water, and to whom he gave the name, signifying that he should be king after his father Eirik (Heimskringla, ed. F. Jonsen, 1, 5, 19). It was the ancient German heathen custom of the Teutons to sprinkle with water, which counted as the first legal transaction relative to the child, the latter acquired its status, so to speak, as a human being, and was admitted into the legal union of consanguinity. Hence, while initiation by water was in the first instance a religious function, the giving of the name was a legal one; as both were performed by the same individual, however, the former soon acquired a legal significance likewise. So long as a child had not gone through the ceremony of suffusion, its life was regarded by the father's disposal, as that of a child who had taken no nourishment; he might expose it, or even kill it. After suffusion, however, the child enjoyed the full legal protection involved in consanguinity. This legal provision still remained in force in the legislation of the Northern Teutons even after the introduction of Christianity, and when baptism had superseded the older rite; according to the earlier Norwegian law, indeed, the murder of an unbaptized child was much more leniently dealt with than that of one who had passed through baptism. Even then not abolished till king Magnus Erlingsson altered the law in the latter half of the 12th century. The provincial codes of Sweden and Denmark still retain traces of this ancient heathen point of view. Even today there is a stranger, i.e. a person other than the parents, a much more moderate vergewld was exacted by Swedish law if the victim was still a heathen, i.e. unbaptized. Similar enactments are found in the Anglo-Saxon and the Frankish codes.

In the legislation of the Southern Teutons, no doubt, it was the ceremony of naming rather than that of baptism that gained prominence as the function which brought the child under the higher protection of the law. From this circumstance it is inferred by Maurer that the rite of initiation by water was not of Teutonic origin at all, but was adopted from the Christian peoples with whom the Northern Teutons came into contact upon the islands of the Western Sea. Barring in mind, however, the generally Teutonic principle, still firmly rooted among the Scandinavian Teutons, that baptism invests the child with a higher legal status, and, above all, the fact that throughout practically the entire Teutonic race a child's right of inheritance first becomes operative at its first baptism, we cannot accept Maurer's contention that baptism was the child of aTeutonic origin at all, but was adopted from the Christian peoples— we feel that Maurer's contention is untenable. The circumstance that among the Southern Teutons the ceremony of naming, as marking the child's entrance into his higher legal rights, took the leading place, and, that further, this ceremony was fixed for the ninth day after birth, goes rather to show the influence of the Roman practice of naming the child and presenting him in the temple on the dies iustici.

**LITERATURE.**—K. MAUER, "Über die Wasserweise des germanischen Heidentums" (Abhandl. d. k. k. Akad. d. Wiss., Cracow, 1851, 1, vol. 15, pt. 3); G. ZEHN, "Zur Heiligen Taufe in der Altenkunde," iv. 314, 622 ff. (Berlin, 1900); H. Pfaffen- sampt, Das Weihwasser in heiligen u. christlichen Culten (Hannover, 1859); W. MANNHARDT, Germanische Mythologie (Berlin, 1884), 310 ff.; J. GRIMM, Deutsche Rechtsstaatstörung (Leipzig, 1829), 4, 650 ff. E. MOOK.

**BAPTISM BY BLOOD.**—Two uses of the expression 'baptism by blood' must be distinguished: (1) a literal use as applied to the practices of primitive polytheistic religion, and (2) a metaphorical use, denoting the sufferings of Christian martyrs.

(1) **Literal use.**—Among all primitive races the blood of beasts or of men played an important part in religious ceremonies. In the East especially it had peculiar purgative and propitiatory properties ascribed to it, as being the seed and vehicle of life. The ancient Teutonic belief that the first baptism (by water) gives remission of sins, while the second (by blood) gives union with God and man, or the final victory of God and Christ.
Origen holds that baptism by blood excludes the possibility of sin, and ventures to assert its superiorit over baptism by water (Hom. in Jud. vii. 473; cf. Redepenning, Origines, ii. 28).

These notions, struck out under stress of persecution, were taken up in times of peace by later writers, e.g. Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gennadius, and became the established teaching, until finally scholastic divinity definitely adopted the scheme of baptismum ex puris flaminis (sc. spiritus sancti) (cf. Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologiae, q. xii., where baptism by blood is assigned a higher place than the other two).

It is possible to regard the expression baptism by blood, fire, tears as merely rhetorical (so DCA i. 106, e. n. 'Baptism') but Hagenbach (History of Christian Doctrine, i. 286) points out that the parallel between the efficacy of water and blood rests upon the antithesis which the Fathers desired to maintain between man's free will and the influence of Divine Grace. In baptism by water a passive recipient: in baptism by blood he contributes something of his own.


BAQILANI.—Baqilani († A.H. 403 = A.D. 1012) was initiated into the system of orthodox theology associated with the Ash'arites—so named from the founder of the school—by his teacher Mughashi, a pupil of Ash'ari himself († A.H. 324 = A.D. 938) in Fihâli († A.H. 327 = A.D. 938). The aim of this school was to safeguard the doctrines of the Qur'an against the rationalistic tendencies of the Mu'tazilites, and at the same time to maintain a conciliatory attitude towards the claims of reason and the philosopher which contended for the rational interpretation of the Qur'an and the exclusion of all its irrational elements. Baqilani, in his endeavour to hold the balance even between the two conflicting parties, was regarded by some as simply a Mu'tazilite, i.e. a rationalist and an infidel, but the majority saw in him the champion of orthodoxy among the Ash'arites. His whole active life was given to his polemic against the liberalism of the Mu'tazilites. That he had a potent influence upon Muslim theology may be inferred from the fact that his opinions are cited in conjunction with those of Al-Ghazâli († A.H. 505 = A.D. 1111), the greatest theologian of Islam, and his teacher Juwaini († A.H. 473 = A.D. 1080), by ibn Taimiya († A.H. 758 = A.D. 1357) in his Letters (Cairo, 1232), p. 62, by Qushghâ († A.H. 879 = A.D. 1474) in his Commentary on Tusi's († A.H. 672 = A.D. 1273) 'System of Doctrine,' (Togad), Treatise ii., 'Inquiry concerning the will,' and by many others. Baqilani's system is practically that of Ash'ari (see Al-Ash'ari, p. 111), although he certainly drafted several philosophical doctrines upon the orthodox theology, such as the doctrine of atoms, the doctrine of empty space, the idea that the will (especially in God) abhors the contrary of the thing willed, and that one accident cannot become the cause of another. The extant dicta of Baqilani, however, are too meagre to substantiate any further differences of note.

All we know of his external life is that he was born in humble circumstances, his father being a bretonne grocer in Basra, and that he held the office of a judge in the same city. From the latter fact comes the title by which he is best known, viz., Kâdi Abâ Bakr, but his full name was Abû Bakr Abî Ali ibn Abî 'Ali at-Taiyib al-Baqilani.

M. HORTEN.

BARASHNUM, BARESHNUM.—See PURIFICATION (Parisi).

BAR COCHBA, BAR KOCHBA.—See MESSIAS (PSEUDO-).

BARDS.

Welsh (E. ANWYL), p. 416.

BARDS (Breton).—Though the Breton tongue is closely related to Welsh, the history of Breton poetry is far more meagre than that of Wales. The reason for this is that in Brittany the ruling classes and those sections of the community that had literary interests turned, even in the early Middle Ages, to the French tongue for the satisfaction of their literary wants. The result was that in medieval times there appears to have been in Brittany no powerful and clearly established literary tradition, carried on by professional or semi-professional bards, as there was in Wales; while, in later times, there was no popular demand for native poetry except when it was of a purely popular kind (such as the ballade called Gwervoci and Sonjon), or took the form of religious drama. Count Hersart de la Villemarqué, in his zeal for his native land, imagined that in mediavial Brittany a body of heroic poetry had flourished; but there are, unfortunately, nowhere to be found any traces of such poetry. Nor have we in the case of Breton, as we have in the case of Welsh, marked evidences of that linguistic conservatism which tends to keep the literary tongue distinct from the spoken language of a people. Breton has far more of the characteristics of the Alloquial language than Welsh, and it approaches nearer in many respects to some of the Southern Welsh dialects than to the Welsh literary tongue. One of the great obstacles to the view that Chrétien de Troyes derived his Arthurian material and nomenclature from Brittany is that, apart from popular folklore, there is no evidence of any Arthurian literary cycle in medieval Brittany at all; and the other British heroes, who are associated with Arthur, do not appear even to have been known in Brittany; while in Wales, on the other hand, they were the leading heroes both of prose and of verse narrative. In Wales the courts of the hardy princes were the courts of the princes, but in Brittany there is no evidence whatsoever of any systematic princely patronage given to Breton poetry. As M. Loth of Rennes says, there is no continuous Breton text of any kind before the end of the 15th century. The language certainly was written before then, since we have Breton glosses and Breton proper names in writing; so that it is all the more strange, if Brittany had a flourishing literature in Breton, that there should be in existence no single fragment of it. In his Chréastomathia bretonne M. Loth says:

'After having invaded all the coasts of the Armorican peninsula from the Cournon to the Loire, after having had the upper hand in the old dioceses of Dol, Saint-Malo, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier, Léon, Cornouaille, Saint-Malo, and the interior of Brittany; after having commenced to cross, from the 8th to the 9th cent., even the Vilaine to the neighbourhood of Redon, Breton is found, after the 11th cent., suddenly thrust back
towards the West, and from this period it occupies almost the same area as that of the Breton chiefs with French families, whether of French Brittany or of France itself, or of the Anglesey, and its influence over the aristocracy and the instrument of intellectual culture, even in the Breton-speaking zone. The most ancient texts of the Breton language are translations or imitations of literary works, a result of the adoption of a French cultural and literary model. A survival of this is the example of 'Robert le Diable' in the Miracles of Notre-Dame, c. vi (Société des anciens textes français), and also from the Mystère of 1526, published at Rouen in 1527, in The Traditions of the World. The oldest known MS of this play was written in 1570, and it, like the Cornish Gwenn an llog ('The Crewe of the World'), an imitation of the French. (c) The Tragedy of St. Alexius. This was represented in 1799, and is a translation into Breton of a mystery, though it is believed to be of remote antiquity, and its readiness even to alter, in accordance with his preconceived ideas, the text of the popular poems which he published, led to a reaction. Luzel, on the other hand, possessed the true scientific as well as the poetic spirit of his age, and he was interested in founding a new and more exact branch of the science of comparative mythology on ascertained concrete fact. It is to his zeal that we owe the collection of numerous copies of Mystery plays that were scattered over Brittany. The Puritans to whom the drama of the earlier is due, however slight the influence of the French, would have been unable to understand the characteristics that are very similar to those of the popular poems of Brittany.

Breton popular poetry has a simple and artless character, but its very simplicity gives it a charm of its own, which no other literary work of the same kind and dramatic incidents which often occur even in the humblest life of man. It has various moods, but the graver and sadder strain of a life of toil predominates. This poetry is especially interesting as the expression of a racial psychology that has been in close touch with Nature through hard toil on land and sea, and which has had, moreover, a life far away from that of the great centres of the wider world. In spite of the close kinship of the Welsh and Breton tongues, the Welsh and Breton types of mind are at the present day in many respects very different. The Breton mind is conservative, the Welsh mind is progressive; Brittany is the great Roman Catholic stronghold of France, Wales is the great Nonconformist stronghold of Southern Britain. The individualistic as well as the collective movements of the 19th cent. have met with a hearty response in Wales; and the industrial problems of the age are nowhere more keenly felt than in some of the populous centres of Wales. The spirit of competition has pervaded all literary and artistic schools as well as the growth at the present day of a certain rapprochement between Wales and Brittany, which is proving a stimulus to Breton literature and to Breton institutions. One feature of this rapprochement is that of the Breton famous in the face of M. Pathelin (Loth, RCE iv. 451, v. 220). (c) A score of quite mutilated verses, probably in the Ynnes dialect and of the end of the 15th cent. (published by M. G. Breton in Mémoires d'histoire et de littérature, iii, 1791, p. 179), in the manuscript of St. David, in the form of a Mystery play published in 1387 by the Abbé Sionnet, with a translation by the Breton grammarian and lexicographer, Lé Gouët, and by R. Breton (Loth, RCE. viii. 388). The only source of this MS is in the Bibliothèque Nationale of the 15th cent. The story is that of the Latin Life of St. David dramatized. The scene is laid mainly in Wales, but an attempt is made to localize some features of the story in Brittany as the burial of St. Nonn at Dinan. From the 16th cent. onwards the chief compositions written in Breton have been Mystery plays, which show unmistakably the influence of French models.

In 1530 there was published Le Grand Mystère de Jésus, of which a copy exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale. From the evidence of language, M. Loth believes that this Mystery was written about 1527, its first publication in a second edition was published at Morlaix in 1529 by Georges Allienne. M. Loth points out that the edition followed that of the Latin MS rather closely than that of the MS of Lé Gouët, or rather that of Jean Michel, played at Angers in 1496, and soon afterwards printed by Vérard. The same book also contains a Breton version of the Transitus Beatae Marie (Tresessan an gwenh Kernouis), the Seventy Joys of Mary (Penzee lemeze Marie), and the Life of Men (Brezhe Mele). For the two latter the Breton version has been prepared by a distinguished Breton scholar, M. Léonard, and published in 1903. Another Breton Mystery, which was published in the 16th cent. and afterwards in the 17th, was Le Mystère de Sainte Barbe. The first edition was published in 1527, and the second in 1647. The former was printed at Paris for Bernard de la Cour, the later at Morlaix (see M. Loth, RCE. vii. 386, 387), and there is a variant version of the 1557 edition, published at Morlaix with the variant readings of the 1647 edition, by a distinguished Breton scholar, M. E. Renaut, professor at the Faculty of Letters of Nantes, in the Mémoires de la Société des billetiers des billetiers de Nantes (1832). The drama is substantially the same as the printed French dramas of the same name, but M. Loth finds that there are differences between the two plays sufficiently marked to justify the supposition that the Breton dramas are an adaptation of a French version parallel to that of which we have been able to obtain a copy of a portion of it only through the good offices of the Abbé Corre of Lesneven, who transcribed it.

Mystery plays were carried on vigorously, and we have the following among other compositions of this type:

(1) Robert le Diable, a Mystery in six acts and two days. This bears the date 30th November 1571. M. Loth shows that it is of purely Breton origin, and that it is a translation of the French play, and that it is even more explicit in its subject than the French play. (2) The Tragedy of St. Alexius. This was represented in 1799, and is a translation into Breton of a play of the same name, by M. Loth, and it is believed to be of remote antiquity, and its readiness even to alter, in accordance with his preconceived ideas, the text of the popular poems which he published, led to a reaction. Luzel, on the other hand, possessed the true scientific as well as the poetic spirit of his age, and he was interested in founding a new and more exact branch of the science of comparative mythology on ascertained concrete fact. It is to his zeal that we owe the collection of numerous copies of Mystery plays that were scattered over Brittany. Nor did he confine his researches to plays; he also gathered together a considerable body of popular Breton ballad poetry, the Guerwiz Breiz-IZel and the Soniou Breiz-IZel. It is in these simple popular poems that we see the true reflexion of the poetic spirit of Brittany. Wales has, indeed, in her Penillion telyn a certain body of popular poetry, but it consists for the most part of isolated verses, and, by the side of the earlier and later traditions of that poetry which is the fruit of conscious personal skill, the popular poetry of Wales has perhaps not been adequately prized. In Wales, too, there is a considerable ballad literature of characteristics that are very similar to those of the popular poems of Brittany.

Breton popular poetry has a simple and artless character, but its very simplicity gives it a charm of its own, which no other literary work of the same kind and dramatic incidents which often occur even in the humblest life of man. It has various moods, but the graver and sadder strain of a life of toil predominates. This poetry is especially interesting as the expression of a racial psychology that has been in close touch with Nature through hard toil on land and sea, and which has had, moreover, a life far away from that of the great centres of the wider world. In spite of the close kinship of the Welsh and Breton tongues, the Welsh and Breton types of mind are at the present day in many respects very different. The Breton mind is conservative, the Welsh mind is progressive; Brittany is the great Roman Catholic stronghold of France, Wales is the great Nonconformist stronghold of Southern Britain. The individualistic as well as the collective movements of the 19th cent. have met with a hearty response in Wales; and the industrial problems of the age are nowhere more keenly felt than in some of the populous centres of Wales. The spirit of competition has pervaded all literary and artistic schools as well as the growth at the present day of a certain rapprochement between Wales and Brittany, which is proving a stimulus to Breton literature and to Breton institutions. One feature of this rapprochement is that of the Breton
ment has been the exchange of visits at the National Eisteddfod of Wales and the Celtic festivals of Brittany by delegates from the two countries. In these visits the Marquis de l’Estourbeillon, M. Paris, and the Irishman, M. de Jeremiah, one of the ablest living poets of Brittany, have taken an active part. To M. le Goffic Brittany owes a deep debt of gratitude for the active part which he has taken in the publication of Breton ballads, and the stimuli which these have been to the further composition of those simple poems in which the Breton mind delights.

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Loth, Émigratio bretonum in Armoricum du re visite, de nos jours, Rennes, 1833; Anatole le Braz, Le Théâtre Celtique, Paris (n.d., but probably 1830). This book has a most valuable résumé of the characteristics of Breton literature.


E. ANWYL.

BARDS (Irish).—The earliest poems of the Irish bards are lost; but although it is not easy to re-construct for ourselves, with any degree of fullness, the traditions and surviving works of these pre-Christian poets, we are by no means without data to attempt such reconstruction. We know, in the first place, that the poet was regarded as possessed of powers sufficiently supernatural to make everyone else reasonable. If he could see, as the well-said satirist he could raise boils and disfiguring patches upon the countenance of his opponents, or even do them to death by it. This belief continued until the later Middle Ages; and, even down to the days of Dean Swift, the Irish poet was credited with the powers of being able to make mountains to be rats and vermin to death. Again, the early Irish poet was, by virtue of his office, a judge in all cases of tribal disputes and in other matters. He was also, if not a Druid himself, probably closely allied with the Druidic order; and when Christianity superseded Druidism in the 5th cent., the mantle of Druidic learning seems to have fallen upon his shoulders; and amid Christian times he seems to a large extent to have continued the Druidic traditions. His verses prior to the 6th or 7th cent. were not rhymed, but seem to have depended for their effect upon diction—a sort of rhythm, and perhaps to some extent alliteration.

The Irish memory, always very tenacious, has handed down, as in some of our oldest MSS several verses said to be the same made in Ireland. These are ascribed to no less a person than Amergin, brother of Eber, Ir, and Eremon, the three early Milesian conquerors, sons of Milesius himself, to whom (or to whose uncle Ith) every Irish Celtic family in Ireland traces itself back to this day, just as the Teutonic races of Germany traced themselves to one of the three main stems that sprang from the sons of Mannus, whose father was the god Tuiscuz. These verses of Amergin's are in the form of a poem of early days that have come down to us, are composed in a kind of rhetoric or unrhymed outburst, called róg by the Irish; and there can be little doubt that they were handed down from grandfather to father and from father to son, perhaps for hundreds of years before the Irish Celts became acquainted with the art of writing, which they probably did in the 3rd cent. It is only after they had become acquainted with letters through the Ionized Britons, they invented for themselves their curious Ogam alphabet. As it lies always been the belief of the Gaels that these verses of Amergin's were the earliest poems ever composed in Ireland, it may very well be that they actually represent the oldest surviving lines in the vernacular of any country in Europe except Greece alone:

1. I am the wind which breathes upon the sea,
   I am the vision of the ocean.
2. I am the murmur of the billows,
   I am the ox of seven comasts.
3. I am the valunteer upon the rock,
   I am a beam of the sun.
4. I am a wild boar in border,
   I am a salmon in the water.
5. I am a hawk in the plain,
   I am a word of science.
6. I am a point of the lance of battle,
   I am the food which occurs in the head (i.e. of man) the fire (i.e. the thought).
7. Who is his brightness that will light upon the meeting on the mountain (if not I)?
8. Who avails the ages of the moon (if not I)?
9. Who teaches the world how the sea (if not I)?

It is only natural that D’Arbois de Jubainville, whose translation of these very difficult verses is here given, should discern in them a strong vein of Pantheism, which appears to run through the poems. It may, however, have no such pragmatic signification, and may be merely a panegyrical, couched in metaphor, upon the prowess of the singer himself.

Another poem ascribed to the same Amergin appears to be an invocation of Ireland, of which he and his brothers took possession for the Milesians. It is peculiar, has a tendency towards alliteration, and shows a strongly marked leaning towards dissyllabic diction, as—

1. I invoke thee, Erin,
   Brilliant, brilliant sea.
   Fertile, fertile hill,
   Wavy, wavy wood,
   Lowing, flowing stream,
   Fishy, fishy lake,
   etc.

The Irish annalists themselves have never been agreed as to the time when Amergin is supposed to have sung these verses, some dating it as far back as 1700 B.C., and others placing it as late as 800 B.C. All that we can say with certainty is that they are very old. In like manner we find preserved the earliest satire said to have ever been pronounced in Ireland, and which are of the same nature, all undoubtedly of great antiquity and almost unintelligible, despite the heavy glosses added to them by the Irish of the Middle Ages.

After the general establishment of Christianity in Ireland, which was largely owing to Saint Patrick, who commenced his missionary labours about the year 432—though there were Christians in the South of Ireland before his time—we find the poets still occupying a very high position. In the preface to the old law-book the Senachus Mhíre, some of whose tracts in their present form cannot, says Jubainville, be later than the close of the 6th cent., we read that the Old Law had been reduced to form by the Irish poets long before St. Patrick’s time. In his report over the poet was, says the text, ‘who connected it by a thread of poetry before Patrick, it lived until it was exhibited to Patrick. The preserving shrine is the poetry, and the Senachus, or Law, is what is preserved therein.’

The tract itself ran thus:

‘The Senachus of the men of Erin—what has preserved it? The joint memory of two seniors the tradition from one to another, the composition of poets.’

Here it is that we probably come upon the real secret of the early poet’s importation, which, as we know, placed him next to the prince and rendered
This page discusses the role of the Druids in early Irish society, their connection to the ancient Irish poets, and the preservation of their work. The text highlights the importance of the bardic tradition and the significance of the ollamh (lawyers) in this context. It also touches on the Christian influence on the Druids and the transformation of their roles over time. The passage underscores the use of incantations in poetry and the role of the poet in transmitting knowledge and preserving history. The text further explores the relationship between the Irish and the Gauls and the historical context of the time. Overall, the page provides a comprehensive overview of the cultural and political landscape of early Ireland, emphasizing the interplay between the ancient and the emerging Christian traditions.
class. Whether the Celts invented rhyme seems open to doubt. Zenus, the father of Celtic learning, asserts that they did. One thing is certain: we find the Irish as early as the 7th century, long before any other people in Europe made use of it—bringing rhymed poetry to a high pitch of perfection. It is no exaggeration to say that by no people on the globe, at any period of the world's history, have the poets been so elevated, and so renumerated as it was in Ireland during the Middle Ages, and even down to the 17th century. In the 16th and following centuries the poets fell under the ban of the English State, because, as Spenser puts it, their poems were 'tending for the most part to the destruction of the present and the subversion of the present liberty, they being most desirous thereof.' The severest Acts were passed against them, and numbers of them were hanged. The present writer cannot recall a single poet who took the side either of the Penal Laws, that, by the close of the 18th cent., there was probably not a single person living who could compose in any of the 406 metres practised by the bards. Among the unlearned, and accentual metres took the place of syllabic poetry, and so it continues to this day.

Outside of its marvellous development of music, the most interesting feature of Irish poetry is perhaps its appreciation of nature in all its moods, its love of the sea, the forest, and wild scenery, which it seems to have developed long before other European literatures.


DOUGLAS HYDE

BARDS (Welsh).—1. Definition and scope of the term.—In Welsh the modern form of the term for a poet is bardd (id = English soft th), but, at an earlier stage in the history of the language, the form was bard. In one of the old Welsh glossaries (Bridg. 1838, 319) on the Latin word 'epicae' is glossed as barddus = mod. Welsh barddol. In the Cornish Vocabulary (Zeuss-Ebel, p. 170), 'tubicen' is explained as barch (th = W. dill fortorn ('the bard of the long horn'), while in Breton the corresponding form bard is given in the Catholicon as menstrec ('a mime'). In Welsh, as in Irish, the term 'bard' preserved the meaning which it had in Gaulish. Positionius, quoted by Atheneus (vi. 49, p. 2460δ), refers to the poets of the Celts as ἱμῖθοι (bardaii), and says that these are poets who utter praises with their lyres. The same writer, quoted by Strabo (iv. 4. 4, p. 197), speaks of βαρθίων, ὀδηγεῖς (vates), and δρωίδας (druidai) as 'three tribes (τριὰ φάλακα) among the Celts, the last being the keepers of hymns and poets' (κρυπταί καὶ ποιηταί). Diodorus, also (v. 31, 2), speaks of the bards of the Gauls as composers of songs (ποιηταὶ μελῶν), while he further states that they sang, accompanied by instruments like lyres, praising some and reviling others. One of these incestuous bards among the Britons, according to a legend from Venantius Fortunatus, was called crotta (Welsh crotch). It will be seen from these references that the bards appear to have had a recognized place in Celtic social life, and one of the most characteristic features of the development of poetry in Wales has been the close association of the bards and their productions with the satisfaction of certain social needs of a literary character.

The existence of the term 'bard' in the same form in both the Gothicie and the Brythonic branches of the Celtic family shows that it was in use before the separation of these two branches. At the same time it can hardly have been used as a professional term in the period of Italianic unity (to which philological considerations point), since there is no trace of it in the Italic languages, while the term corresponding to ἱμῖθος (Lat. vates, Irish faith, Welsh gwuedd, 'song') appears to have been common to the Celtic and Latin in Italy. It was probably as the official spokesman in song of the feelings of his tribe on important occasions that the Celtic bard gained his name. He would be the recognized composer for his community of elegies and eulogies and, if need be, of satires. His elegies and eulogies may well have included in their scope not only the recently dead, but also the famous heroes of the tribe or family with which he was associated, while hymns in praise of the gods were no doubt from time to time composed by these officiating bards, with whom Cæsar (de Bell. Gall. vi. xiv. 4) tells us that it was the practice of the Druids to teach their disciples a large body of oral poetry, which they were not allowed to commit to writing, lest thereby their memory should fail them.

Much of the interest of the evolution of Welsh poetry consists in a study of its correlation with the varying social needs of the Welsh community, and also the gradual growth of a body of poetry which, as in modern countries generally, is an individual rather than a social product. It is of interest, too, to note how the poetry of Wales has been the expression, not only of various literary wants of a social character, but also of the thoughts generated by the beauty of Nature and by the vicissitudes of human life. It contains many poems and lines of true insight and real aesthetic beauty, and shows that the minds of many Welsh poets have been attuned to the signal grandeur and charm of the scenery of Wales.

2. The bards in the Welsh laws.—In the Welsh laws of Howel Dda (10th cent.), the bards have a recognized place in the social order, and have official representatives in the royal household. The three bardic grades appear to have been (1) Bardforsedd ('the bard of songs'); (2) Bardd teulu ('the bard of the house-host or retinue'); and (3) bards of the lowest grade, who were sometimes Cleryr, sometimes Oferforsedd ('superfluous bards'), and sometimes Beirdd Ysgyfiyrdd ('bards receiving entertainment'). The throne bard sat next below the judge of the court in the upper portion of the hall, while the bard of the household sat on one hand of the chief of the household in the lower portion, the chief of the household being a son of the king, or his nephew, or some other member of the blood-royal. One of the duties of the chief of the household, we are told, was to place the harp in the hands of the bard of the household at the three principal feasts (Easter, Whit Sunday, and Christmas). One of the colleges, too, was that he could have a song from the bard of the household whenever he might desire it. One section of the Welsh laws enumerates the duties and privileges of 'the bard of the household,' and it is a long and splendid poem. It begins, the first song of God and the second of the king who shall own the palace, or, if there be none, let him.
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sing of another king. After the chained bard, the bard of the household, is to sing through songs to quench a desire a desire for the body obtained by the household from a border-country, after a third has gone to the king; and he is, when they share the song of the twain; and the twain go to the twain. When he shall go with other bards he is to have the share of two.

The thrond bard, or chief of song, who stood in the highest position of all, has his functions and privileges more distinctly defined. He is to have his land free. He is to begin with a song of the Deity, and next of the king who shall own the palace, or of the king’s daughters. It is to be noted that a bard of Monmouth and of Penwig, who were twenty-four pence from every woman on marriage, if he has not received it from her before. All is to be placed in the common (("marriage-fee") of the daughters of the mists. He is to lodge with the eiling ("heir-apparent")

For a bard of unusual skill the term pryddyd was sometimes employed, and the chiefship of song was obtained by a bardic contest (ymryson) in the form of a dispute between the two candidates. An ymryson of this kind (probably incomplete) is still extant (see Myrfran Archæology", p. 154). Cymrodor, on the memory of the bardic world with Cufnard (found in the ymryson in question), and Postierd, the earliest instance of which is in the Book of Taliesin (14th cent.), poem I, 13, but the precise force of these terms is uncertain.

It is clear from the evidence of the minstrel and of the poetical remains, that the profession of the poet and the minstrel were closely linked together, and practised, not infrequently at any rate, by the same person. The chief of song appears to have exercised magisterial functions over those of lower rank, and also to have been the umpire in bardic disputes. Another function which the Welsh bards (even the pencerol) exercised was that of the story-teller (cyfarwydd), and the term Mabinogi, representing the oldest stratum of Welsh medieval narrative, appears to be derived from mabinog, a term found in some of the trials for an apprentice or disciple bard, possibly because this body of narrative was committed to memory by the bardic beginner. The men who composed the medieval vaticinations (derogymus), such as we find in the Black Book of Carmarthen, and the Black Book of Trawsog, are usually called derwedyddion. In the Colloco Conion (Paris, Bibl. nat.), 3182 (prior to end of 11th cent.), dorgyid (or dargyd =derwedydd) is gloss on 'pithionics,' and means a 'seer.'

3. The oldest remains of Welsh poetry.—The oldest remains of Welsh poetry now extant are contained in the following documents: (1) A MS of the paraphrase of the Gospels into Latin hexameters, made by C. Vettius Aquilinus Lucasus, in the University Library at Cambridge, transcribed in the 9th century.

This MS contains two Welsh poems written in the pre-Norman Welsh script and orthography, which are from all indications contemporary with the Welsh glosses of the 9th century. The first poem is a hymn, not unlike some of those contained in the Black Book of Carmarthen (see below), and the second a paraphrase of the hexameter version of the original Latin form of the "Livyarch Hen". The Black Book of Carmarthen and the Red Book of Hergest are very similar in their subject, and the latter hitherto has been characteristic of this type of early poetry.


In the opinion of the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw, three lines and a fragment of another bokminn, that of Sandro de Sulien, Bishop of St. David’s (1071-1085). These lines are of interest, because they are undoubtedly taken from a poem in which we have some fragments in the Book of Anein (see below).

(3) The Black Book of Carmarthen (12th and 13th cent.).

This MS contains some poems by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, who are undoubtedly of the 12th cent.; also certain vaticina- tions of K. T. Owen, son of Merlin (Merlin), which clearly refer to historical events of the 12th century. These vaticina-
are now extant. The existing body of pre-Norman Welsh poetry shows signs of evolution, due to the emphasizing of the personality of the poets who were connected with the chief heroic figures, and the attribution to them of sentiments and poetry they never expressed. Llywarch Hen, for example, in his poems, made utterances over the past, and Myrddin prophesies ab. to the future. Behind these developments, however, there lies in each case the older and simpler objective type of Welsh poetry.

4. The historical poetry of the 'Gogynfeirdd.'—This body of poetry is contained in the Mgnegarian Archaiology, and is undoubtedly contemporaneous with the persons and the events which it describes. It was written by the leading Welsh poets of their day, who were in close touch with the princes whose elegies and elegies they for the most part sing. It is not improbable that much other poetry was composed in Wales at the time, but it is the work of the court-poets alone that has come down to us. This poetry shows all the traces of professional skill and technique: the language is simple and colloquial, the metre largely archaic and traditional, and there are not a few reminisences of the older poetry. Bravery and generosity are the qualities most extolled in the princes. Allusions to battles and similar historical events are frequent. Wales is a warlike country, and within it of colloquialism, or of an effort after the simplicity of prose. Here and there we find lines of signal strength and beauty; but the poet, as a rule, aims far more at vigour and force than at aesthetic charm. The following are the chief representatives of this type of Welsh poetry in the 12th and 13th centuries:

Mellif (1120—1160), the bard of Gwilym ab G wynan, prince of Gwentland. Waelchman, son of Mellif (1150—1160), the bard of Gruffyd ap Iorwerth, prince of Powys (Mid-Wales). Iorwerth's poems are distinguished by strength and terseness rather than beauty, but he has left a clear mark of his own in the art of his verse, and something of that delicate sense of beauty which characterized his contemporary Gwilym ab Gwynfil. Owain Cyweliog (1190—1197), a prince of Powys, is the author of a dead warrior's great poem of study of the 'Godomin' and of genuine poetical feeling. In Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (1160—1172) we have a prince bard, whose love-poems have the true ring of Welsh amatory poetry, and show unmistakably that the poetic appreciation of Nature had its representatives in Wales even amid the stress of war. Llywarch ab Llywelyn (1180—1209) wrote for the most part in honour of the line of Llywelyn and of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, perhaps the greatest prince of that line. The same tradition was carried on by Dafydd Benwras (1190—1240), Einal aw Benwras (1170—1250), Einalawwynn Benwras (1200—1250), Eidfrwyr Fardd, and others. Einalawwynn ab Gwynfil composed a very striking elegy on Nest, daughter of Llywelyn. During this period poetry, too, was composed in honour of the Lord Kings of Deheubarth (S. Wales) and his descendants, by Cynddelw Byddyr Mawr, Philip Brydlydd (1260—1250), and Prydyd Bychan (1250—1290). In this body of poetry we find, too, several religious poems, which show that there was no definite cleavage between the religious and amatory poetry of Wales. The spirit of the religious epoch of Welsh poetry may be regarded as culminating in the elegy written by Gwilym ab Yr Ynd Coch (1260—1290) on the battle ofарат of 1221, in which the first prince of Powys (Mid-Wales) was slain in 1222. This elegy is one of the finest in the Welsh language.

5. Welsh poetry from the death of Llywelyn the Reformer.—It is a striking testimony to the vitality of Welsh poetry that the fall of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth did not retard its progress. In Gwnedd, as had already been the case in other parts of Wales, some of the leading families became successors to the princes in their support of the poets. Among these families, none was more prominent than that of Tudur ab Goronyo of Penmonedd, Anglesey, the ancestor of Henry VII. In various parts of Wales new zones of poetry grew up, cultivated by ecclesiastical patronage, for the great abbey of Basingwerk, Valle Crucis, Aberconwy, Cymmer, Strata Marcella, Strata Florida, Whitland, Neath, Talley, Margam, and Tintern, together with the priories of this strip of the Gwent, the Gwyrch, and Monmouth, were important factors in the encouragement of Welsh literature. Side by side with the composition of original works there had gone the translation of secular and religious legends from French, and the works of the poets bear abundant evidence of acquaintance with the manners and the atmosphere of romance, both native and foreign. The fall of Llywelyn would appear to have turned the current of the Welsh Muse towards those gentler themes which were never alien to her. Her language became simpler and more intelligible, though in formal eulogies and elegies the older style still maintained itself.

Of the newer poetry the chief representatives were Gwilym ab Maredudd, the bard of Gwilym ab Dafydd and of Owain ab Llywelyn; Dafydd Llywll, Llywelyn Goch ab Meircig Hen, and Dafydd ab Gwilym. Of these, Hywel ab Einion Llywll is best known as the author of a poem on the death of his uncle, the bard Dafydd Llywll, and of an author of a remarkably fine elegy on Llew Llewyl of Pennon, while Dafydd ab Gwilym is the author of an ingenious series of poems characterized in many instances by vivid observation of nature, fertility of imagination, a most catholic sympathy, and genuine poetical skill. It is hard to say which of these two poets stands out with certainty, but he flourished approximately in the first half of the 14th century. It is clear from his poetry that he was in touch with all the leading zones of Welsh poetry in his time, those of Anglesey, North Cardiganshire, Ewlyn, Morganwg, and Gwent. In Anglesey he would appear to have been in his youth associated in some way, either with a mendicant order or with a frolicking youth. His poetry is animated by a deliberate anti-academic tendency and an intense passion for nature, traits which are nowhere better exhibited than in the Dafadydd Gwilym's poetry. He is marked as one of the first in his power of describing the essentials of an object or a scene in a few telling lines. His spirit is that of a refined humanism, and he sees nature in the light of his natural surroundings. His poems abound in allusions to nature and other legends and romances, and the various series, which contain of his poems form, are, as it were, so many romances in verse. In his favourite metre is the Cyudd, a metre invented either by himself or by one of his contemporaries, by stringing together a series of couplets consisting of the last two lines of an englyf; or else this metre, if not then invented, was one which had been kept in abeyance of the great poet. Of a later period, even after the death of Dafydd ab Gwilym appears to be extant. In all his poems, except the formal eulogies and elegies, Dafydd ab Gwilym avoided the use of a metre. He aims at a simple and lucid, yet original and artistic, style. The singular richness of his genius created a new epoch in Welsh poetry, and has made him the author of a new and distinguishing school in his love poetry. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that his was the only school of the other romantic current which flourished in his day. We find in Sion Cen (about 1350), for instance, emphasis laid on the ethical rather than the ritual or ascetic side of religion, and a note of poetic realism in a poem expressing sympathy with the toiler.

One of the most characteristic features of Welsh poetry at all periods has been its fidelity to the facts of human life in Wales, a life mainly of toil by land and sea; to the prudence in consciousness of the essential facts of the common lot of man, those of birth, of death, of the uncertainty of life, of disappointment, of failure, of poverty and struggle, relieved by love, by the beauty of Nature, by occasional success, by the kindness and generosity of friends, and by the charm of the muse. Until the accession of Henry VII. we find at intervals the continuance of the older tradition of the poetry of war and political interest, as in the poems of Iolo Goch and his followers, and of the friend of Owen Glyndwr (Glendower), Guto'r Glyn (1430—1468), and Lewis Glyn Cothi (1440—1490). The political interests of these periods are reflected also in the Brudaw, or 'Vaticinia,' to which they gave rise. In some of its aspects Welsh poetry was deeply imbued with the highly developed social life of the time, and requests for favours and thanks for favours granted.
were not complete without being embodied in verse. This led to the practice of minute descriptions of various objects, animate and inanimate, and at times there is a tendency to have recourse to overuse of literary archaism and their synonyms.

The chief innovators of Dyffydd ab Gwilym are Dyfyydd Nemnor (1330–1390), Bedw Duodru (c. 1400) and Bedw Brynwyn (c. 1400). The last of these, Sir Ieuann Denwyn (1460–1469), and Dyfyydd ab Edmwn (1440–1449).

The intimate connexion of the Welsh poets of this period with the life of their country, and their often intimate relations and friendly intercourse amongst themselves, make it invaluable for a study of the Welsh mind and of its social and other ideals at this time. Here, again, certain zones of poetry, often flourishing around the home of some powerful patron, rise into prominence, such as the North-East zone, where we have the ‘three brothers of Marchwiel’ (c. 1350), and also Iolo Goch, Meredydd ab Rhys, Guto'r Glyn, Dyfyydd ab Edmwn, and Guttyn Owain (1450–1460); the South-East zone, where Bedw Brynwyn, Hywel Davi (c. 1450), Lewis Glyn Cothi, Llywelyn Bryn Gwydd, Ieuann Denwyn, and others flourished; while there were other important zones around Twyn in West-South Cardiganshire, and Machynlleth in Montgomeryshire. A large portion of the poetry of this period is religious, both with regard to the encouragement of the University of Wales, its serious and thorough study is now commencing. As the poets of the period were in close touch with the leading families of Wales, they reflect very faithfully the dominant ideas of the circles wherein they moved, especially during the Wars of the Roses. In these poems, too, we see the contrast between Welsh rural life, which was in harmony with the Welsh tradition, and that of the borroughs, which were practically English garrisons established in Wales. In the religious poetry, which is continued from father to son, as in the case of Howell Srwdrul (1370–1420) and Ieuann ap Howell Srwdrul, Tudur Penllyn and Ieuann ap Tudur Penllyn, Dyfyydd Nennor the elder, Rhys Nemnor, and Dyfyydd Nemnor the younger. The poets who most reflect political movements during this period are Iolo Goch, Dyfyydd Nemnor, Lewis Glyn Cothi, and Guto'r Glyn. The joy felt by Wales in the accession of Henry VII. is reflected in a poem by Dyfyydd Llywdr addressed to 'Henry VII. after he had won the kingdom', a sonnet wherein he writes, 'If I were born.' Several of the Welsh bards appear to have regarded the accession of Henry VII. as in some degree a restoration of the prestige of Wales.

One of the most striking features of this period is the increase in the length and metre of Welsh poetry, and even in the Red Book of Hergest there is a grammar of the Welsh language and an account of Welsh versification, which appears to have been widely copied and studied. During this period, too, the bardic profession became so popular that its maintenance threatened to become a burden on the country, and means had to be devised to distinguish between the competent and the incompetent. Whatever gatherings of their own the Welsh bards may have had when they met from time to time at the courts of the princes and the houses of their patrons, it is certain that the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451 had a very definite aim and purpose, namely, to serve as a bardic assize for the repression of the wanderings of the uncleritified and unskilled minstrels. The leading spirits at this Eisteddfod were Owain Glyndŵr, a prominent Carmarthenshire gentleman; Llawdden, a bard from South Wales; and Dyfyydd ab Edmwn, from the zone of North-East Wales. These emphasized the importance of skill in the two main forms of bardic poetry, and by encouraging this poetry, they devoted a regular system of bardic graduation. The Glamorganshire bards rebelled against the stringency of this system, and set up a system of their own. There are indications that, coincident with the introduction of English music into Wales, English metres, easier in character than those of the Welsh tradition, grew in popularity. It was that a new impetus was given to poetic composition, and the number of professional bards steadily grew. In 1524 and 1568, Eisteddfodau, or Bardic Assizes, had again to be held once more to encourage the bards. It is significant that these two Eisteddfodau were held at Caerwys, in Flintshire, within the North-East zone, where Welsh poetry was at this time most flourishing. The leading bard of the first Caerwys Eisteddfod was Tudur Aled, from Llanaman, in Denbighshire, a nephew and pupil of Dyfyydd ab Edmwn. This brilliant poet is distinguished by his skill in description and in the composition of striking couplets. His pupil, Gruffudd Hiraethog, was the teacher of some of the leading bards of the Second Caerwys Eisteddfod, such as Dafydd Ffynch, William Cywan, Sion Tudur, and William Llyw. In North Wales poetry flourished at this time chiefly in the North-East zone, but there was also an important zone in South Carnarvonshire and West Merionethshire and another in Montgomeryshire, with which the encouragement of the University of Wales was serious and thorough study. The period of the Reformation was one of great activity in the poetic zones, especially of N. Wales.

6. Welsh poetry from the Reformation to the present day.—During the period of the Commonwealth, Welsh poetry received little support or encouragement, owing to the decay of several of the older Welsh families, which were strongly Royalist in sympathy. Moreover, the Welsh gentry had ceased by this time, apart from exceptions, to use the Welsh language, and the old bardic tradition, once a vital part of the Welsh tongue, suffered a very striking and lineal decay. It was in the period of the Commonwealth that Huvor Morys of Pontymblain in East Denbighshire, a strong Royalist and a brilliant exponent of the new metres, continued the bardic tradition of the 'Rhys Goch ab Rhiccerr' poetry, which was largely the outcome of the newer musical needs of Wales. The brothers Gruffudd, William, and Rhisiart Philip of Ardwulw carried on the literary tradition of their father, Sion Philip, and there is extant a poem on the death of Charles I. written by William Philip. After the Restoration we find this tradition carried on in Merionethshire by Sion Dyfyydd Llaes, who wrote an elegy on Charles II., and in South Carnarvonshire from about 1692–1714 by Owen Griffith of Llanystansdwy. The newer and freer type of poetry was also represented by the hymns, carols, ballads, etc., which began to emerge into prominence and show that Welsh poetry was beginning to appeal to a new Welsh-speaking public. It was in this period that the ancient Minstrels of Wales, of whom Lewis Morris (the great-grandfather of the late Sir Lewis Morris) is the best known representative, gave a great impetus to the revival of Welsh poetry by collecting MSS and by encouraging the practice of bardship and genius to compose and publish poetry of a high order in the Welsh tongue. The antiquarian
movement, chiefly inaugurated by Edward Llwyd (Llyw), keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, also quickened an interest in the Welsh language in young Welshmen of ability and energy. It is fair to say that some of the leading Welsh poets of the period were Oxford graduates, such as Goronyw Owen, Evan Evans (Evan Brydyled Hir), and William Wynn. At the same time the great religious awakening of the 18th cent. bore fruit in Wales in the publication of a large number of hymns by writers of real poetic power, such as William Williams of Pantycelyn in Carmarthenshire (author of the English hymns ‘Guide me, O thou great Jehovah,’ and ‘O'er those gloomy hills of darkness’); Daydyff Jones of Dreig, and others. The new Welsh reading public of the middle and poorer classes, whose vernacular was still Welsh, read the new poetry, both secular and sacred, with avidity, and literary societies for the cultivation of Welsh literature sprang up in the Welsh community of London and in many parts of Wales. Many members of the Welsh aristocracy, too, gave their patronage to the new movement by contributing prizes to successful competitors in the revived Eisteddfod, the most prominent result of the new interest the 18th century witnessed in the Eisteddfod, mainly through the exertions of Owain Jones (Owain Myfyr), Dr. Owen Pughe, and Iolo Morganwg. The competitions connected with the Eisteddfod and the facilities which the Welsh press now afforded to the publication of poetry led to renewed activity in various poetic zones, as, for instance, that of Carnarvonshire, where Daydyff Ddu Eryri, Robert ab Gwilym Ddu, Dewi Wyn o Efion, and others rose into prominence, and that of Denbighshire, associated with the names of Robert ab Owain, Guto Wyn, and Guto Nant-y-Marchan, the latter of whom, by his ‘Interludes,’ sought to supply the rudiments of a Welsh drama, which had been only meagrely represented in the past by some portions of Biblical plays. The national Eisteddfod was followed by the institution of provincial and local competitions, which have stimulated the composition of a great deal of Welsh poetry in addition to what is spontaneously composed as in other countries. Much of the Welsh poetry of the 19th cent. is of high literary merit. The verse and prose are a vivid representation of the life and aspirations of Wales, both on the religious and on the secular side. Many of the best Welsh poets of the 19th cent. have been ministers of religion, and, with rare exceptions, the poet in this interval of time has been a priest or in some phase of the life of the Church. The chief poets of the 19th cent., in addition to those already named, have been Eben Farnd (1802–1830), Isai Jones (1782–1878), Emrys (1813–1873), Hiraethog (1802–1883), Geriog (1832–1887), and Hwfa Mon. Of recent years lyric poetry has been especially cultivated, and the younger generation of poets show in their works clear traces of the study of current English, and in some cases of Continental, literature. But the price of this conscious striving after beauty of form are very conspicuous in current Welsh poetry; but, apart from certain brilliant exceptions, there is often a lack of naturalness and spontaneous grace. At the present day, poetic expression is in no sense behind the remarkable evolution of Welsh social life in education, politics, etc. It is no mere antiquarian resurrection of past ideals, but a living exponent of the mind of the Welsh people.


BARNABITES.—The Congregation of the Regular Clergy of S. Paul Decollato (commonly called Barnabites) from their ancient house of S. Barnabas in Milan, which was opened in 1547, goes back to the beginning of the 16th century. Its founder was Antonio Maria Zaccaria, a native of Cremona, recently canonized by the Church of Rome (May 27, 1897). About the year 1530 Zaccaria united himself with Bartolomeo Ferrari and Giacomo Antonio Morighi (Milanese gentlemen, who after the death of the Congregation of S. Barnabas, in 1539, thus the particles of holiness, the title of ‘venerable’), for the purpose of founding a Congregation of priests who should employ themselves in arousing the somnolent faith, in removing abuses, in reforming the manners of the people, and in bringing them back to the practice of true Christian piety.

By his Brief dated Bologna, Feb. 18, 1533, which follows, the Pope gives to the Congregation the authority to set up the new religious Order. Paul III. by two other Briefs, Dux domini felici recordatione Clemente, etc. (July 25, 1535), and Postoralis
In 1601 Const religious and in conjunction Cremona, the Finale telice-a- end

compelled being against territories, a piously

society of married people; and, in conjunction with the Countess Ludovica Torelli, an Order called the 'Angelicals of S. Paul,' for which he had also obtained the approval of Paul III. in 1535.

was founded by his two companions who outlived him, Ferrari († Nov. 25, 1544) and Morigia († Oct. 23, 1545), and by their successors. Towards the middle of the 16th cent. we find them scattered in Brescia, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Venice, Cremona, and Ferrara, intent on preaching with zeal to the people, instituting confraternities of lay persons, and reforming monasteries, regardless of the hatred which they began to excite and of the persecutions which were directed against them. A fierce persecution arose against them, and the work was interrupted for the time in the territory of the free Venetian Republic. They were accused before the Republic of being political revolutionaries, emissaries of the Spaniards to the injury of the Venetian seigniory, and as being infected with heresy; and they were compelled to quit the territory of the Republic within the space of ten days. Nor did the matter end here, for, when Father Gianpietro Besozzi and Father Paolo Melso went to Rome, whither the same accusations had been carried, they were immediately thrown into prison, where they remained until Besozzi died. The Venetians, and others, were able to make their position clear and to unmask the conspiracy formed against the Congregation (cf. Arist. Sala, Biografia di S. Carlo Borromeo, Milan, 1858, Dissert. ii. p. 251).

1. Colleges.—Shortly after this time the Barnabites began to establish themselves definitely outside Milan; but, as we need not trace minutely their later vicissitudes, we give here some dates which will serve to afford an idea of their subsequent progress in Italy and beyond. In 1610, in Italy the first college, or house of the Barnabites outside Milan was founded at Pavia in 1558, for the purpose of educating their young adherents in literature and sacred learning. Next in chronological order come: in Cremona, the college or house of S. Vincenzo, founded in 1570 and suppressed in 1810, and the house of S. Luca, founded in 1881; in Monza, S. Maria di Carabbiolo, consecrated by the help of S. Carlo Borromeo, opened in 1571, suppressed in 1810, and re-established in 1825; Cesole in 1573; Verceil in 1574; in Rome, S. Maria di S. Carlo al Catinari in 1581, suppressed in 1810, and re-established in 1814, by the Bull of Alexander VII. the residence of the General Superior of the Congregation from 1660 onwards; in Milan, S. Alessandro, founded in 1589, suppressed in 1825; Zagarolo in 1592; Pisa in 1594; in Bologna, S. Andrea in 1598, the Seminary of S. Peter in 1748, further, the college of S. Luigi in 1774, renewed, after its suppression, in 1816; Novara in 1631; S. Nereo in Lodi, S. Giovanni delle Vigne founded in 1669, suppressed in 1809, and re-established at S. Francesco in Lodi in 1833; in Asti (in Piedmont), S. Martino, founded in 1606, suppressed in 1892, and re-established in 1822; in Parma, S. Ercolano, founded in 1607, suppressed in 1774, and in Zacingo with the house of Jesus, which was likewise suppressed in 1804 and re-established in 1837; Acqui in the same year 1607; in Naples in 1608, S. Caterina della Corona di Spina, in 1610, S. Maria di Portanova, which was suppressed in 1890, S. Giuseppe-in-Pontecorvo after 1618, S. Maria di Monza; at Aquila, 1610; Foligno, 1612; Tortona, 1612; Chieti and Pescia, 1654; in Fiesole, S. Carlo from 1627 to 1783, the Institute della Querce from 1574; in Leghorn, S. Sebastiano, founded in 1629, suppressed in 1810, and re-established in 1832; Reggio, 1694; Alessandria, 1655; Cremona, 1664; Parma, 1665; Udine, 1690; Finale Marina and Bergamo, 1711; Porto Maurizio, 1736; Aosta, 1748; in Moncalieri (in Piedmont), the Royal College Carlo Alberto, founded in 1839; S. Pelico-a-Capelato (Terra di Lavoro), founded in 1834.

2. Missions.—The first mission of the Barnabites outside of Italy was in the island of Malta, whither they went in 1592 at the urgent solicitation of the principal heads of the Order of Malta, Father Paolino Marchesi of Malta and Father Antonio Marchesi of Bergamo, and where they spent two years with profit to the inhabitants and to the Order of Malta itself. Later, in 1610, as we gather from a Brief of Paul V., King Henry IV. of France obtained some Barnabites to labour in Ævar in the work of destroying the heresy of Calvin, viz., Fathers Fortunato Colome, Remigio Podiori, Hilaire Martin, etc. Almost at the same time S. Francis de Sales introduced them into Savoy to direct the college of Annecy. The Barnabites were thus able to penetrate from Ævar and Savoy into France. The first college in France was founded in 1622, and of France those of Annecy, Thonon, Montargis, Lesca, Paris, Estampes, Dax, Bonneville, Mont-de-Marsan, Bourg-Saint-Andéol, Loches, Bazas, Guéret, Oleron, Coulommiers-sur-Argue, and, after the Revolution, the college of Gien (Loiret), opened in 1856 under the auspices of Dupanloup, and the house in Paris, re-opened in 1857, owing to the influence and goodwill of the celebrated Russian count, Gregory Schouvaloff, who had served as Chaplain to the Russian Embassy in Paris and had entered the Order of Barnabites. In 1829 the Holy Congregation of the Propaganda sent Fathers Mario Malignino, Alfonso Caccia, and Cornelio Porzio into Valletta; but this mission, notwithstanding its fruitfulness, did not lead to the establishment of the Barnabites in that region infested by heretics. In 1625 some Barnabites were sent into Austria by Urban VIII. in consequence of a request made to him by Ferdinand II., for some 'religious' fitted to labour in the conversion of heretics and unbelievers; and these Barnabites were placed in possession of the parish of S. Michael in Vienna, which was the parish of the Imperial court. They afterwards occupied other parishes, as, for instance, that of Mittelflech from 1601, and that of S. Margaret in Ulm from 1744. In 1719 the Barnabites took part in the missions in Asia. Among the first were Fathers Filippo M. Cesiati and Sigismondo Calcari (both of Milan), and Onorato Ferrari (of Verceil), who, as members of an embassy of Clement XI. to the Emperor of China, went as companions of the Grand Viceroy of China, and the result of this embassy did not correspond to the hopes entertained of it; and, in fact, an Imperial edict forbade the preaching of the gospel. Notwithstanding, it came about that Father Ferrari was able to stay some time in China, there in five years he converted many of the barbarians to the Faith, and baptized very many abandoned and dying.
children. Father Cesati with a companion re-
paired to Cochín-China with the title of 'vicar apostolic,' and Father Calchi with some others went into the Indian kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, where they went into a new apostolic mission. This mission in these two kingdoms was entirely en-
trusted to the Barnabites by Benedict XIV. in 1740, and there they maintained missionaries (of whom more than one suffered martyrdom) until the sup-
pression of the religious orders (Sala, op. cit. p. 284).

The picture was sketched by the Description of the Burmese Empire by the Barnabite missionary Sangermano, who laboured in Burma in 1783-1809 (d. 1810). After Calchi came Pierre de Burgh, the first priest of a number of other missionaries came about 1726, meeting with such success that Benedict XIV. appointed a vicar apostolic. Many churches and convents were erected, a church college for 40 students, and an orphanage for girls at Ava a church; at Pegu a church and house; at Monia a church, presbytery, and college, with 6 churches in the environs of the city and 2 churches in Subarao; at Chian-su-rocce 6 churches; at Rangoon a church, a house, an orphan-school, and a convent. In 1745 the Vicar Apostolic Galizia and two priests were treacherously murdered, and the mission languished until 1749, when Fr. Nerini, who had been forced by the disturbances to leave Burma, returned. A second severe blow fell the mission at the capture of Siam in 1767, when Fr. Nerini was killed. The mission was, however, recovered, however, after its activity until 1822, when the religious orders were suppressed by the Spanish king. The Barnabite mission was a self-contained one. A special mission mention is due Fr. Pecotio (d. at Ava, Dec. 12, 1776), who is recorded to have translated some Burmese works into Italian, and to have made Burmese versions of Genesis, Tobit, Matthew, the Gospels, the Masses, and prayers and catechisms.

A few years after the last of the 18th century and epochs of the Congregation counted not a few conspicuous members; and, not to mention Cardinal Gerol of Savoy (1718-1802), a distinguished philosopher, Fathers Quadrupani (ascetic writer), Paolo Frisi and Francesco de Regi (eminent scientists), and others, who had been dead a few centuries, it numbered among its members Father Francesco Fontana (1750-1822), General Superior of the Congregation, companion of Pius VII. in his imprisonment, and afterwards Cardinal; Father Luigi Lambroschini (1776-1854), who was afterwards archbishop of Genoa, Cardinal and Secretary of State; Francesco Saverio Bianchi, who has recently been beatified; Father Antonio Maria Codolini, afterwards bishop of Ancona and cardinal († 1851); Fathers Stanisla Tomba († 1847) and Carlo Giuseppe Peda († 1843), who were much bishops and former of Bologna; after Assisi; and Fathers Felice and Gaetano De Vecchi (ascetics), Ermengildo Pinzi and Mariano Fontana (scientists), Antonio Grandi (orator and poet), Giuseppe Racagni and Bartolomeo Ferrari (scient-
ists) and many others. The Congregation had already given to the Church: Alessandro Sauli, bishop of Aleria in Corsica, and afterwards of Pavia, who has recently been canonized († 1592); Carlo Bascape, bishop of Novara († 1615); Justo Guérin, prince and bishop of Genoa; Francesco Gattinara, bishop of Turin; Giacomo Morigia, archbishop of Florence and afterwards Cardinal; Cristoforo Giarda, bishop of Castro; Giovanni Maria Percoto, bishop of Moul and vicar apostolic of Ava and Pegu; Pio Man-
zoni, della Croce, bishop of Trieste and Croatia, and, in the various branches of learning, Agostino Tornelll (annalist); Redento Baranzano (1590-
1622; scientist); the Venerable Bartolomeo Canale (ascetic writer); Bartolomeo Gavanti (writer on ritual); the Venerable Nicola Mastra; Jean Niceron (historians); Reni Montuisel; Gabriele Valenzuela, Cosme De Chapignon, Tom-
maso Rovere (Ilotarius), Salvatore Corticelli (gram-
narians); Isidore Mirassou, Father Colome, etc.

At the beginning of the 19th century the Congregation, though not extensive, has been of great service in some colonies in the East Indies, and in Australia, and one at the Cape of Good Hope. The Congregation has had at least one superior at the end of every year, or may be re-elected after the termination of the three years. The General Chapter meets every three years in Rome.

Monserron, and another in Brussels in 1805; while, on the expulsion of all 'religious' from France in 1806, the majority of the Barnabites sought refuge in Great Britain. In 1903 the Order undertook the religious mission in Brazil. At present there are 22 Barnabites, who number almost 300, have about 29 monasters in Italy, 5 in Austria, and some in Spain, besides those already noted in Belgium.

3. Constitutions.—The Constitutions, or Statutes, of the Barnabite, of which the first nucleus is traceable back to the founder Zacaria, and of which a first body was already formulated and published in 1552, were not definitive until 1579 (Constitutiones Cler. Regg. S. Pauli Decollatihilis quattuor distincte, Milan, 1579; other editions, see below, Milan, 1615; Naples, 1829; Milan, 1892), when, after the examination made of them by S. Carlo Borromeo and their approval by the General Chapter, they finally had the sanction of Pope Gregory XIII. by his Brief of Nov. 7.

The greater part of these Constitutions have reference either to personal sanctification, of which they urge the attainment by suggesting suitable exercises as an aid to the observance of the three vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty; or they refer to the sanctification of others, to be attained through their chief end, the preservation of the orders of the school, etc. Others have reference to the reception of new members into the Order, mode of dress, etc.; and, generally, others concern the administration of the Order.

With regard to last the following are some of the rules:—The General Superior of the Congregation is elected by suffrage. His office lasts three years, but he may be re-elected, though not more than once. All the members of the Order owe him obedience, but at the same time every member may have recourse to him, since he is the common Father. His ordinary Council is composed of four Assistants, who are nominated by the General Chapter every time it meets. His usual residence was changed from Milan to Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VIII. (1690). The habit of the members is a coarse black soutane, closely re-
sembling that of the regular clergy. Unlike the Jesuits and Theatines, they recite Office in choir; and their other distinguishing characteristics are thus summed up by Currier (History of Religious Orders, p. 296).

Besides the fast-days of the Church, these Religious fast on every Friday of the year, the two last days of Carnival, and from the first Sunday of Advent until Christmas. They abstain from eggs and fish on every Wednesday in Lent, and the same days, they fast from all meat. They are required to make a religious examination every Thursday in Lent. Apart from the above, they are required to have their First Holy Communion, and to have made their profession of Faith and Obedience on the day of their ordination. They are required to attend the general chapter at least once every three years, or to wait until the death of the Superior, as this is the general rule.

The Congregation of the Barnabites, like all the other religious Orders, is divided into provinces, which until a few years ago were six, namely, the Austrian, the French, the Italian, the Spanish, the Brazilian, and the English provinces. The Congregation has had at least one superior at the end of every year, or may be re-elected after the termination of the three years. The General Chapter meets every three years in Rome. Several
of the members who compose it are elected by the local and provincial chapters. The General Chapter announces the affairs of the Order, nominated by the Provincial Superiors, provides for the general well-being by means of monitions and decrees. The Barnabites, like all the great religious Orders, are in immediate subjection to the Supreme Pontiff.


G. BOFFITO

BARODA.—1. Name and history.—The original form of the name Baroda is said to be Skr. Vaṭa dura (vātara, 'banyan-tree,' udara, 'cavity') 'in this direction a banyan grove'; according to others, it is based on the shape of the city, supposed to resemble a banyan leaf; a local legend (BG vii. 829) suggests a cult of this sacred tree. The name is given to an important native State and its capital, situated in the province of Gujarāt and Kathiawār in W. India. Other early names were Chandāvāti, 'city of sandalwood' or 'of the Jain king Chandan'; Virāvati or Virakshethra, 'land or field of heroes.' The State consists of various fragments of territory enclosed within the British dominions, this condition being due to the tron-ulous times which followed the Marāthā occupation from A.D. 1705 onwards, and successive annexations and re-distributions in contests with the Marāthā Peshwā and the British Government. The dominions of the Gālūkār ('cowherd'; cf. the ritual term dūna) form the core of the State, which occupy an area of 8,099 square miles. They formed in ancient times part of the kingdom of Anhilvāda, the capital of which is now represented by the ruins of Pītān at the extreme N. boundary. This kingdom was formed, according to the原理, by Gladān and Ghazān, who sacked the temple of Dwārkā (wh. see) in 1206, finally succumbing to the attack of Alā-ud-dīn Khilji in 1298. The present Marāthā dynasty was founded by Pīlāji Gālūkār (1721-32).

2. Statistics of religion.—The total population amounted in 1891 to 1,052,692, including 1,546,992 Hindus (79.22 per cent.); 165,014 Muhammadans (8.54 per cent.); 176,250 Animists (9.62 per cent.); the balance (3.31 per cent.) being made up of Jains, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs, and Jews. Of the Hindus, who constitute the larger part of the population, about two-thirds are Vaishnavas, or followers of Visṇu, and the remainder are nearly equally divided between Saivas, or worshippers of Siva, and Śaktas, or worshippers of the Mother-goddess. Among the two last classes there are few sub-sects. One, the Vaishnavas, representing the Orders of ascetics, whose differences are based more upon external observances than upon doctrine; and the Śaktas, as usual, fall into the two classes of 'right-hand' (Dūkshina-mārgī) and 'left-hand' (Śaṅkha-mārgī), distinguishing themselves by the wearing of their deities in public, the latter following the soul secret Tantrik cultus. The Vaishnavas have been more fertile in forming sub-sects, of which eleven were recorded at the last enumeration. Of these, five worship Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa) in one or other of his manifestations; four the demi-god Rāma; the Kābārubānis are followers of Kābīr, the saintly founder of the sect (A.D. 1485-1512); and the Ganeśapānis are worshippers of Ganesa or Gaṇapati, god of luck and remover of obstacles. This enumeration, however, tends to exaggerate the sectarian character of the local Hinduism.

Though thus there are three principal sects in the Hindu religion prevalent in this State, the followers of neither are exclusively; they pay homage to all the deities, but are bound more to the special deity of their cult. It is only the bishoped of any one sect who despise the worshippers of deities other than their own deity. The sects are not found amongst the extremists' ( Census Report, 1901, i. 137).

The Marāthā ruling dynasty have brought with them from the Deccan as their family god Khandoba, 'sword father,' the chief guardian deity of the Kundi caste, from which the Marāthās have mainly sprung (BG xviii. pt. i. 290). Regarding this and similar gods Sir A. Lyall (Asiatic Studies, i. 30) writes:

These are not low grand incarnations of the Supreme Triad; yet, by examining the legends of their embodiment and appearance upon earth, we obtain fair ground for surmising that all of them must have been notable living men not so very long ago.'

3. Hinduism.—In its public and private worship (pūjā) the local form of Hinduism differs little from the standard type. The public service carefully prescribed by the numerous texts of all opinions, regarded as unclean; and even those of lower rank than the 'twice-born' (deviś) are kept at a distance and are not allowed to touch the temple images. Each household, again, has its private deities, and the animistic basis of the faith is shown in the general cult of Sītā, the goddess of smallpox; the sun and planets; cows, bulls, serpents, and the mongoose (Herpestes mungo), the destroyer of noxious snakes; of trees, such as the banyan, pipal (Ficus religiosa), and the acacia; of stones representing Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Ganesa, and the corn-shield; of jewels and books of account; and of arms carried by the military classes ( Census Rep. 1901, i. 122 ff.).

Among other observances the chief are fasts; vows (most of which are special to women); pilgrimages; and the domestic rules of ritual (śāṃskārī) prescribed in the early books of the Vedas, relating to birth, marriage, death. The chief holy places within the State are Dwārkā (wh. see), Sidhpur, the place where obsequial rites for the repose of the soul of a mother can most properly be performed; the sacred pools of Urā, Nīlī, and Nīlī (wh. see) in Bengal; Becharī, where a married woman of the Chāran or herald caste has been deified as an incarnation of the Mātā, or Divine Mother, and is worshipped in the form of the yoni, or symbol of the female sex (BG vii. 609 ff.); and Karnālī on the banks of the sacred river, the Narbādā.

4. Jains.—The Jains, though numerically weak, are important on account of their wealth and their lavish expenditure on temples, many of which are of recent construction and examples of exquisite workmanship and decoration ( Census Rep. 1901, i. 149).

5. Animists.—The animistic tribes, found in the forest tracts, belong chiefly to the Gāmīt, Bih (wh. see), Dūlbā, and Chodha tribes. Each of these has a local and tribal god which is worshipped either in a public service conducted by the bhaṭat, or medicine-man, or in less important cases by the votary himself. One of these, Kavāk Dev, has no image or temple; but he is supposed to live in a gloomy ravine; another, one of the Mother-goddesses, is represented by a huge boulder. Besides these, the tiger, alligator, and various Mothers who repel disease are worshipped, the
ritual being like that common to the other N. Dravidian (wh. see) tribes (ib. i. 155 ff.).

6. Parsia.—One of the chief sacred places of the Parsi is that which they occupied in A.D. 1142, after leaving their first settlement at Sanajhar. Here they have erected numerous fire-temples, and towers of silence for the exposure of the dead. Here burns the sacred fire, which they claim to have brought with them from Persia (DG vii. 506 f.; Dastas, ii. 542, Strabo, v. 1178; Japanese, v. 1235; A. K. Forbes, Ras Nida, or Hindu Awnad of the Province of Gujerat, 1878. For the early Manichean history see Elliot-Dowson, Hist. of India, 1896-77; Sir E. C. Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujerat, 1858; J. Grant Duff, History of the Mahottars, 1874. W. Crooke.

BARSON (Av. baro.see.)—‘Barsom’ is the name given at the present day to a collection of small metal-wire rods (tilu)—used in the chief ceremonies of the Parsis—representing the ent stems of a plant which no longer be identified. The number of the rods varies, according for some time in which they are used; the lowest permissible number seems to have been three, while the numbers five, seven, and nine are also mentioned. The number now varies between five and thirty-three, and is supposed to represent the number of stars, and is bound together with a girdle formed of a date leaf or leaves. For the particular ceremonial in which they are used see Hang’s Essays, p. 396 f., and Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, i. p. Lxxii. f. see also there the description of the detailed operations with which their use is accompanied. It may be seen with mention that the barsom is frequently sprinkled with the holy water (zodra, zdr), and with the consecrated milk in the yasna, or chief ceremony.

The number thirty-three shows that the rods represent the thirty-three sacred objects and personified ideas, for that number is especially mentioned in Yasna i. 10, iii. 12, as applying to the yasna ceremony. What these special ideas originally were is no longer clearly defined, reasoning from the origin of their application we may consider that the number was arriving at their significance. Few doubt that we have in the barsom (baro.see.) a form of barsi, Vedic Skr. barthi, the ‘straw cushion’ upon which the gods of the Veda were supposed to sit, as they descended in response to the sacrifice, and upon which also offerings to them were spread—and this at a time when the ancestors of the present Indian devo-worshippers and of the Ahura (Asura)—worshippers were one and the same people, and when ‘Veda’ (the Avesta) was the first of sacred objects and now lost name for the one common holy lore. Several points are in favour of this, apart from the etymology: chiefly the word ‘spread,’ which is used of the barsom as of the Vedic barthi. The rod, frequently carefully ‘spread upon the mats (a sort of rack with two crescents for supports), the moon-faced stand upon which they, for the most part, rest. But the barthi was and is ‘spread’ [the verb used is eto. eto] the softest grass he can get, and places the pieces of flesh upon it.’ (This item, by the way, is one of many which show how widely this form of worship was dispersed in Persia, and how long it had been implanted there, that the Greeks could speak of it so familiarly as belonging to them, and to the province of it. See also the Inscriptions of Darius at Behistun, etc., where Avromazda is regularly mentioned as the God of all the Empire ‘who made this earth and you heaven.’

The barsom is, and was then, a sacred object frequently used in the holiest sacrificial ceremonies, especially in the celebration of the main Sacrificial Service, in the course of which the Gathas were sung without curtailment. It must therefore be understood by all serious Parsi worshippers to represent something of a sacred character, and on closer examination it may recall at times the entire throng of personified ideas which we might, with some reason, describe as ‘goddles,’ whose worship, however, when sincere, did not in any conceivable sense approach idolatry, but was a mere sacrificial reverence. Further, all the symbolic rods were united by the sacred ‘girdle,’ as if to express the thought of oneness. And when we press our inquiries a little further, we see that the barsom’s nes is but the persistence of an original idea which was due to the Iranian people while as yet they were undivided. Avesta and Pahlavi literatures add a number of details concerning the barsom, for which some similar plant might be substituted (Yas. xxi. 3). In conjunction with the ‘bliation’ (zodra), it is used in calling Ahura Mazda and all other sacred beings, to whom it, with other holy objects, is duly consecrated (Yas. iv.; Visp. xi. 2), to the sacrifice (Yas. ii., which bears the special name of Barsam Yozd; cf. Yas. xxi. 3 Visp. ii.); an important part of the worship of Ahura Mazda is that ‘one should offer barsom an avic long, a yava (grain) broad’ (Tend. xix. 19); and it is also used in the Sr66 Dara, which grants to the soul of the dead the protection of Sraosha on its passage to the future life (Yas. iii.). Sraosha was, indeed, the first who spread forth the barsom, both of these twigs, and of five twigs, and of seven twigs, and of nine twigs [the Pahlavi commentary on Xwirgurun Xc. raising the number of twigs to seven (TG)], reaching out that it was the leg, both for the worship and the prayer and the propitiator and the glorification of the Amanah Spenta’ (Yas. lvii. 6), and the offering of barsom to the sacred fire is one of the acts which bring the blessing of that element (Yas. lvii. 9). The barsom is nothing in the truest sense of the object to which sacrifice is offered (Yas. lvii. 23) and which are invited to be present at the sacrifice (Visp. x. 2), besides having obedience to them solemnly incanted (Visp. xii. 3). The barsom is among the offerings to be made by the ‘Aryan lands’ to Tishtrya (Yt. v. 58); with it Haoma offered sacrifice to Mithra (Yt. x. 88), who, if a pious priest sacrifices with barsom, bestows blessings on him who employs the sacrificial...
mediator (Yt. x. 137-139); and, in turn, barson is among the offerings to be made to Haoma (Yas. xxv. 3). Even Ahura Mazda, who did sacrifice with it to Vayu, the Wind (Yt. x. 2), and to Ashi, Righteousness (Yt. v. 91-93), as well as to the Rapithowia, or midday sacrifice (Afronym i.v. 5-7).

So great, indeed, is the virtue of a single offering of barson, as of a single offering of wood for the sacred fire, that by it the just is exalted and the sinner (Yt. xvii. 10), whatever the conditions (Yt. xiii. 10-11, 29, 32-33; Sad Dar lxviii. 14), while cuttings of the hair and nails must be buried the latter space away (Yt. xvii. 4). The barson must be removed from a house in which either a human being or a dog (a sacred animal in Zoroastrianism) has died (Yt. v. 89-40), though in the purification of a house, after the expiration of the proper period of mourning, which varies according to the degree of kinship, the barson plays an important role (Yt. xii. I). Barson may not be carried along a road over which the corpse of a human being has passed on the preceding day, nor has it been buty purified (Yt. xviii. 14-22), and milk drawn from a cow that has eaten of such a corpse may not be used in connexion with the barson within a year after such an act (Yt. vii. 77). Prosperity slumns the place where a heretic (hakamaeey) dwells, until he is slain and sacrifice is offered to Savashta for three days and three nights with barson, fire, and haoma (Yt. ix. 56-57). Among the penalties for killing an otter (udara) are the binding of 10,000 bundles of barson and the present of a man or woman, or one suffering from leucorrea (Yt. xviii. 72). If a libation be poured into the barson or the sacred fire, it becomes operative for 'the victory of the non-Aryan lands' (Nirangiatan lxviii.), and the binding of the barson is one of the most important parts of the sacrifice (Nirang. lx.). For a variety of ritual prescriptions relating to the barson, reference may be made to Nirang. ed. Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta III., and Daral Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1894 lxix., lxx., lxxiv., lxxix., xvii. ft. (although the greater part of the text of the last passage is so corrupt in its present form as to defy translation); Sयत in (Sytar 18, Bidastoomi-i Dasth XIII. 4-5, lxviii. 17; Epistles of Mawânsâhkar iii. 12; Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta i. 398, 407.

According to Pahlavi literature, the evils of the last times will be such that the barson may be arranged in such a manner that the house of the dead (Bahrami Anahita) may be destroyed, and that the right hand will still strew it, even if he cannot do it 'as in the reign of King Visâtsp' (Bahram Yt. ii. 58; for other eschatological data connected with the barson see Bahram Yt. iii. 59, 37). The barson might be considered a work of merit (Sय� in Syat x. 33). Faulty consecration was, however, possible if the barson had too many twigs, or was cut from an improper plant, or was held toward the north, the region of the demons (Sय� in Syat xiv. 2), an intentional substitution of such improper barson was being a very common practice (Yt. xiii. 25).

The barson was a powerful agent against all demons, fiends, wizards, and witches (Dinâ-Mâimâng-i-Khurâl i.vi. 28); it played a part 'on the day of battle and evil deeds of war' (Dinkart viii. xxvi. 24); and it is particularly interesting to note that a distinct barson-sacrifice (berasok-mîrêh) was known (Dinkart viii. xin. 33, xx. 12, 60), although no details are given concerning it.

The barson is also mentioned in the Persian Sâth-Nâmâh, which records that King Bahram the Cruel and his court, after making offerings of a bearing barson in his hand, and also that Yazdï-gird, the last Sassanian king, asked the Miller who gave him shelter in flight for a bundle of barson that he might say grace before eating (Pizzi, Il Libro dei re, Turin, 1886-88, vi. 463, vii. 442), a custom to which allusion is also made elsewhere (Routhak, TRASBO xiii. 88). It is possible that the five-twigged barson is represented on a coin of Bahram ii. (276-293), which shows two figures on opposite sides of a fire altar, one of the men holding the barson, the other the object in question (Dorn, Collection de monnaies sassanides de feu le lieutenant-général J. de Bartholomé, i., St. Petersburg, 1873, pl. iv. No. 13). In modern times, as has already been noted, the barson in India is ritually represented by small wire rods; but in Kirmân, Anqapetl di Perton (Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1771, ii. 522) records the use of twigs of the pomegranate, tamarisk, or date-tree; and at the present time 'in Yazd the tamarisk bush is used to form this bundle, and it is bound with a slender strip of bark from the mulberry tree and held together by a thong,' as it was in Zoroaster's day, 'brass rods being substituted only in winter or at other times when it is impossible to obtain living branches (Jackson, Persian Past and Present, New York, 1906, p. 3091. and plate). See also YASSA.


BARTER.—A term 1. From the simple and elementary form of traffic in which goods are directly offered in exchange for goods. An article upon barter is from one point of view an essay on the functions of money and the inconvenience of its absence, since barter is that form of exchange in which money is not employed as the intermediary of trading. Barter was the primitive mode of doing business before a measure of value or a common medium of exchange was devised. In such a set of conditions there are manifest difficulties without a common denominator here it is not easy to compare the values of the articles exchanged or to arrive at an economic principle of bargaining. In any particular exchange the two parties must adjust their contract by their respective wants for each other's commodity and the desire of each to part with his own superfluities. Thus the fisherman would need to measure his fish against the potatoes of the gardener at one moment and the bread of the baker at another, and so on round the whole circle of his purchases. It is obvious that a base of exchange so incumbrant and so capricious must belong to a primitive period of society. A very slight advance in the methods of production, in separation of employments, and in trade would inevitably lead to the use of a medium of exchange which would tend of one and as a standard measure and as an accepted go-between.
some substance would be adopted for the double purpose, which all would willingly receive in exchange for their own commodities, and which could in turn be parted with easily for others. The dividing durability that goods exchange, very take his the a the or art. Money. The term barter or truck is more usually applied to the exchange of articles for use; the term purchase suggests the employment of money and buying for future sale or commerce. The Old Testament supplies a good example of a transaction by payment in kind or barter. In 1 K. 5th, we read that Hiram king of Tyrre ’gave Solomon cedar trees and fir trees according to all his desire,’ and that Solomon gave Hiram 20,000 measures of wheat for food to his household and 20 measures of pure oil. It is the custom among all civilized communities; the domestic servant barter her services for food, housing, and a sum of money; the farm labourer is often paid partly in kind, by the use of a cottage, a garden, supply of milk, butter, etc., and partly by money wages. If we consider real wages, i.e., what money wages will buy, we see that in reality labour is exchanged for a supply of necessaries and comforts. In modern times we find some publications such as The Exchange and Mart, which revive the old form of barter of ancient and primitive nations, stating the articles desired in exchange for them. Private individuals, like schoolboys, often practise barter; and bits of furniture, old garments, and even plots of land are exchanged for other desirable things.

In uncivilized countries barter is widely prevalent. Stanley in his journeys through Africa took quantities of cloth, brass rods, etc., with which to purchase food; similarly cargoes of old rifles, knives, bottles, powder, etc., have been sent to some places to be exchanged for the natural products of the country.

Under a system of barter there is a difficulty in securing mutuality of wants, or what Jevons called ‘the double coincidence of exchange,’ viz., that each party shall desire that which the other offers. Again, barter requires each article to be measured in terms of every other article of traffic, necessitating a separate bargain for each, and consequently a large and varied list of the ratios of exchange. A further drawback is the impossibility in some cases of dividing the article or of fractional payments; the pig or the rifle must be exchanged for something which is deemed an exact equivalent.

Competition (q.v.) has little play under barter. The mode of exchange is not such as can supply a market and give a market value. It is usually a case of a single exchange in which the values are determined by the individual wants and capacities of the two parties to the exchange.

A great advantage consists in the barter to money purchases. Modern trade tends to revert to a refined form of barter by the employment of paper substitutes for money currency; promises, credit documents, and what is called ‘representative money’ take the place of coin. The highly organized system of credit circulation may have provided a mechanism which in effect reduces much of trade and commerce to barter, while pre-

LITERATURE.—Jevons, Money (Lond. 1879); Bastable, Theory of International Credit (Lond. 1885); Marshall, Principles of Economics, Note on ‘Barter’ (Lond. 1907).

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BASIL.—See CAPPADOCIAN THEOLOGY.

BASILIDIES, BASILIDIANS.—I. Sources. —Basilides was one of the most famous Gnostic teachers in the 2nd century. We are told by Epiphanius (Her. xxiii. 1) that he was a fellow-pupil of Saturninus in the school of Menander, at Antioch. This statement has been largely accepted, though it is by no means certain that Epiphanius had any trustworthy information on the subject. It is quite as likely to be simply an inference of his own from the fact that Saturninus and Basilides are coupled by Irenaeus (I. xxiv. 1), who, however, says that Saturninus put forward his system in Syria, but Basilides in Alexandria. Apart from the reference in the Acts of Archelas (c. 55 in A.D. 190) to his having written to the Persians, to be discussed later, we have no evidence for any activity outside Egypt. Possibly Epiphanius, who visited Egypt, had some warrant for his account of the places outside Alexandria where Basilides worked. The information surrounding the date of his activity, however, shall probably be in accepting the usual view (cf. Clem. Strom. vii. 106) that his work mainly
within the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). He claimed to have received his doctrine from the Apostle Peter through Glaucois ( Clem. L.c.). His chief disciple was his son Isidore. According to Hippolytus (Philos. vii. 20), they asserted that Matthias, the first apostle to whom the name of the Gospel was given, and Thomas, whom he had received from Christ. They also appealed apparently to Zoroastrian authorities. Basiliides wrote a work entitled Ezexetica, that is, 'Expositions,' in 24 books (Strom. iv. 88; Euseb. HE iv. 7). There is no indication of the position of the Gospels. We learn from Origen (Hom. 1 in Luc.) that he wrote a Gospel. It is extremely unlikely that Origen with his facilities for information should be mistaken upon this point. From the fragments which are preserved to us, we may infer that Basiliides probably commented on the First, Third, and Fourth Evangelists, possibly also on Mark; and it is by no means unlikely that he based his commentary on his own compilation from the Gospels. He is also said to have written commentaries on Psalms and the other books, and also a treatise on the Apocalypse. He wrote a treatise on the Parallels of the Acts of the Apostles, this book is preserved in the work of Eusebius, which contains two books, since we have a quotation from the second (Strom. vi. 53).

The problems which are presented to us by this school of Gnostics are of an exceptionally perplexing and baffling kind. The accounts given of Basiliides' system are hopelessly irreconcilable, and the new evidence which has come to light has made the problem still more difficult. Before the publication of the Philosophumena of Hippolytus in 1851, the main sources of information were the accounts of the later heresiologists, and the related accounts in later heresiologists; information given by Eusebius concerning a refutation of Basiliides by Agrippa Castor; and some extracts from the works of Basiliides and his son Isidore, given by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and the author of the Acts of the Apostles. Even these authorities were so difficult to reconcile, that Nander (followed by Gieseler) treated the account of Ireneus as referring to a later development of the sect, and said that, were it not for the fact that Baur referred to the misconduct of later Basiliides in language similar to that employed by Ireneus, we should be tempted to suspect that the Basiliides whom the latter describes had no connexion whatever with the founder. The discovery of the long lost Philosophumena or Refutation of all Heretics, now unanimously assigned to Hippolytus, introduced a new complication. Hippolytus gives an account of Basiliides' system which differs fundamentally from that of Ireneus. The majority of scholars, including Jacobs, Ulrich, Bauer, Stiilhelin, and Hort, accepted the new evidence. The attack on Hippolytus' account was led by Hilgenfeld (see Literature at end of present art.), who received the very influential support of Lipsius, and at a later time of Harnack and other scholars. At present the tendency seems to be to regard the account of Hippolytus as valueless (except in isolated details) for the re-construction of Basiliides' own system. But the theory that Hippolytus was duped by a forgery seems to be losing ground, and there is much that is new in the work which he employed. It is a genuine Gnostic treatise circulating among the later Basiliides. Finally, a new manuscript of the Acts of Archelaus, containing the complete Latin translation, was discovered by Traube a few years ago, and made accessible by C. II. Beeson in 1906 ("Hegemonius, Acta Archelai," in Die gr. Philologenblatt. 1904, p. 291). It is a facsimile of a manuscript, which, while not acceptable to the Gnostic claims to possess a tradition from the Apostles, we may well distrust the "tenacity" chronology of their opponents.

E. Schwartz argues that we must take Basiliides and Satur- nius at least to the time of Trajan, probably earlier ("Uber den Zeitstande der Schriftsteller in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten," 1904, p. 291). He says that, while we need not accept the Gnostic claims to possess a tradition from the Apostles, we may well distrust the "tenacity" chronology of their opponents.
and account for the strange language which the author employs by his effort to explain the inexplicable—all the more that his language has parallels in that of other deep thinkers. Moreover, Stuhelm ascribes rather than proves that Clement is the author of Irenaeus, who was several scholars who have no preference for Hippolytus' account have recognized that it is very difficult to harmonize Irenaeus with the quotations given by Clement. For these reasons we may justifiably reject this theory, which postulates a writer of incredible versatility combined with such strange limitations, and assume that, whether Hippolytus presents us with the genuine system of Basilians or not, he at any rate communicates a system which was really professed in the Basilian school.

The account of Basilians given by Hegemonius in the Acts of Archelaus has also created suspicion. Gieseler argued that the Basilides there mentioned was to be distinguished from the heresarch of Alexandria, insomuch as he is said in the Acts to have been a preacher among the Persians. Horst considered that his denial had some show of reason, but on the whole regarded the arguments in favour of the identification as preponderating (Smith-Wace, DCB I. 277). He should therefore not have been suspected by C. Krüger (DCB II. 451) as agreeing with Gieseler. Usually the assertion that he was a preacher among the Persians is regarded as incredible. Thus Lipsius declares that, if the Disputation of Archeaus makes Basilides a Persian, 'the remark is hardly necessary that this false statement is simply a deduction from the dualism of the Basilidian system' (Gnostischea, 1860, col. 100). It is also rejected by Zahm and Harnack; while Krüger thinks that, although we cannot control the statement, it is not so improbable as Zabern considers it; Zahn and Hilgenfeld says that Basilides may quite well have been in Persia and learnt Persian dualism at first hand. The statement should probably be set aside and accounted for as by Lipsius. It is quite another question, however, whether we should reject the author's account of Basilides' beliefs, and, in particular, the extract which he gives from his work. This is said to be taken from the thirteenth book of his treatise, and, insomuch as it contains an exposition of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, we should probably be content with Basilides' twenty-four books on the Gospels which bore the title Exegetica. The real objection felt by those who accept the genuineness of Hippolytus' account is that, while this is monistic in character, the account of Hegemonius seems to pledge Basilides to dualism. There can be no question that the author of the Acts understood him to be a dualist, but that, of course, does not settle the question. He may have misunderstood Basilides, especially since his preoccupation with Manichaeism made such an interpretation of the Gnostic not unnatural for him. Accordingly we cannot attach decisive weight to his impression, in spite of the fact that he had the complete work before him. If, however, the extract given is genuine, it must rank with those preserved by Clement of Alexandria, and it seems to the present writer that we have no good ground for disputing its authenticity.

2. System of doctrine.—We may now proceed to the consideration of the various doctrines which have come down to us. Unfortunately it is not possible to re-construct the somewhat desultory references given in Clement of Alexandria, treating of ethics rather than metaphysics, into a complete system. It will accordingly be best to begin with the accounts which profess to give us the original system.

(a) We take first that of Irenæus (I. xxiv. 3–7), which presents points of contact especially with the description he gives of the views of Saturnilus. According to Irenæus, Basilides began with the unborn Father, and represented the Logos as His power, the Logos of the birth to Logos, Logos to Phronesis, Phronesis to Sophia and Dynamos. From the last two came the first series of principalities, powers, and angels, who were taught in the school of Basilides. From these emanated the second angeles series, who created the second heaven; and so on till 305 heavens came into existence. The angels in the lowest heaven created the world, and divided it among themselves. Their chief was the God of the Jews, who appeared to the Jews by means of the Logos, Christ, to deliver those that believe in Him from the world-angels. He appeared in human form and taught, but at the crucifixion changed His form with Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross. The latter was crucified in the form of Jesus, while Christ Himself stood by and mocked at His enemies in the form of angels, since He was incorporeal, He was essentially invisible, and so He returned to the Father. Hence no one who really knows the truth will confess the Creed, or, if he does so, is a slave to the world-angels; but, if he understands what really happened at the crucifixion, he is freed from them. The Basilidians denied the salvation of the body, asserting that it was subject to corruption, and that the soul alone is saved.

They had no hesitation in eating meats offered to idols, and regarded every form of immorality as a matter of complete indifference. They also practised all kinds of magical arts, and sought to effect various causes of the heavens by means of them. The name given to Christ, in which He ascended and descended, was Culpotis; and just as Culpotis passed through the various heavens, so in His descent in heaven. The name to which He returned and remained invisible and unknown to all, so these who have learnt the doctrines of the system and known the names of the heavens may have agreed among themselves. They also were capable of knowing them. They had no hesitation in denying their faith under stress of persecution. They adopted the theories of mathematics, and, as might be expected, the question of the 365 heavens. The chief of these they asserted to be Abrushax, and on that account the numerical sum of the letters in this word was a thousand.

It is unnecessary to supplement the account of Irenæus by reference to the other heresiologists who give us an essentially identical system; but there are some features which call for notice at this point. Even those scholars who at first wary to vindicate the superiority of Irenæus' exposition generally recognize that he is quite unjustified in the charge of immorality which he brings against Basilians. Clement of Alexandria (Strom, iii. 585 ff.) rebukes the misconduct of the later members of the sect by reference to the founder and his son. The docetic character of the Christology and the denial of the real humanity of Jesus must also be distinctly rejected, in view of Clement's explicit testimony to the effect that from a certain time the simit of the Logos of Jesus, in virtue of His humanity, not to be exempt. The story that Basilides taught the crucifixion of Simon of Cyrene is generally rejected, though Pflödcr (Orchistentum, ii. 384) considers that the statement in the Fourth Gospel that Jesus went out bearing the cross for Himself (Jn 19:2), was intended to repudiate the Synoptic statement that Simon of Cyrene helped Jesus to carry His cross, and was defeated by the turn given to the story by Basilides. It is further noteworthy, that on this account five Jews were crucified between the supreme God and the angels of the first heaven. Those who re-construct the original system by a fusion of this account with that of Clement of Alexandria, make the five into seven by borrowing the five of Quintus Curtius, and thus attribute to Basilides the usual Heptad, and it is probable, however, whether they correct are in doing so. In any ease nothing can be built on a combination of this kind. Moreover, Irenæus had a precede sense of the early church, but the text is unintelligible in its present form.
sufficiently clear that it is intended to be the mystic name of Christ. It occurs in other Gnostic systems, and was probably derived from 1Js 2:9. The statement has been made that this word is quite incorrect, and is not in harmony even with Irenæus. The fact that a considerable number of gems bear the word Abraxas or Abra-Xas, on them has caused them to be regarded as Gnostic gems, many of them produced by the Basilidians. An enormous literature has been devoted to them, but it is now generally agreed that if any connexion existed it was of the slightest kind, most of the forms are allusions of a sceptical cast. Thus in the Ketzergeschichte, not everywhere where Abraxas is mentioned are we to think exclusively of the Basilidians. It is doubtful whether even a single Abraxas gem is Basilidian (Allchrist. Lit. i. 161). Numerous suggestions have been put forward as to the origin and meaning of the term. None of them can be regarded as in any way satisfactory. The word is more probably an artificial formation, which may have originated in some form of speaking with tongues, and been brought into prominence by the Mediator and Redeemer, for the Mediator and Redeemer, it was the numerical equivalent of 365.

(b) The account given by Hippolytus.

This account starts with a very transcendental doctrine of God. The world is a mere term of the completion of a process which is strain to raise God above all the limitations involved in affirmations about Him. Even to predicate existence would be to contradict the basic principle of God; the existence of a world was not intended by Him to be a negation of all existence is beyond what follows. If we speak of God as Inexistent, we fall into self-contradiction, a term of a description of a conception, the God is not even Inexistent, since He is infinitely above every conceivable limit. To Him He has given the power to create a world, though we are warned that the term willed is a necessary accommodation to the imperfections of human language. In pursuance of this purpose He deposited a seed, also non-existent, but containing within it the promise and potency of all life. In opposition to the usual Gnostic doctrines, the Basilidians firmly rejected the conception of emanation from God, who was no spider spinning the world out of himself. The seed was the rather the creative word of which we read in Genesis. Thus, against the gross and material conception of emanation he sets the doctrine of Creation out of Nothing. Just as the seed contains within itself the image of the Father, and of the Son's substance, the world-seed holds within itself all that is necessarily contained within all that is subsequently to be developed. As seed there are manifold forms of being which the universe embraces.

In this seed there was a threefold Sonship, one part pure light, the other, the world, the third pure darkness, purifying purification. As soon as the seed was deposited, the pure Sonship began to be developed, and was first to the world-seed, and from the threefold Sonship saw itself to be the manifestation of the world-seed. The Sonship strove to follow, but was unable to do so since his substance was not light in feature like that of the first. But he escaped from his detention within the seed by providing himself with a wing, identified by Basilides with the Holy Spirit. So helped in his infancy by the Holy Spirit and giving help to the Spirit in turn, he followed the First Sonship in his flight to the non-existent. But here the Holy Spirit was compelled to leave the Second Sonship; so he dwelt between the supra-galactic space and the world, and became the firmament, since he had nothing in common with the non-existent God, and no ornament on a vessel even after the ornament had been taken. The Spirit was filled with the fragrance of the Second Sonship. Thus the First Sonship, though still contained in the confused mass of germs within the seed, was spinning and operating in the world. Then from the seed the great Archon, better in every way than all beings in the world save the Third Sonship. His upward flight, however, was also a descent, for he never left the region of the non-existent, and there he thought to be the limit of space. And since he was a non-existent he lay beyond the firmament and knew of no power higher than himself, he imposed a limit on the supramundane. Then he formed the seed a son far wiser than the Archon himself. And having made a cut at his right hand in the Ogdon, this son inspired the Archon to create the whole ethereal creation, downwards to the moon. A similar purpose the Archon sought to pursue, but he was far inferior to the first, who rose to the region below the Ogdon and dwelt in the Hebdonad. He, too, formed a son far wiser than himself, and who inspired his father. Similarly, the third seed below the Ogdon. But as to what takes place in the world itself, it is determined by the nature implanted within it at the outset by the non-existent God. Thus, Basilides would have the Third Sonship, whose true place was with the First and Second Sonship, be acknowledged by the men of the world. But as the Third Sonship, whose true place was with the First and Second Sonship, be acknowledged by the men of the world.

Basilides rejected the common conception of a descent of a heavenly being into the highest region. He would not admit that the Pure Sonship left his place and came down through the heavens to the regions below. This would have been to contradict the basic principle of God, the Second Sonship, his being the descent of the law of the universe. Accordingly, he represented the son of the great Archon as catching illumination from the pure light with the Holy Spirit, and willed to descend. The redemption which the Son declared to be his own, he, who, when he learned that he was not, as he had imagined, the superior God, was converted and filled with fear, as it is written. 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (Psalms 111:25). This work is revealed to all the creatures in the Ogdon. Similarly, the son of the second Archon learnt the truth from the son of the great Archon, and inspired his father. Similarly, the third heavens in the Hebdonad, with their ruler Abraxas, learnt the truth. Thus the Gospel had come down through the Ogdon and Hebdonad, and now it was fitting that it should reach the seed. And so it came upon Jesus the Son of Mary, and through His psychical part there; then through the Ogdon and the Holy Spirit, bearing with each those parts which belonged to them; and finally rose to the world where the blessed Sonship dwells. The Third Sonship followed Jesus and passed through a similar process of purification, and then, refined like the First Sonship, ascended to the non-existent God. The same experience is repeated in the case of spiritual men who ascend to the Father.

When the three Sonships have been thus re-united, and all the spiritual have achieved their task in the world and followed Jesus and the Sonships to the non-existent God, then God will be merciful to all, nor will there be any separation by their separation in His experience, a similar separation should be effected. But the seed is willed not to be divided, and all material element was removed and reverted to formlessness. After His resurrection He ascended through the Hebdonad, leaving His psychical part there; then through the Ogdon and the Holy Spirit, leaving with each those parts which belonged to them; and finally rose to the region where the blessed Sonship dwells. The Third Sonship followed Jesus and passed through a similar process of purification, and then, refined like the First Sonship, ascended to the non-existent God. The same experience is repeated in the case of spiritual men who ascend to the Father.

The Sethians spoke of the pure spirit which was between light and darkness as not like a wind, which is the human soul; it is an odoriferous essence with an odor of ornament or an incesse. It is a mistake to lay any stress on this parallel, the authors of the Sethian literature. The best of the two cases is entirely different (see Drummond, Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, p. 317); and Bonnet points out (Histoire de l'Église i. 124) that the Persian idea that the heavenly worlds are sweet-smelling, but the world of darkness is odious, is the Persian one.
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them, for they can live only in the conditions in which they are placed, and could not breathe the rarer atmospheres of the higher natures. If therefore they remain connected with the place they have eternal existence; but if they escape from it, they become corruptible. And thus, with this allocation of all ordinary conditions, the reign of the ignorance of any superior order, and universal contentment, there will come the restitution of all things.

The fundamental difference between this system and that of some other Gnostic leaders, notably Valentinus, lies in its emphatic rejection of the principle of emanation. For this rejection there were two reasons. One was that the literal contrary of emanation is gross and repulsive in the presentation of God. The other was that the natural redundancy of all being is upwards, not downwards. Since, therefore, the most terrible confusion, we must assume that its development started from a condition of things even worse than that which now prevails; hence the doctrine of the seed, in which everything is huddled together, from the pure Sonship down to the grossest matter, the goal of history being the establishment of all things in their proper rank. Valentinus, on the contrary, starts with the principle that evolution is degeneration. Each pair of Æons is inferior to its parent. The process could not stop, but, though the spiritual may return to the pleroma over the precipice follows. Spirit sinks to psychical forms of existence, thence to the material, and lastly the limit is found in the diabolic. The evolutionary process has then to become revolu-
tionary, but, though the spiritual may return to the pleroma, the psychical and material must remain outside. Thus Basilides leaps the gulf between the infinite and the finite, whereas Valentinus bridges it. It is quite clear that there was a polemical element in Basilides’ scheme, and that it was elaborated in conscious antithesis to the popular theory of emanation. It is quite possible, as some consider, that Basilides had the system of Valentinus in mind, since they were probably both teaching at the same time in Alexandria. It is not at all necessary, however, to take this view, since, although Valentinus was probably the junior, he was the more conservative of the two, and was not the first to put forward the theory of emanation.

The tricky Sonship is difficult, and we could have wished for fuller information as to its significance. In spite of the fact that the First Sonship is regarded as refined and the Second as gross, they do not stand for different orders of being, for both of them pass to the highest realm of spiritual beauty. They are more than mere names, but more. And the same is true of the Third Sonship, the parts which he leaves behind him being inexcusable to his essential nature. Probably Basilides has been influenced by the fondness for triplcity, which is so common a feature of such schemes. He has also been influenced by the first chapter of Genesis. The connexion between the Second Sonship and the Holy Spirit, who is identified with the firmament, reminds one of the Creation. It is significant that the firmament is the story of Creation, in which case we may perhaps identify the First Sonship with the light, which was the first to be created, and in comparison with the fineness of which the waters would seem coarse. But how in plain language the author would have interpreted the waters above the firmament we do not know. The Third Sonship is apparently the spiritual principle which is at present combined with the material universe

This is simply the human, which are astronomical in their origin, are conceptions familiar in other Gnostic schemes. The duplication of the Archons is interesting. It corresponds in a measure to the position of Achemoth and Demiurge in the system of Valentinus, though there are marked differences in detail. Historically considered, they represent two stages in the world’s history. The great Archon reigned from Adam till Moses, the second Archon from the time of Moses till the time of Christ, and it was he who revealed himself to Moses and inspired the Hebrew prophets. The kindly and compassionate spirit which pervades the system is very noteworthy. This comes out especially in the doctrine of the Great Ignorance, which is intended to save the creature from fatal attraction towards a sphere which lies above it. But there are other illustrations of it. The Second Sonship and the Holy Spirit give and receive mutual kindness. The Third Sonship remains within the seed, giving a seed, receiving the spiritual from the seed. The spiritual to their true home is delayed by their duty of training those who have to remain within the seed. No evil principle is recognized. There is no hostility on the part of the Archons to the supreme God. They reverently acquiesce in the revelation of their inferiority.

(c) If we now inquire as to the relative originality of the system as presented by Irenæus and that given by Hippolytus, the advantage seems to lie in the side of the latter. In the first place, Hippoly-
tus, who of course followed the views of Basilides, certainly done so in his earlier work on heresies, which is no longer extant, here deliberately abandon Irenæus’ account and gives one entirely different. He must have thought that in doing so he had access to better information, and it is hazardous to suppose that he took no precautions to ensure that the new information was superior. Basilides was a famous teacher, his works were extant at the time, and it would have been quite easy to satisfy oneself as to which account should have the preference by going to the fountainhead. In the next place, Irenæus shows himself badly informed in several particulars. Hilgenfeld himself admits this, and infers from the vagueness of Irenæus’ language that he knew nothing of the sect or its founder at first hand, and depended simply on his source, which he believes (in harmony with Lipsius’ earlier but not his later view) to have been Justin’s lost Syntagma. Some of the mistakes of Irenæus have already been pointed out, and they reflect damage to his account. Again, the system as presented by Irenæus goes on very conventional lines. It is quite a commonplace presentation of ordinary Gnostic beliefs, and it is not easy to understand why Basilides gained his immense reputation. He was capable of better things. On the other hand, the system as set forth by Hippolytus is characterized by extraordinary speculative power, to which we must not be blinded by the fantastic elements in the detailed working out. With the account of Hippolytus before us, we can under-
stand the impression Basilides made on the Church, and the vitality of the sect in spite of the fact that, apart from his son Isidore, he seems to have had no distinguished followers, such as adorned the school of Valentinus. We have no right to con-
demn the system on the ground that it does not follow the ordinary lines. When, for example, C. Schmidt says that the emanation theory is the characteristic mark of all Gnostic systems, the cardinal dogma of all Gnostic teaching, and that the evolutionary theory is incompatible with the nature of Gnosticism, and that on this account the presentation in Hippolytus is utterly untenable (Gnost. Schriften in kopf. Sprache, 1892, p. 429), there is no reason in the nature of things why Basilides could not have followed the line which Hippolytus ascribes to him. If to do so is to forfeit one’s title to be a Gnostic, that is, after all, a matter of
terminology. Questions of this kind cannot be settled by a priori considerations.*

(d) The evidence supplied by Clement of Alexandria has naturally led those who favor a repudiation in Irenaeus and by those who accept that of Hippolytus. Owing to the limitation of the evidence of the *Stromata* to the ethical parts of the system, the metaphysical doctrines of the school are but slightly touched upon, so that Clement is not engaged with the same side of the system as Hippolytus or the speculative portions of Irenaeus' account. It must be urged, however, against the latter, that in several points Irenaeus is convicted of misstatement by Clement's evidence, whereas there is no actual conflict. Irenaeus does not receive all light and darkness as Hippolytus or the single account of the father and son, the one seed, the one emanation. It is not easy to unite their representations into a single coherent scheme. There is, however, a very striking parallel in Clement's reference to the Archon's amazement when the glad tidings were announced to him. This amazement was called 'fear,' and Clement tells us that Basilides interpreted it of the passage, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' It is very noteworthy that precisely the same interpretation is given by Hippolytus with reference to the great Archon's reception of the emanation. Clement alone denies the view that things must be discriminated into their classes and the various intervals or stages which are to be found in the universe. His description of an original disorder and confusion forcibly reminds us of the primitive state of the world. Basilides is perhaps the expression we should have thought most appropriate to Hippolytus' description. The points of contact with Irenaeus are slight and general, and they are also points of contact with Hippolytus, for both speak of an Ogdoad and of an Archon. It is difficult to reconcile Irenaeus with Hippolytus, even if we were to attempt to do so. Accordingly, we are therefore probably justified in any case in treating Irenaeus as a secondary authority who employed a source described a degenerate development of the school, far removed alike in speculative power and ethical elevation from the followers of Hippolytus.

(e) We should be warranted in accepting the account of Hippolytus without further hesitation if it were not for the difficulty of harmonizing it with the quotation in the *Acts of Archelaus*. Probably we should be justified in denying that the quotation is a genuine extract from Basilidians. We cannot confidently attach much weight to the author's view of Basilides' doctrine, since the quotation, so far as we have it in the complete work of Hegemonius, does not commit Basilides himself to the dualism it describes. Basilides turns from vain inquiries, apparently into Western opinions, to the views entertained by the barbarians, i.e. presumably the Persians. Then he quotes the opinion of some of them to the effect that there were two original self-existent first principles—light and darkness—leading their own life in ignor-

* Boussct considers that the *Philosophumena* presents us with a monistic transformation of the original system of Basilides. Accordingly, his remarks on the generality of the doctrine of emanation are quite apart from their intrinsic importance, very pertinent here, since they are a partial reproduction of the modern version: 'One is usually inclined to regard this thought of emanation as specifically characteristic of the Gnostics, I cannot discover that this thought is found only in the Gnostic system, and in none so pure as in the Basilidians. Everywhere else the strands of this thought are not so well woven together since the dualism of the characters of the *Eons* is a characteristic of the *Eons* (Barbelo Gnoos, Valentinians). Accordingly, the question between Clement and Origen can be worked out in a spirit of great interest and in one of the de-
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The rational soul ought to be supreme and govern the inferior creation within, and that a man should not excuse his misdeeds by the plea that he was at the mercy of these foreign passions. This doctrine was widely held by the Basilidians and was partly based on the theory of transmigration which is attested by Origen. In his *Contra Romanae* (bk. v.), Origen tells us that Basilides explained Ro 7, 'I was alive apart from the law once,' to mean that before St. Paul came into the body in which he then lived he had inhabited a form of body which was not under the law, i.e. the body of a beast or a bird. We must assume then that, at the first, inferior spirits clustered about the rational soul, but that in the course of transmigration it brought with it elements from the various types of creation in which its successive incarnations had been realized.

Basilides also considered, as we learn from Clement, that suffering invariably presupposes sin, since to affirm the sufferings of the righteous would be to injure the morality of God. Even in the case of the martyrs he believed that this held good. They were really suffering for sins which they had committed either in an earlier state or in their present life. But by the mercy of God their punishment was allowed to take the form of martyrdom, which is preferable, therefore, to any other form of suffering.

Even infants suffered on account of the sinfulness of their nature, for sin does not lie in the act so much as in the disposition which prompts it, inasmuch as frequently the difference between one who has committed a sin and one who has not committed it lies simply in the fact that the latter has had no opportunity. Naturally, from the orthodox side the criticism was made that the suffering of Christ would, on Basilides' theory, imply His sinfulness. Such a conclusion could only be made, however, if one did not distinguish between earthly sins and spiritual sins. Even ancient Jews who, in the light of the Mosaic law, regarded them as having sinned against the unenlightened Gentiles in the time of Moses, did not consider it disgraceful to be guilty of the one and not the other.

Basilides' theory is also refuted in a work of the 4th century, the so-called *Hippolytus*. We should note here that the theory of transmigration has been generally recognized by modern writers. It is often associated with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. However, it is not clear whether Basilides himself believed in the theory of transmigration.

Basilides' doctrine of redemption was also applied to the dead. Basilides, like other Gnostics, believed in a dualistic universe, with a good god and a bad god. The good god, or God, was called the Father, and the bad god, or Devil, was called the Son. The Devil was considered to be the cause of sin and suffering.

Basilides' doctrine was influenced by several other philosophical systems, including Stoicism, Platonism, and the thought of Plotinus. Basilides' thought was also influenced by the Gnostics, who believed in a dualistic universe and a divine and a demonic principle.

Basilides' doctrine was also influenced by the thought of the Stoics, who believed in the unity of the universe and the divine reason. Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Platonists, who believed in the immortality of the soul and the possibility of ascending to a higher plane of existence.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Gnostics, who believed in a dualistic universe and a divine and a demonic principle. Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Manichaeans, who believed in a struggle between good and evil.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Valentinians, who believed in a series of stages of development from the lower to the higher levels of existence.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Orphics, who believed in the unity of the universe and the possibility of achieving a state of perfection.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Pythagoreans, who believed in the transmigration of souls and the possibility of achieving a state of perfection.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Eleatics, who believed in the unity of the universe and the possibility of achieving a state of perfection.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Empedoclean, who believed in the unity of the universe and the possibility of achieving a state of perfection.

Basilides' thought was also influenced by the thought of the Parmenideans, who believed in the unity of the universe and the possibility of achieving a state of perfection.

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BASKET.—Two kinds of baskets must be considered as belonging to the service of the gods: the κανάω (κάναν, κάνατρον, κάνατρον, κανέμικον, Lat. canestrum) and the κάλαβρα. The κανάω is a flat broad basket, originally made of rush or cane (Aristoph. Lu. 160; Nock); Pollux, vi. 176, and therefore to be derived from κάνα or κάντα (Lat. canna, cf. Koraas in Heliod. Athéniens, p. 114). At an early date the shape was imitated in metal: in bronze (Hom. Il. xii. 630) and in gold (Hom. Od. v. 28). The latter was described (ib. 23) as a three-pointed receptacle for the metal (Athen. vi. 229). Wooden κάνα are recorded for his own time by Eustath. (Od. i. 141). This basket was used as a receptacle for bread and food to be served at meals (cf. Hom. Il. ec.). In the same vessel the meals were served to the gods; hence it was used for sacrifice. As an important passage describing a rite of archaic simplicity, compare Hom. Od. iv. 761, where Penelope pours ὄξυφρια, ‘sacrificial barley’ (cf. Zichen, Hermes, xxvii. 38 f.; Stengel, ib. xxvii. 38 f.), into the basket for Athene before making a vow. A less important part is played by the κανάω with the σεῦλον in the sacrifice of a victim (Hom. Od. iii. 441 f.). On this occasion the sacrificial knife was placed for convenience (not as Zichen supposes, op. cit. 395 f.) in the basket (Eur. Ef. 810 f., 1142; Aristoph. Pers., 948 s. schol.). As the basket was a list one, the expression ‘to place the knife on the basket’ was likewise used (Philoch. Vita Apoll., init., cf. Stengel, Hermes, xliii. 465, 5). The basket was adorned with fillets (στριγάρσ, Aristoph. l.c. 948 f.); Heliod. 948 f.; schol., ii. 718, and, for the Attic Thargelion, Proclus on Hos. Works and Days, 757 [p. 419, Gaisford]; see also Dietrich, ARW vii. Usenerheft, p. 100, 1). Fillets and twigs are often visible on vase-paintings (cf. Eichhoff, Wekelchrodrase, p. 94). In Delphi, the sacrificial basket contained cake and incense (El. Var. Hist. xi. 5; Heliod. Euth. ii. 2). The ritual of sacrifice was begun by the basket and the water for ablution, which closely belonged to it (Demosth. xxii. 78), being carried round the altar from left to right (Aristoph. Peace, 644; cf. Hom. Od. xii. 256). The use of the basket is explained by the term ‘to consecrate,’ which does not suit here; the correct explanation is found in Abeces, Animad. ad Euseb. i. 505 f. (cf. also Schol. Eusin. l.c.). That φιλαράσ is not a sacrificial action is clearly shown in Menand. Sem. 2, where it is mentioned with house-cleaning and cake-baking, as preparation for the wedding. The use of more than one sacrificial basket is attested (Eur. El. 800). As a chief requisite at sacrifice (Aristoph. Bird, 344 s. schol.; 865; Pheron. fr. 137 (Kock); Dittenberger, kur. Rel., 926 f. from Eulesis), the κανάω is often found in temple-inventories. Cf. for the Parthenon, Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 259; and, e.g., IGA i. p. 73, 6, 10, etc. (two in gilt wood), ii. 686, 3 f. (in girt bronze), ib. 2362 (in gold), ib. 2245 f. (in silver). For the Kourion temple, one, 20 ‘old’ ones; 794, B 5 f. (in silver, dedicated to Asklepios) 5 f. (silver, dedicated to Athene), ii. 5, 633, 15 (with wooden frame: ἤταγωγε) 685, 2, 700 B 32 (in bronze); κανά καλαβρα περικλείον in the inventory of the Chalkothek (Michaelis, op. cit. p. 307, 29; cf. IG ii. 162, 10). A basket dedicated to Demeter and Kore in Elesis is mentioned in the statement of accounts of the εὐστάτων Ευσεβῶνων of the year 329–8 (Dittenberger, Syll. 2 557, 116; cf. IGA ii. 5, 776, b 62). A basket is spoken of in a decree (pro PROP. from Attica, late 4th arros) (IGA iii. 308, 55), from These (ib. 2424, 13), from Agina (Mnion and Auseas), IGA iv. 1588, 5 f. (in brown), 16 (10 rush baskets, see above), 33 (small bronze basket), from Delos (Dittenberger, Syll. 2 558, 99 (Apollo), 185 (in silver with silver handles dedicated to the Delian Apollo), 186 (a gift one of upright shape) [?] ὀμφόν, with same dedication), 295 (the three latter out of the temple of Artemis), from Mitylene, IGA xii. 2, 13, 1 (κανάκα καλαβρα), golden baskets: ‘inscriptionun tempuli Diane Περα περσιδιστυ’ (IGA iv. 2855, 20). The shape of the sacrificial basket can be well observed in the very numerous sacrificial scenes; this, however, requires a special study. A handsome specimen is Röm. Mitt. v. 254; more examples are enumerated on p. 326, also in Michaelis, Parthenon, p. 259. It must be remarked here that the shape frequently designated as three-pointed is in fact four-pointed. In the present writer’s opinion, Gisela Richter wrongly interprets the object held by a woman as being a sacrificial basket (Amer. Journ. of Archæol. xi. 423 f.; ib. six similar examples); more probably the object depicted in Arch. Zeit. xxii., p. 45 (cf. Röm. Mitt. l.c. p. 328, 1) belongs to this class. An affinity seems to exist between the sacrificial basket and the object occurring on Mycenaean monuments, and known as ‘horns of consecration’ (cf. e.g. Evans, Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, p. 3 (101), fig. 1; p. 44 (142), fig. 25; see Hub. Schmidt, Berl. philol. Woch. 1896, 295; Hock, Greich. Wekelchrodrase, 94, 3; cf. Eichhoff, Wekelchrodrase, 94). The basket, with four rows of double axes (therefore sacred) has recently been found on the small island of Pseira near Crete (Pernier, Ausonias, i. 110; Arch. Anz. 1907, p. 109, cf. Bulle,‘Orchomene,’ ABAW, philos.-philol. Kl. xxiv. 2, p. 16, 4). The use of the basket during sacrifice led to its being
classed as a sacred thing. Hesych. (s.v. ἵπποςβάτης) records that the Athenians covered their 'sacred baskets' (cf. IGA ii. 420, 10 f.). Perhaps Leacock (definitely Menander's character) might have removed the phallos that connects the garment lying on the basket (IGA ii. 754, 29 f.) with this custom. As a sacred object the basket is touched by the Geranos when they swear an oath to the Basileia in front of the altar (Demosth.) lix. 78, entirely misinterpreted by Garbe, Demosth. xvii. 49, 32, where the Geranos...unlines the basket. If a solemn procession preceded the sacrifice, the basket was carried in it by a girl (κανεφόρος). Leacock's opinion (loc. cit. p. 12) that in private procession boys also carried the basket, finds no sufficient support in Aristoph. Bacch. 359, 86, 389. The basket, therefore, was only touched by the girl standing before him (the object seems to the present writer to be wrongly interpreted as a sacred chyst by Frickenhaus, Ath. Mitt. xxxiii. 31, 1); the visible boring-holes seem to point to fillets (Michaelis, op. cit. p. 230), it is inadmissible to suppose the presence of other baskets (Robert, GGA exli. 533 f.) Other references are the election of the basket-bearers by the Agonothetes (IGA ii. 5, 421 b, 51 f. [soon after b. 308]), and the inscription in honour of a Panathenian canephoros (IGA ii. 1338) upon a bronze ring of Apollo (IGA ii. 1338) catalogues of basket-bearers, who participated in greater number in the Pythian State-embassy, on inscriptions, Colin, Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes, Paris, 1905, p. 46, 87); of the Eleusinia (IGA ii. 916 [a sunshade for this pomp is recorded, schol. Aristotle, Bacch. iii. 1508 = Suid. s.v. αἰείκεφαλός); of Asklepios (IGA ii. 921; cf. the canephoros of the Epidaurus, IGA iii. 910); of Asklepios and Hygieia, used for dating, therefore annual (IGA ii. 1204); of the mother of the gods (IGA ii. 1388, Add. p. 240); of Serapis (Ephem. arch. 1895, 102); of Isis (IGA ii. 1355); of Serapis and Isis (IGA iii. 923; cf. Ruseh, de Serap. et Isis de Graecia cultis, p. 16). Basket-bearers of uncertain cults are found in IGA iii. 920, 922, 924; 920a (Add. p. 598). Basket-bearing of brides to Artemis is recorded in Thucyd. ii. 96, 1 + schol., and a canephoros in the pomp of the Epaulia the day after the wedding, in Arch. Jahrh. xv. 151; cf. the κανεφόρος (Μύρίς). IGA ii. 678 B, 9, ii. 5, 706B B, 25. There were basket-bearers in Bosota (Lebadeia) and in Zeus Bosorus (IGA narr. p. 771); at Delphi (Helioud. Ath. iii. 2); on Delos (cf. Schoeffier, 'de Dei insulae rebus, Berliner Stud. ix. 1, 240 f.) of Doulia and Apollonia (cf. Nilsson, Griech. Feste, 145 f.; BCH ii. 570), of Apollo (Artemis and Leto) (ib. 380 f.), of Artemis (BCH xi. 239), of Aphrodite (ib. 399), of the specifically Dionysian addition to the ancient phallic foundation. 'In the basket, which is carried by a man, there are boys; therefore, the present writer classed among references to the Great Dionysia the passage Aristoph. Lys. 646 f., where the basket-bearer wears a chain made of figs. This canephoros was more than ten years of age (ib. 643 f.). Golden baskets with ἀργησίαι ἀργαῖσαι are recorded in schol. ad Aristoph. Achar. 242 = Suid. s.v. κανεφόρος. The basket-bearers of the Great Dionysia were elected by the Archon Eponymous (IGA xxv. 1873, 178; IGA ii. 420) for other basket-bearers of Dionysos, see IGA ii. 1388b, Add. p. 349; ii. 5, 318b, 32). At the Panathenaeum festival a great number of basket-bearers participated. The orator Lyurgus procured among other things ten canephoros for 100 girls (L. orat. v. p. 525; cf. his speech τίς κανεφόρος, Harpocrat. s.v.). On the frieze of the Parthenon numerous girls with and without implements are represented, who have rightly been regarded as basket-bearers (cf. Schol. Aristoph. p. 133); but it is not probable that the girls would carry the objects in their hands instead of in baskets on their heads for purely artistic reasons (Pfulh, op. cit. p. 21, 137); we must give preference to Leacock's opinion (loc. cit. p. 14) that most of these girls were only basket-bearers (κανεφόροι τῶν ἀρετῶν), which is held by the hierophantes (49, Michaelis), who has taken the girl standing before him (the object seems to the present writer to be wrongly interpreted as a sacred chyst by Frickenhaus, Ath. Mitt. xxxiii. 1, 1); the visible boring-holes seem to point to fillets (Michaelis, op. cit. p. 230); it is inadmissible to suppose the presence of other baskets (Robert, GGA exli. 533 f.) Other references are the election of the basket-bearers by the Agonothetes (IGA ii. 5, 421 b, 51 f. [soon after b. 308]), and the inscription in honour of a Panathenian canephoros (IGA ii. 1338)
phores" were written by Anaxandrides (Kock, ii. 143) and Menander (iii. 73). Two bronze statues of basket-bearers were made by Polykleitos (Cic. Verr. iv. 5); a basket-bearer by Skopas (Plin. HN xxxii. 251); the basket-bearer by Phidias (Paus. ii. 670; Plut. viii. 706), and of a thymiatier on a terra-cotta relief of the Collection Campana (Durenberg-Saglio, s. v. p. 877, fig. 1101, cf. Reinach, Rép. de la stat. i. 217, ii. 425 f.).

The canestria (mostly of willow) was also plaited (cf. Isid. Or. xx. 5, 8; Theod. i. i. 250), was broad and flaxen (Strabo, xii. 570, 695), and was used as a receptacle for bread, food, fruit, flowers, and liquids (specimens in silver, Serv. Æn. i. 706; Symm. Ep. ii. 81). The basket is rarely mentioned in Roman cult; at the Terminalia (Fest. ii. 662) it was used in the worship of Ciborii (Tibullus, i. 10, 27 [wreathed with myrtle-twigs, see above, p. 453])—both poetic passages perhaps under Greek influence. In scenes of sacrifice a kind of basket occasionally appears (Man, Pompej., p. 100).

Canestrias, corresponding to caphoroi, are recorded only in Africa (CIL vii. 9221 [Cesarea: of Ceres Aug. apparently] 9337, [ib.] 12919 [Carthage]); the canestria of the don Coelestis in Rome likewise pointed to Africa (Dessau, Inscr. Lat. Sic. 4438). There are nine canestrias of the same god (Caisus Aug.) at Timaeus (Daremberg-Saglio, arch. x. 1907, 226; cf. also a basket between the conestrias and the canestrias (canestrii) of the Great Mother in Milan, Ostia, Locri (cf. the collegium canestriorum) at Sipnium, CIL ix. 2480); see Monnensen, CIL viii. p. 674 to n. 937.

The calathos (calathos) originally served practical purposes as did the καβάριον; it was used in the women's apartment (Aristoph. Lys. 579; Poll. x. 125) and as a receptacle for flowers and fruit (cf. e.g. Heliod. Æth. iii. 2; Eustath. Od. iv. 131; Reinach, Rép. de la stat. p. 75; Stephani, Comment. in Petrk. Hepha. 1805, 24; cf. also Menander, ii. 30, 5). The calathos is that of a lily (Plin. HN xxii. 23). As a symbol of plenty the calathos is given as an attribute to Demeter and other goddesses in art (cf. Stephani, loc. cit. 251; Durenberg-Saglio, s. v. p. 814). In the same capacity it figures in the cults of Demeter and Artemis. A calathos on a cart drawn by four white horses occurs in the Alexandrian Eleusis; the women taking part in the festival submitted to special regulations. It was forbidden to look into the calathos (Callim. b. Cor. 118, 120 ff.). This calathos is referred to as the "calathos Eleusiniae" (Durenberg-Saglio, i. p. 1071, fig. 1313). Usener (Rhein. Mus. i. 146) explained the procession, perhaps correctly, as a spring-festival, referring to Callim. op. cit. v. 121 ff., 156. The sheaf visible on the bronze coin is not necessarily a counter instance (Fringsheim, Arch. Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Eleusinis, Kuts, p. 13 footnote). According to the schol. ad loc., Ptolemaios Philadelphos took over the pompe from Attica. This is probably the case, for a calathos-festival of Demeter doubtless forms the basis of the procession in schol. to Iasch. in Ctes. 130. That the calathos played a mystic part in the Eleusinian liturgy is shown in the formula cleverly interpreted by Dieterich (Mithraeolog. p. 1251). On the other hand, the basket of Kore must be regarded as a flower basket only (Rololo, Kl. Schr. ii. 301 f.). It is inadmissible to consider the seat of the Eleusinian image of Demeter as being a calathos in its origin (Nilsson, Griech. Fest., p. 330); we do not sit on open baskets. Nor is there any evidence that the oldest type of the calathos (ib.). A calathos-procession in honour of Demeter in Asia Minor is recorded on an inscription from the valley of the Kayster (Ath. Mitt. xx. 242), according to which a priest of Demeter presented a plaited calathos, and attended to the ἄπορον (particularly chosen people) every year and was participated in by men chosen by lot. Eustath. (Od. ix. 247) records dancing calathoi for some festival of Demeter. This leads us to Artemis, for whose sanctuary on the Gygean lake (not far from Sardis) the same record exists (Strabo, xxiii. 637).[1] (cf. also Nilsson's supposition (Gr. Fest., p. 253) correct, that there were men inside the dancing calathoi, who thus imitated demonic calathoi. If really Helena was originally nothing but the mystic rush-basket of the Hellenophobia (Poll. x. 191; Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. p. 183; he connecting the festival with the Brauronic cult (p. 56) is founded on a reading rejected by Kaibel, Athen. vi. 2229), then here, too, we have a demonic basket. Possibly the sacred dance of the calathoi bears a distant affinity to the same dance of Artemis (Athen. xi. 257 f.; Poll. iv. 105; Hes. s.v.). Under the appellation calathos of Artemis (Bendis) a Bithynian spring-festival (Usener, op. cit. p. 145 f.) is recorded by Callinicus (Vita Hypotit., p. 96, ed. Bonn). For fifty days, while this festival lasted, no journey was undertaken. We must, therefore, suppose a procession of long duration, as in the cult of Liber of Lavinium (Augustine, de Civ. Dei, vii. 21). The Bithynian metrical inscription of the 1st cent. before or after Christ (Ath. Mitt. xxiv. 413, 13) is certainly closely connected with this procession. Here women are invited to follow the calathos in a small procession. The regulations for attire, whose existence this inscription indicates, point to an affinity to the cult of Demeter, but do not imply a dependence upon it (Nilsson, op. cit. p. 322); such regulations were common property (cf. Koerte, Ath. Anth. i. 414 f.). The calathos-worship of Bithynia and Lydia is probably justly traced back by Nilsson (op. cit. p. 254 f.) to the Thraco-Phrygian-Bithynian cult of Bends. About the Helena basket, which is related to the calathos of Artemis, see above. A basket in the form of Dionysos is supposed to have had mystical significance (cf. Stat. Theb. iv. 378 and also the Pompeian painting in Dar- enberg-Saglio, i. 891, fig. 1124, where the basket is almost entirely covered, cf. above, p. 434). The Ikous does not belong here (Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. p. 1172, footnote, erroneous, in the present writer's opinion). The figures bearing real calathoi on their heads are very difficult to class (cf. Stephani, loc. cit., 1805, 27, i). Significance in worship has thus far never been demonstrated (cf. Stephani, loc. cit., 251 f.). The calathos brought by the devotees is saysignated as calathoi (first by Macrobius, i. 20, 13, and passim) with the real basket is equally uncertain. Primary forms can already be observed in the Mycenean age (Thiersch, Aygina, p. 372). Demeter above all receives it as a symbol (also her servants; cf. Stephani, loc. cit. 21 ff., pl. i. 1, iii. 2, 3); then it is transferred to the chthonic deities, especially Serapis, and thence under Severus to the 'great god' of Odesos and the Thracian Hinggod (Pick, Arch. Jahrb. xiii. 166, 167).

**BASQUES.**—The Basques, *Eskaizunak*, are confined to the Provincias Vascongadas of Spain, part of Navarre, and a smaller section of the French Département de l'Adour Pyrénées. They number about 450,000 in Spain, and 150,000 in France—600,000 in all,—i.e. less than the population of a second-rate capital. Thus we have only the fragment of a race, the debris of a language.

1. **Language.**—Of these to 70 per cent. is borrowed. The grammatical forms are so worn down that scarcely two grammarians agree in the analysis of them. The toponymy of ancient Spain shows that this race

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*Lekarraga (Pref. to NT, 1571) calls them *Heswaizunak*, and their language *Heswaizar*. Their name means 'Holders of Heswaiz.'"—(E. S. Dodgson.)
once covered the whole of the Peninsula as well as the Pyrenean slopes of Southern France.* This we consider proved, in spite of the objections of Prof. Vinson. Throughout this region we find inscriptions in characters still partly undeveloped, the so-called Celtiberian, or 'letras desconocidas' of Hovelacque. Some of the alphabets used in different parts of Spain,† but are probably only dialects of one language spoken on both sides of the Pyrenees.‡ That this language is an earlier form of Basque is not yet thoroughly established, and would be denied by the above-mentioned writer.

2. Religion. —The name, like difficulty with regard to the religion of the ancient inhabitants of Spain. It is almost impossible to distinguish what belongs to each people or tribe. Strabo tells us that the morning star was worshipped under the strange title of 'Iucem dutum.'§ The Basque shepherds still call Venus at a certain time of the year Art-iarrua,‖ the 'between star,' the star between night and day. Strabo also tells us of dances in honour of an anonymous deity during the night of the full moon,§ and of the immolation of victims in the 'Lord or the Hovelacque.'§§ Gascogne, Rapport But and Spicier, like the 'Venus,' are twenty-five different localities. (There is only one of these in Basqueeland, namely the pig at Durango, noted by Mr. Dodgson.) Several bear Latin sepulchral inscriptions of the Augustan age.* The synthesis of Oriental and Western religions began very early in Spain. Hortoritores, and Isi and other figures, an open hand, above, and on the palm Eo! Sperat Ias, another in Portugal! Serapi Pantheon, the remains of the Cerro de los Santos in Murcia have a like character. Celtiberian, Greek, and Latin inscriptions are associated with coins of Constantine and Theodosius.‡‡

4. Name of God.—The name of God in modern Basque is Jaunakoa, Jaina, Janka, Jinko, Jinko. The last three are considered to be dialectical contractions of the first. The meaning would literally be, 'the Lord or the Hovelacque.' Jaunakoa, is used in Basque like Senor in Spanish—applied to men as well as to God. But in the dialect of la Soule and Roncal Gauko means 'the moon.' Here Basque scholars are again divided. Prince L. de Vaux suggests that Jaunakoa is a proper name of an earlier God, for Jaunakoba, 'the Lord of the Moon.'§ Vinson holds that the 'Lord Moon' makes as good sense in mythology as 'the Lord of the Moon.' Both appeal to Strabo, the one to the phrase αρχοντα κυριον της Λυση, and έν τοις καινοντας διαφωνειν, the writing of the early Christian missionaries and Fathers and the Acta Sanctorum give us no help; they speak in a vague way of idolatry, but do not tell us what the idols were. Neither folklore, nor the popular drama, the Pasturales, nor the poetry helps us. The tales are all found elsewhere. The only peculiarity of the poetry is a fondness for allegory, which perhaps arises from thinking in a language which has few native abstract or collective terms, but expresses nearly everything in the concrete. We mentioned above the skill of the Islanders in augury. In the 16th and 17th centuries we have full accounts of a strange moral epidemic of witchcraft among the Basques; victims went to the stake confessing perfectly impossible crimes.§§

5. Religious Festivals and Customs.—All the attitude of the Basques in ecclesiastical matters is very different from that of ordinary medieval Christianity. Alone of Western Europeans they have preserved a whole series of mainly dances from the time when dancing was an act of the highest ceremonial importance. We can notice only two of the series, the animal dances and the religious dances. The animal dances still preserved are: in la Soule, the Hartez, or bear dance, in which the

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† Peyrol y Campo, in Boletin de la R. A. de la Historia, vol. xi. p. 221 (Madrid, 1890); Strabo, liih. iii. (cap. i. p. 225, ed. Tauchnitz, 1820).
‡ Monumenta Linguar inerter, ed. Guilielmus Hübner, p. xii (Berlin, 1859).
§ Lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 225 (by κολοκατολόγισμος).
‖ Art-iarrua means the 'morning-star' at any time of the year. Strabo, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 225, ed. Tauchnitz, 1820.
§§ The name, like difficulty with regard to the religion of the ancient inhabitants of Spain. It is almost impossible to distinguish what belongs to each people or tribe. Strabo tells us that the morning star was worshipped under the strange title of 'Iucem dutum.'§§ The Basque shepherds still call Venus at a certain time of the year Art-iarrua,‖ the 'between star,' the star between night and day. Strabo also tells us of dances in honour of an anonymous deity during the night of the full moon,§ and of the immolation of victims in the 'Lord or the Hovelacque.'§§ Gascogne, Rapport But and Spicier, like the 'Venus,' are twenty-five different localities. (There is only one of these in Basqueeland, namely the pig at Durango, noted by Mr. Dodgson.) Several bear Latin sepulchral inscriptions of the Augustan age.* The synthesis of Oriental and Western religions began very early in Spain. Hortoritores, and Isi and other figures, an open hand, above, and on the palm Eo! Sperat Ias, another in Portugal! Serapi Pantheon, the remains of the Cerro de los Santos in Murcia have a like character. Celtiberian, Greek, and Latin inscriptions are associated with coins of Constantine and Theodosius.‡‡

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5. Religious Festivals and Customs.—All the attitude of the Basques in ecclesiastical matters is very different from that of ordinary medieval Christianity. Alone of Western Europeans they have preserved a whole series of mainly dances from the time when dancing was an act of the highest ceremonial importance. We can notice only two of the series, the animal dances and the religious dances. The animal dances still preserved are: in la Soule, the Hartez, or bear dance, in which the

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lamps (hochourico) also appear; the Zunatlouiz, or horse dance, and the Acheri, or fox dance, in Guipúzcoa. These may suggest some early form of totem custom or worship.† The dance of the seixas at Seville is well known; but the habit of riding on the backs of mules must be traced back to their use in Aragon. It survived till the end of the 19th century. It is still practised at Jaca, and existed till 1830 at Iholde in the French Pays Basque.† Religious dances formed a prominent feature in the festivals which took place at Azpeitia on the eve of Holy Week. The dancers were objected to by some, but are warmly defended by the great Basque scholar and preacher, Manuel de Larramendi, who quotes largely from the OT and the Fathers in commendation of the practice. Another custom which points back to some kind of offerings to or for the dead long survived among the Basques. Travellers in the 15th cent. were struck by the lighted tapers, and prayers said before tombs adorned with flowers.‡ Offerings to the priest at funerals formed the greater part of his income, and these were almost indispensably the amount. These were made at the tomb, after being offered to the priest in church. Wealthy people gave a pair of oxen, others one, or lambs and fowls. The oxen and sheep were led to the church porch, and there ransomed. The bread and the tapers were taken into the church, and the officiating priest read the reading of the Gospel. At length the civil authorities passed summary laws to restrict these offerings, and they are gradually ceasing, although the Basques still carry candles to church and fix them in elaborate, and often very ancient, carved wooden taper-holders over the tombs of their parents who lie beneath the pavement of the church; the candles are lighted during mass.§ The lavishness of the Basques in offerings was noted by the Pilgrim of the 12th cent., who was otherwise most hostile to them.† In decinais dandis legitimis, in obliviosis altiarum assuetudines, apparontur per unumquemque enim diem, dum ad ecclesiam Navarras vaddit, aut panis aut vini aut tritae aut aliequis substancias oblivosse Deo faciunt.††

6. Civil laws.—In striking contrast with this generosity to the clergy in religious matters is the conduct of the Basques towards them in merely civil matters. The Basques are a relation of religious people in Spain.¶ The Englishman who knows their language best says: 'The Basques are fanatically Catholic, almost disagreeably religious, and detest Calvin as much as all royalistlates hate Oliver Cromwell, but with less cause.' A writer noting the all-pervading anti-clericalism remarks that this 'double caractère éminemment religieux et démocratique.' ‡ Basile de Lagrède, a decidedly clerical writer, points out that for a long time marriage was a purely civil act among the Basques: 'le Foix (i.e. el Fuero) n’exige aucune intervention du prêtre dans la célébration du mariage, qui s’entend comme un contrat civil.' Gradually the stipulation began to be made that the marriage

§ Euskalduna, L’Manuskriptu du luzir euri, 1 Dec. 1828. It still exists at Deba, in Guipúzcoa, on the feast of San Roque (April 28).
¶ J. J. Biaño, Viaje de extranjeros por España en el siglo XVIII, p. 497.
† Larramendi, Corografia, p. 194: 'No es creible, si no se viera el mucho pan y cerea que se ofrece; D. Pablo de Gorosabel, Noticias sobre Guipúzcoa, tom. iv. lib. viii. capit. 3. sec. II. (Tolosa, 1900).
‡ Cédula de San-Jacques-de-Compostela, p. 18.
∥ Lopez de Diego, Venas de Anfílotrón, being a reply to Dr. Schneller’s Criticism, 39 (private letter).
†† Ch. Bernardou, Les Fêtes de la Tradition Basque à St. Jean de Luz, 1897, p. 441. (Bayonne, 1897).

should be solemnized ‘según el Fuero de la Iglesia’ or ‘según la ley de Roma;’ finally, marriage before the priest was alone valid. * It was the same with the administration of oaths, of judicial combats, and of ordeals.† The election of the clergy by the parishioners was afterwards suppressed and places down to the beginning of the 19th cent.‡ The sort of Church patronage was in the hands of the king, the nobles, and the municipalities. No bishop had a right to any part of the tithes in Guipúzcoa.§ But the peculiar attitude of the Basques towards the clergy was more keenly felt in the elections to the Juntas or local parliaments. No ecclesiastic could be a deputy, nor could he intervene in any civil or criminal case under any pretext whatever; || no priest, except those belonging to the place, might enter into the town where the Junta was sitting; in Tolosa any deputy seen talking to a priest before a session lost his vote for that day.¶ When, in 1477, Ferdinand the Catholic made a progress through Biscay, and tried to take with him the Bishop of Pamplona, he was obliged to send him back to his see, and the Bishop of Guipúzcoa had stood, and threw the ashes into the sea.** Later, in 1757, when Ferdinand VI., under the advice of the bishops, sent an order to the Cortes of Navarre to forbid the acting of plays, he was compelled to rescind it; the Cortes refused to obey the mandate, and the churchmen, who were the only persons who might be elected to the clergy in civil matters was persistently maintained down to the Revolution. The position of women was high among the Basques. Along with some other Pyrenean populations, they followed the rule of absolute primogeniture: the firstborn, whether male or female, inherited the ancestral property.†† The marriage of the clergy lingered longer among the Basques than in other parts of Spain. §§ They alone have preserved the ancient order of deaconesses, the Seronés, with functions in some respects like those of elders in the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland.¶¶ Yet, with all this jealousy of the ecclesiastical power in civil matters, it is from the Basques that Jesuitism, the most devoted militia of the Papal power, has sprung. Ignatius de Loyola and Francisco Xavier were Basques, the other a Navarrese; both retained some of their Basque habits and customs to the end of their lives, and the influence of these and Basque modes of thought can be traced in their writings. At all such points the influence of the Basque language has influenced the course of religious history in the greater part of Europe since the 16th century.

Litterature.—In addition to the authorities cited above, see J. M. Peroire de Lima, Homenaje a Biscay, Paris-Lisbon, 1892; Campbell, Monnys etal. Evidence of an Iberian Population of the British Islands, Montreal, 1857. Wentworth Webster.  

† Fuero General de Navarra, lib. v. tit. iii.-vi. (Pamplona, 1890).  
‡ Larramendi, Corografia de Guipúzcoa, p. 101, Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico de España, sec. 109 (Madrid, 1830).  
§ Larramendi, op. cit., p. 109.  
¶ Fueros de Gipuzkoa, tit. xxv. cap. iv. (re-impression, Tolosa, 1857).  
* Quaderno de le Leyes y Aparicis reparados del año de 1757, Ley xxv. 24, 1757, Guipuzcoa, (1757).  
† Council of Vannes, lib. x. art. xxii. Relación de los francos, tom. xxv. p. 625, 16 Feb. 1903.
∥ Ch. Bernardou, Venas de Anfílotrón, being a reply to Dr. Schneller’s Criticism, 39 (private letter).
* E. Echevarri, Larramendi, Echevarri, Newhouse, vil. Echevarri, Chaverri, Chaver, Xavier. These variations, and several more, are found in Navarre.
BATESAR.—A town situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in the United Province of Agra and Oudh, in Northern India, lat. 26° 56' 8" N.; long. 78° 33' 7" E. It is important as the scene of a popular bathing and trading fair held on the last day of the month Kartik (Oct.—Nov.). The place takes its name from the worship of Siva in the form of Vatsarvananatha, 'lord of the sacred banyan tree (vata).' The present temple was built by one of the Rajas of Bhadivar in A.D. 1646. In earlier times the place was known as Saryapura, 'city of the sun'; the ruins of the old town are still visible near the present site.

LITERATURE.—Cunningham, Archaeological Reports, iv. 221 ff., v. 5 ff. W. CROOKE.

BATH, BATHING.—See Purification.

BAWARIYA (probably derived from Hind bavva, Skr. bhrava, 'a creeper,' in the sense of a noise made originally from some vegetable fibre; it is also a name of the Bastar tribe). A criminal and hunting tribe of Dravidian origin, found in Northern India to the number of 30,321, of whom the great majority inhabit the Punjab. Here they worship the mother-goddess under the title of Dālā, and the worshippers are called Gayn under the name of Zāhir Dīvān (Crooke, Popular Religion and Folk-lore, i. 211 ff.). Farther west they specially worship Dūlā Deo, the bridegroom-god who is invoked at marriages (ib. i. 119 ff.). A burnt-offering is made with butter, and water is poured on the floor of the house in his honour. They also worship a deified ascetic named Sinha Bābā, a member of the Nānakshāh Sikhs sect of Faqirs. It is possible that they may be a branch of the important Bani caste, which, to the number of 775,037, is found chiefly in Bengal and the north-western Provinces. The con- nexion of this tribe with Hindustan is of the slightest. Their chief objects of worship are Manash, the snake-goddess, Mānṣing, a local village-god, and Bār Pāhāri, the mountain-deity, which is only another form of Marang Bāru, the hill-god of the Santals and other Dravidian tribes.

Figs, fowls, rice, sugar, and ghee are offered to Rudrasani, on Saturdays and Sundays at the Akāra or bathing-place of the village Dālā Deo, who, according to tradition, was born on the day preceding the sacrifice. The priest gets as his fee the head and the handle of the jar of rice, the worshippers eat the rest. The village, with its numerous dharmikas or religious institutions, is well supplied with priests and holy men. The Kukur, or sacred dog, downwards, the object 'being to prevent the spirits from getting out and giving trouble to the living' (Riley, ib. i. 551).

LITERATURE.—For the true Bawriyas, J. Wilson, Settlement Report of the Sire J District, 1888, p. 125; Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896, i. 228 ff. W. CROOKE.

BAXTER.—

1. Life.—Richard Baxter was born on 12th November 1615. His father was Richard Baxter of Eaton-Constamont, in Shropshire; and his mother, Beatrice Adney of Burton-on-Trent, in the same county. The elder Baxter had been addicted to dissipation, but by the time his son was born he had become a changed man, and his son was brought up within the rules of religion as far as possible. His son was early imbued with the virtues of his earliest religious impressions. His mother died in 1631, and his father married again.

Baxter's early education was entrusted to worthless and incompetent tutors. At length he was placed under the tuition of Mr. John Owen, master of the Free School of Wrexham, who instructed him in classical scholarship and heir to the University. To the University, however, he was never sent, and was never heard under a tutor. His father's friend, the Rev. John Leland, whom from whom he profited little in learning, but with whom he had the run of a great library, and became a passionate reader of books. His genius was early religiously animated. Other books touched his conscience, and awakened in him the sense of Divine things; but The Bruised Reed, by Dr. Richard Sibbes, seemed to him, when a little student, 'the greatdest of sacred books in the degree of the soul's vanity, the greatness of the love of God and the freeness of the redemption of Christ to sinners, not so much in his father's favour as in the deepness read in the Scriptures. It was within the Church of England that Baxter was baptized, confirmed, and ordained to the ministry. Though he was ejected with two thousand more in 1662, and cast in his lot with the Presbyterians, to the end he regarded his ordination from the Church of England to the very close of his life, like other moderate Presbyterians, he followed the practice of conditional Communion in her churches. What would have been for the good of men an increased bodily or mental activity and to a career of usefulness in any calling, was the last thing in his religious and moral life. All health all through life, 'Never,' says Sir James Stephen, 'was the alliance of soul and body formed on terms of greater inequality than in Baxter, and never was the alliance of his chronic diseases rendering almost miraculous the mental vigour which bore him through exertions resembling those of a disembodied soul (Correspondence of Baxter, iv. 150-361) He nevertheless lived to the age of seventy-six, and his labours as a preacher, a writer, and an author were herculean.' In 1638 Baxter was offered the chair of divinity at the endowed School at Kidderminster, and took orders to qualify himself to hold the appointment. In 1640 he ran away from Kidderminster to occupy the place of an incompetent vicar, and with Kidderminster his name was henceforward to be associated as Samuel Stowterfield, or Thomas with Cuthbert. His ministry, however, was seriously interrupted by the Civil War, in which he took the side of the Parliament, though he decried the monstrous crimes of both parties. He who had been content to return death and to overturn the throne. He laboured incessantly for and when the Act of Uniformity, on 20th August (St. Bartholomew's Day) 1662, silenced over two thousand of the most eminent ministers, and deprived them of their livings, Baxter's formal ministry was over. The Church of England came to an end. He signalized the event by entering into the married state; and his wife, Margaret Charleton, proved a real helpmeet to him.

Meanwhile penal legislation against the Nonconformists became more stringent every year. It proceeded on the discrediting of place of worship. These ministers who would not take the test were prohibited from coming within five miles of a town where they were not called by the livings; and within ten miles where they had resided as ministers. Baxter got into trouble on both counts; and neither the favour of the King nor the friendship of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice, availed to save him from fines and imprisonment.

In 1651 Baxter lost by death both his wife and his stepmother, who had lived to the age of ninety-six, and troubles thickened round the desolate man. But, as he says, he 'never wanted less what man can give than when men had taken away, and so, preaching as often as he found liberty and opportunity, and producing theological treatises one after another without interruption, he said it was the experience of dark days to James I, and the brighter days of the Revolution Settlement under William and Mary. In the former reign, when weighed with age, his body could not perform, he found it necessary to desert the infamous Chief Justice Jefferies, and under sentence by him would have tills in prison till death had not the King remitted his fine. In the Revolution of 1688 he was too feeble to take any part. At length death, with whose approaches he had been so long familiar, came upon him quietly. He died on 13th December 1701, he passed to the saints' everlasting rest.

2. Works and Influence.—Baxter was a most prolific author, perhaps the most voluminous theological writer in the English language. From the time when he began writing in 1642, he wrote The Saints' Everlasting Rest, scarcely a page passed without several works from his pen. Even at Kidderminster, with its many claims, he regarded his labours in the pulpit and congregation as a recreation, and threw his strength into his writings. The reading displayed in them, the
correspondence to which they frequently led, and the diversity of subjects which they embrace, illustrate the extraordinary versatility of the man and the indefatigable diligence with which he toiled. It has been suggested that he never recast a passage, and never bestowed a thought on its rhythm and the balance of its parts; and his extraordinary productiveness as a writer as well as his own statements make it certain he did not. No fewer than one hundred and sixty-eight treatises came from his pen, and of many of these volumes. Most of them are now forgotten, but some of them are classics of evangelical religion which his countrymen would not willingly let die. When Boswell asked Dr. Samuel Johnson what works of Richard Baxter he should read, he received for answer, 'Read any of them, for they are all good.' Mr. Orme, the editor of the standard edition of Baxter's works, classifies them under the following heads:—Works on the Evidences of Religion; on the Doctrines of Religion; on Conversion; on Christian Experience; on Christian Ethics; on Catholic Controversy; on Nonconformity; on Popery; on Anti-Romanism; on the Baptist, Quaker, and Millenarian Controversies; Historical and Political Works; Devotional, Expository, and Poetical Works. The cast of Baxter's mind was eminently retentive, and his conviction of their absolute certitude—won through experience as well as rationalization—that he shirked no difficulty, shrinks from no combat, and grudges no pains, if only he can place his readers—even though it be through divisions and subdivisions of argument, or proof upon proof—on the rock of assured conviction as himself. Of his numerous works there are at least three which are still in demand, and, after two centuries and a half, seem destined to live on. These are The Saints' Everlasting Rest, The Call to the Unconverted, and The Reformed Pastor.

The first of these, the first considerable work which he produced, is the masterpiece with which his name is associated. It was published in 1695, having been conceived and for the most part written to the mind of his own. The title-page of the original edition bears that it was 'written by the author for his own use, in the time of his languishing, when God took him off from all public employment.' He was at the time the guest of Sir Thomas Rouse in Worcestershire, and away from his books. 'The marginal citations,' he explains, 'I put in after I came home to my books, but almost all the book itself was written when I had no book but a Bible and a Concordance; and I found that the transcript of the heart hath the greatest force on the heart of others.' It is a record, almost of inspiration, certainly of spontaneous birth, like The Pilgrim's Progress, or The Imitation of Christ; and though the two volumes, comprising in Orme's edition more than a thousand pages, are beyond the powers or the patience of most readers, the popular abridgments leave out much that gives reality and pathos in the complete work. In a volume of St. James's Lectures (1757, Lect. iv.) on Companions of the Devout Life, the late Archbishop Trounch, a master both in literary taste and thought, was in the highest degree enthusiastic in the laude of its excellence. 'Richard Baxter,' says he, 'is justly pronounced the father of English hymnody, and the author of the most satisfactory and comprehensive collection of Psalms and Hymns, which once heard can scarcely be forgotten. In regard, indeed, to the choice of the words, the book might have been written yesterday. There is hardly one which has become obsolete; hardly one which has drifted away from the meaning which it has in his writings. This may not be a great matter; but it may purge a rare and sacred confidence, into all that is most true, into all which was furthest removed from affection and unrighteousness. The language is as fresh now after two hundred years as it should be; and we may recognize here an element not to be overlooked, of the abiding popularity of the book.' (Companions of the Devout Life, p. 279.)

In the work itself Baxter first dwells upon the excellence of the 'Rest,' and then characteristicly sets himself to prove the infallibility and Divine origin of the Holy Scripture in which it is promised, thus contributing an able treatise on Christian evidences. The ground having been firmly established, he develops the uses of the Doctrine of Rest, and concludes with a directory for the getting and keeping of the heart in heaven. The work abounds in fervent appeals and felicitous phrases and striking similitudes. The Call to the Unconverted appears to be the substance of a sermon which Baxter had preached from the well-known text in Ezek 33:1 'Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?' Next to the 'Rest,' it was the most repeatedly and greatly used of all his publications. In his lifetime it had the distinction of being translated by John Eliot into the language of the Massachusetts Indians (1664), and it has passed through editions well-nigh innumerable, and been translated into Indian and other languages. It has been compared in its character and influence with Law's Serious Call and Joseph Alleine's Alarm; but it is simpler in its teaching than the one, and more tender and kindly in spirit than the other. It breathes a spirit of intense earnestness, and, though its language would not now be used in its entirety in pulpit address, the fervour and force of its reasoned appeal to the understanding and the heart are as powerful as ever.

The Reformed Pastor is one of the classics of pastoral theology. Dr. Shedd, in his Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, recommends ministers to read it through once a year; and Principal Oswald Dykes (The Christian Minister, p. 49) describes it as one of the most searching and widely helpful books in English literature on its subject. The second chapter, and especially the pages devoted to pastoral oversight (vol. xiv, pp. 96-114), are replete with maxims and counsels of sanctified wisdom and practical good sense, that become of everyday use and acquaintance with the duties of the pastor's office. Both in its original and in its abridged forms The Reformed Pastor has had a very wide circulation.

No one can read Baxter's writings without perceiving that he has in him the soul of true poetry. His occasional quotations and references to George Herbert reveal sympathies in this direction. But he was too intensely in earnest and too absorbed in his various labours to master the technique of the poet's art, or to take pains with niceties and refinements of versification. A small volume of his poetry, 'Poetical Remains', is, however, included among his works, and at least one of his pieces, 'Lord, it belongs not to my care,' has found its way into hymnals for congregational praise.

The influence of Richard Baxter exerted from the pulpit, as well as by his works during his lifetime, must have been great. His power and fervour in the pulpit were unique in an age of great preachers, and he exemplified his own lines in a most literal sense, for 'The grace in the Master to speak sure to preach again,' and as a dying man to dying men.' In a time of ecclesiastical anxiety and strife, he strove to be a peacemaker. Several of his extant sermons have been printed for the benefit of the public, and they have been widely read for the lessons of Christian truth and experience, like those of John Durie and
Archbishop Ussher, had in him, in season and out of season, a steadfast supporter. If his combative turn of mind and his fondness for precise definition sicked his Dartmouth Academy (the best of the three colleges), and in keeping up the Christian obligation to evangelize the world. He was a warm supporter of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, and it is to Baxter more than any other that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel owes its charter. If the great Expository of the English Restoration Revival at the close of the 18th century, directly to Baxter, we know that his works influenced some of the most prominent members of the Clapham sect, and helped to sustain the fervour of many of the leaders of that movement.

3. Distinctive doctrine.—In Baxter's Confession of Faith he sets forth three parallel columns; on one side 'Antinomianism,' on the other the doctrine of 'Papists and others in the Contrary Extremes,' and in the centre 'Truth,' that which I take to be both the Truth and the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches. This table is significant. The key to Baxter's doctrinal position is to be found in the fact that he always endeavoured to avoid the falselood of extremes, and to find truth and harmony in the golden mean. He wished to be a son of peace in theology no less than in ecclesiastical affairs. His Catholic Theology is entitled 'Plain, Pure, Peaceable, for Pacification of the Dogmatical Word Warriors,' and consists of three books: 'Pacifying Principles,' 'Dialogues,' and 'Discourses.' The translation: Ego bene peacem was his motto; and even when he attacked opponents with the polenical acrimony of the time, in keen words for which he afterwards expressed regret, it was always with the aim of making his opponents believe that which he firmly believed would reconcile the hostile parties. The immediate result was that he was fiercely assailed from both sides, and became 'a butt for every man to shoot at.' The Arminians rejected him as a Calvinist, while the Calvinists denounced him as an Arminian; he was called in turn a Papist, Quaker, and even a Socinian. But he appealed to posterity for vindication; 'when sad experience hath taught men to hate Theological Logical Wars, and to love, and seek, and call for Peace'; and the broader vision of the present age, which has learnt his love of unity and concord, will appreciate his anxiety to do justice to both sides. Dean Stanley ranked Baxter with Anselm as a great Christian thinker, and Dr. Benjamin Jowett in 1832 (1832) set the record straight: 'one of the greatest of Englishmen not only of his own time but of any time.' He always sought to draw forth the measure of truth which lay at the heart of an extreme or erroneous doctrine. He tried to harmonize Divine destiny with moral freedom; he granted that the Romish system was right, insisting on the necessity of good works, and the Quaker in maintaining the reality of the Inner Light, and the Socinian in upholding the claims of reason.

His own general position was certainly that of a moderate and liberal Calvinist, for he gave unstinted praise to the Shorter Catechism ('the best of catechisms'); and he assented to the decisions of the Synod of Dort. His views on controverted questions are often difficult to define. His subtle intellect revelled in fine-spun distinctions; he modified, explained, and made concessions for the sake of conciliation; and his views expanded and mellowed with the advance of time. The following are, however, some of his most characteristic doctrines.

(a) On the Atonement—He held in the main the modern Evangelical view:

'It is not God but man that lose his goodness; nor is it necessary to our redemption to have a change, in Him but in us. Christ came not into the world to make God better, but to make us better.' Nor did He die to make God more disposed to do good, but to dispose us to receive it... (Christ's) purpose was not actually to change the mind of God nor to incline Him to have mercy who had rejected Him; He seemed to make the pardon of man's sin a thing convenient for the Righteous and Holy Governor to bestow, without any impeachment of the honour of His wisdom, holiness, and justice, yet, to the more eminent glorifying of them all.' 'Christ came not to possess God with any false opinion of us, nor is He such a physician as to use us as instruments in our own cure.' 'The Father to judge us well, because He is well. We must bear the marks of His love as well as the scars of His discipline.' 'He could not be so incensed against sin as to receive it into the church, but He can forgive it, and will forgive it, and thereby free us or love us in complacency. This is the work of our blessed Redeemer to make man fit for God's approbation and delight.'

(b) Extent of Election.—'Christ died for all, but not for all alike or equally; this is, He intended good for all, but not an equal good' (End of Controversies). The sacrifice was for the sins of all in the sense that all should have a conditional promise or gift of life by the merits of it.

(c) Justification.—'The meaning of justification is not the reception of the knowledge or sense of our former justification, but it is the true belief of the Gospel and the sincere acceptance of Christ (Conf. of Faith). Baxter held that faith is what is imparted for righteousness, because faith contains the germ of sincere obedience to Christ. He seems to place regeneration in time before justification. 'He regenerate that He may pardon.' He lays the greatest stress on the necessity of repentance for justification, and, indeed, seems to aim at combining the two.

(d) Grace.—Baxter believed in a common grace bestowed on all mankind, which, if improved, would lead on to sufficient and effectual grace, but even sufficient grace might be resisted and rendered ineffectual (Conf. of Faith).

(e) Election.—He accepted election, but not reprobation, for God is the cause of grace but not of sin.

(f) Immanence of God.—Baxter's doctrine is profound and discriminating:

'As all being is originally from God, so there is continual Divine causation of creatures without which they would all cease, or be annihilated, which some call a continued creation, and some an emanation.' 'The beams do not more depend on the sun, or light or heat or motion on the sun; or the branches, fruit and leaves more depend on the tree, than the creation on God. But let these be reasons why the sun does not produce the fruit of the tree, but they are creatures because God's emanation or causation is creation; hence all the whole fiction of the effect of creatures.

(g) The Trinity.—In his Methodus Theologiae—his only Latin work—Baxter attempts to find a rational basis by showing the threefold nature of man and all things. Coleridge and others have followed some of his lines, though Baxter's reasoning is often fantastical, his philosophical power was highly estimated by Mansel.

(b) Inspiration of Scripture.—There is a passage in the Saints' Rest, omitted from some editions because it gave offence, which anticipates the attitude of many modern Christian scholars towards the Bible. 'We have the Scriptures to be but the writings of godly, honest men, and so to be only a means of making known Christ, which has a great duty to the godly, in the hands of these men, and do believe in Christ upon those strong grounds which
are drawn from the doctrine and miracles rather than upon the literal word. "I have been publicly told and privately may have saving faith. More much those that believe the whole writing to be of Divine inspiration when it handeth the substance, but doubt whether God infallibly guided in every circumstance.

On this, as on many other questions, his views were far in advance of those of most of his contemporaries, and they often forced him into modern positions, and were only slowly recognized after two centuries.

In his last large work, \textit{Reliquiae Baxterianæ} (1696), Baxter wrote down the changes God had wrought since the unripper times of youth, and one of them is that he now sees a gradation of certainty in faith:

"My certainty that I am a man is before my certainty that there is a God: my certainty that there is a God is greater than my certainty only that there is a Creator; and my certainty of this is greater than my certainty of the life of reward and punishment hereafter: my certainty of the Deity is greater than my certainty of the Christian faith: my certainty of this is greater than of the canonicities of some books."

Baxter expressed warm admiration for the missionary efforts of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, and yet he is "not so much inclined to pass a peremptory sentence on the man upon all who call themselves of Christ, having some more reason than I knew of before to think that God's dealings with such are much unknown to us."

Those who shared Baxter's spirit of broad tolerancy were called, often in reproach, 'Baxterians.' This phrase, which set them apart from the ecclesiastical church, was formed by men of independent minds who struck out paths for themselves, and in accordance with his principles distinguished between the essentials and non-essentials. "In things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity."

LEWIS/MARTIN.

\textbf{BEADLE, BEDELLOUS.—}The word 'bedelle' was in Old English, bydeld, bidel, bidell, from OE. bedel (from which our word 'bid' is derived), 'to offer, announce, commend'; in Middle English biddel, bidell; in Old French, bidel, which is the Middle English biddel.

The primary meaning of the word appears to be 'herald,' 'one who announces or proclaims something.' So Alfrie (A.D. 1000), translating Ex 32:9; Origen in the \textit{Contra Celsus} (153), 2.5, 26, translates 'Cristes bidel'; and Coverdale (A.D. 1553), when translating Dt 3:9, the secondary meaning is 'an executive officer who represents, and acts under, a higher authority.

Apart from the metaphorical use of the term (e.g. in describing a bishop as 'Gods bodel', R. Morris, \textit{O.E. Dictionary.} i. 117, A.D. 1175), it is applied to:

1. (1) The officer of a Court, in particular, of a Forest Court, who administers citations, etc. (Manwood, \textit{Laws of the Forest.} xxi., A.D. 1508).


3. (3) An official in Universities, to whom various duties, ceremonial and executive, pertain. In Oxford there is a bedell for each of the Faculties of Divinity, Law, and Arts, and in the bedells each bearing a mace, walk before the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor in processions. The Arts bedell is in constant attendance on the Vice-Chancellor. In Cambridge there are two 'Esquieu bedells,' Masters of Arts, who supervise academic ceremonial and are usually present in the University of Glasgow there is a 'bedelius' who is mace-bearer and also janitor.

In the Laws of Yale College (1857) provision is made for a 'beadle who shall direct the procession and preside over it.'


(5) A parish officer, whose duty is to attend meetings of the Vestry, to give notice of these meetings, etc. (see \textit{Hearne's English Villages of the 18th Century.} ii. 701). In the ancient Statutes of Scottish Burghs, 112 (quoted in \textit{Du Cange, Glossarium, s. v. 'Bedelli'}, it is declared that 'any citation made without the bedellus is not valid.' Formerly the functions of the parish bedell was included in those of petty overseers (cf. Shakespeare, 2 \textit{Henry V.}, ii. i. 140 ff., where the Mayor is represented as biding an attendant 'fetch the beadle, who, when he comes, whips the impostor."

6. A church-officer, chiefly, although not exclusively, of a rural minister's parish, performs the functions of a gravedigger, bell-ringer, manse gardener, etc.

The Scottish beadle has always been regarded, and has regarded himself, as an important official. 'I'm half a minister myself, now that I am bedel,' said the beadle in the \textit{Brig o' Nethermoo.} The present writer has heard a church-officer of long standing speak of the various ministers who had been 'with him.' The pride of a beadle in his own kirk is notorious. A country official, whose church was of plain architecture, was taken to see and admire Glasgow Cathedral. 'It's saer fash'd wi' these pillars,' was his depreciatory comment. Sense of official responsibility was in many cases well-marked. The beadle a keen and often shrewd critic of services and sermons. 'Gude course (coarse) country work' was a city church-officer's scorn of a rural minister's work. And the kirk 'laxly' and 'dourly' (see \textit{Laxlax}) liked that sermon was the caustic response received by a minister who had preached an old school sermon. If it had been wondered that had given his church-officer the opportunity of 'remarked.' The old practice of the beadle being employed to carry some intimation to the entire body of parishioners, along with the notion, which within living memory prevailed widely, that to allow a caller to go on his way without 'tasting' was a breach of hospitality, led to the character of beadle as a class for sobriety being imputed. At the present day, however, when the special temptation just referred to has been removed, the temperance of the order is at least equal to that of other classes of society.


\textbf{BEARD.—}The permanence of the structure and colour of the hair makes it an important key to race-classification. As a characteristic of the face, it appears long and flowing as a beard chiefly among the Caucasian group; the Mongolians, Negros, and American aborigines are usually beardless, exceptions occurring among the Australian natives and the Melanesians. So rare was the beardless face in an age when a race knew little of mankind outside its own borders, that
Herodotus (i. 105) explains how the Scythians ‘who had plundered the temple of Aphrodite Urania at Asulon, and their descendants for ever, were smitten by the divinity with a disease which made them unshorn as long as they breathed. The ancient Greeks assumed them to be. The more rationalistic Hippocrates offers a different explanation. ‘For my own part, I think these ailments are from God, and all the other ailments too, and no one of them more divine than another, or more human either, but all alike from God. Each of such things has a process of growth, and nothing comes into being without a process of growth’ (J. L. Myres, in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 139 f., Oxford, 1908).

It is probably as a distinguishing sign of manhood that importance has been attached to the beard, there following from this many customs and superstitions, reference to which fall: within the province of this article. It is still a mark of honour in the East; the well-bearded man is one ‘who has never hungered’ (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 250). To pull it is to inflict an indignity; to have it forcibly cut off, or only mutilated, is a symbol of disgrace; to remove it voluntarily is a sign of mourning; to stroke it is the preface to unshornness. As for the estrangement of the shaving of my beard thrice like a Germin, before I speak a wise word,’ says an old writer Pappe W. Hatchet, 1580 (cf. *Oxford Dict. s.v*), bearded age lending impressiveness to the thing uttered.

It is among Orientals, notably those of Semitic race, or under Semitic influence, that the beard has acquired sanctity. Its place in the old Hebrew ritual is shown in the command not to ‘near the corners of thy beard’ (Lv 19:27); the degradation or contempt indicated by its mutilation is exemplified in the case of the later Assyrians and Babylonians, the Romans and their descendants by the Ammonites (2 S 104), and its neglect or removal as a symbol of mourning is referred to in Job 19:2, 2 S 104, Ezr 9:1, Is 15, Jer 41. The vagaries and vanities of custom marking its history find illustration in Herod. ii. 36: ‘The priests of the gods in other lands wear long hair, but in Egypt they shave their heads; among other men the custom is that in mourning those whom the matter concerns most nearly have their hair cut short, but the Egyptians, when they remember their dead, remember the priests more than that on the head and that on the chin.’ While the lower classes among the Egyptians appear as bearded [Joseph shaves himself before he enters the presence of Pharaoh, Gn 41:1], the priests and court officials kept the barbers busy. Sometimes artificial beards were worn as symbols of dignity at solemn festivities, the king’s being cut square at the bottom. The beards on the statues of the gods were curled at the end. Among the Assyrians and Babylonians the lower classes were beardless, while kings and others, probably as members of the senatorial or military caste, wore beards, frizzled and anointed (cf. Lv 8:23). The example of Muhammad in keeping his beard unshorn was followed by the faithful, and it is by the beard of the Prophet and their own that they swear, as in the presence of Allah. In Muslim custom, perhaps gradually becoming obsolete, there is zealous care of the hairs that fall from the beard, these being preserved by the faithful for burial with him, as sometimes deposited in the ground during his lifetime. Tradition says that they were broken as a sort of stipulation with some angel who was supposed to be on the watch, and who would look to the safe passing of the consigners of the treasure to paradise (Qur. 11:16). This, according to history, was the blunted conception of the barbaric mind as to the ‘me’ and ‘not me,’ wherein all that pertains to the individual, from the several parts of his body even to his name, is assumed to be integrally bound up with him, and to be media whereby sorcery may be worked upon him. The story goes that Selins, Sultan of the Turks, was presented with a beardless youth, to which when he was presented with a beardless youth, to which when the Shakh ul-Jelān, renominated, the monarch replied, ‘I have cut off my beard, that the Vizier may have nothing to lead me by.’ A more veracious history records that Alexander the Great commanded his soldiers to cut off their beards, so that a great enemy could not lay hold of them. The presence or absence of the beard is one of the distinctive marks between the priests of the Greek and Latin Churches, although the bearded images on the coins of Popes of the 15th and 16th centuries prove that the clean-shaven face has not the antiquity of the tonsure. The Franciscans are at variance as to whether the founder of their order wore a beard, and on this ground are divided into the ‘bearded’ and the ‘shaven.’

It is amusing to notice that James Ward (1769-1859), a painter of some renown, published a *Defence of the Beard* on Scriptural grounds, ‘giving eighteen reasons why man was bound to grow a beard, unless he was indifferent as to his appearance, and in following his example of Alexander in 1800 Theologus published a book entitled *Shaving a breach of the Sabbath and a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel*, arguing that the beard was a Divinely provided chest-protector, and adding, ‘were it in any other position, its benefit and purpose might be doubted.’ A more ancient contribution was made by the Emperor Julian in his *Misopogen*, or *Enemy of the Beard*, a satire on the effeminate manners of the citizens of Antioch, who had laughed at him for allowing his ‘shaggy and uncombed’ beard a width of eight inches (and the veil Gibbon’s) to grow after the fashion of the Greek philosophers. Samuel Butler, in his *Characters and Passages* (ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1908), thus humorously describes the sage: ‘Hereafter his beard was the Badge of his Profession, and Length of that in all his Polemics was ever accounted the Length of his Weapon; but when the Trade fell, that fell too.’ Monumental and other evidence shows that the Greeks wore beards until the time of Alexander the Great [readers of Herod. XXXIV. 18 could not help hearing the tale of the beard of the priestess of Athene (i. 175; viii. 104)], about which period the Romans submitted their chins to barbers from Sicily.

How the treatment of a natural feature of the human face was from time to time made a matter of dispute, even to the shedding of blood, finds illustration in the war between Persians and Tartars because the former would not cut off their beards, while the retention of or removal of these became the symbol of the dominant or subject races. Among the West Goths and Burgundians the lower classes were beardless, in contrast to their rulers, and under Norman rule some of the English chose to exile themselves rather than lose the habit of the beard. And not long after the Conquest the Normans ceased to shave. The part that fashion and supercilliousness have played in the history of the beard is not wholly removed from the domain of Ethics, in the changing standards of which beard is of course a part, and the phrase (Gilson’s) ‘the king of all’ The Spaniards shaved off their beards because Philip V. could not grow one; and the French did the same because Louis XIII. was beardless; while the latter people, a century earlier, wore beards in imitation of France. In the 18th century it was a mark of the Frenchman’s pride to have his chin covered with a waxen seal stamped on the royal letter or charter.
were supposed to add greater security for the fulfilment of all promises made in the document itself' (EBI, s. e.

Turning to England, we find that, in the reign of Henry VIII., the authorities of Lincoln's Inn pointed out the fact that 'a beard or the Great Beard at the great table unless they paid double common.' Then came (temp. Elizabeth) taxation of beards, assessed according to their age or to the social position of their wearers, beards of above a fortnight's growth being subject to a yearly tax of 3s. 4d. But the impost (which Peter the Great levied, under barbarous conditions, in Russia) failed in its object, perhaps finding a substitute in the duty on hair-powder, which was abolished in 1809. In his "Survey of London," Stow records that in 1503 'Sir Thomas Lodge, being Mayor of London, wore a beard. He was the first that ever ventured thus to deform his office, and hardly did the city support the shock.' The well-known Vandyke portraits of Charles I. and of the Cavaliers show what mode of trimming the beard was then in vogue. In the whole of Europe, from the throne all Europe shaved, only the moustache being worn. It is within the memory of the middle-aged that the wearing of beards rendered the individual liable to assault and insult, and that it met with opposition and prohibition from employers of labour and society. Thus much, in society, mutual interference with individual liberty on so unimportant a matter was found to be as futile as has been proved in the case of allumptary laws.

Literature.—In addition to authorities cited above: Duckworth, Morphology and Anthropology, Cambridge, 1904, pp. 354-505, and Social England, London, 1894, i. 450, iii. 513; Perrot, Art, in Chaldec, i. 137; art. 'Beard,' in EBI, iii. 462.

Edward Clodd.

Beast (Apocalyptic).—See Antichrist.

Beatification.—1. Definition.—Beatification at the present day in the Church of Rome is a formal act by which the Church permits, under Papal authority, that a person who has died in the Catholic faith shall be honoured with a public veneration, and be formally styled Beatus or Beata ('blessed'). The cult, however, is limited. Veneration is not required or authorized throughout the whole Church; it is permitted in a particular diocese or country, or by a particular religious community or other associated body. Only with this restriction are the picture or relics of the person who has received beatification allowed to be exhibited, or is the recitation of his particular office or mass permitted. Beatification is thus a preparatory act, preliminary to the definitive canonization (q.v.) by which a servant of God is formally ranked among the saints of the Universal Church.

2. History.—The present custom dates from a Bull of Urban VIII. in 1634 (Gelasius Hierusalem sive, July 5, 1634). It is fully established in the classic authority on the subject, the work of Pope Benedict XIV. (Lamberti), de Servorum Dei Beati

ficatione et Beatorum Canonicatione. It marks the conclusion of a long historical process, which must here be very briefly sketched. The distinction between beatification and canonization arose very gradually, and, even when the distinction was recognized as existing, the dividing line was not exactly drawn; e.g. it was long disputed whether the Emperor Charles the Great (Charlemagne) was himself beati
canized (de Servorum Dei, etc., tom. i. cap. ix.). It is thus impossible to trace the history of the one process, from its origin, apart from that of the other.

Local veneration may be traced back to the earliest Christian ages, and, as is the case of Polycarp (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iv. 15), often grew into a wider recognition in the Church. At certain periods an association can be traced with the pagan custom of apotheosis, from which, however, it differs essentially in the fact that it is never in any way ranked as Divine or semi-Divine, but only as that of those whose virtues had been specially rewarded by God (cf. G. Boissier, 'Apothésie' in Darmebrg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, t. i. pp. 323-327). But none the less many Christian symbols comparable to those of the Christian and pagan cults have been traced, and there was in the Christian hagiography occasional indebtedness to pagan sources as well as inevitable analogy and surviving superstition (cf. Hippolyte Delehaye, Les Légendes hagiographiques, Brussels, 1906). Bellarmine, on the other hand, traces the Christian custom to the Old Testament and the veneration of the Jewish Church for Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, etc. (Contr. Paris, 1613, t. ii. col. 790). In the Christian Church it originated in the veneration of portraits of saints, who were regarded with reverence, and on whose tombs altars were set up (cf. Duchesne, Origines du culte chrétien, 1889, Ed. n. 1904, pp. 283-284, etc.). But no public veneration was allowed except by authority of the bishop. Registers of those who were permitted to wear a halo, whose names were recited at the Eucharist. 'From these dyptichs came the calendars, and from the calendars in later days the martyrlogies' (W. H. Rlutton, The Influence of Christianity upon National Character, illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the English Saints, Bampton Lectures, 1903, London, 1903, p. 21). But veneration was not long restricted to the martyrs; it was extended to 'confessors,' i.e. those in whom a peaceful life had followed a life of heroic or conspicuous virtue and faith (so soon spread still further). In the recognition of saintliness different usages grew up and were developed, as at Rome (cf. Duchesne, Liber Pontificios, tom. i. pp. c.—cl) and in Africa (O'ptatus, Hist. Donat. in PL t. xi. col. 916-917). The rights of the episcopate to honor the veneration of departed saints continued at least till the second half of the 12th century. In their own dioceses, and after a formal and semi-judicial process, the bishops or their Apostolic legates exercised the authority to regulate all that related to Divine service. There has been a tendency among Roman Catholics in recent years to distinguish thus between beatification and canonization, and to consider that the former alone lay within the power of the episcopate, the latter never having been declared by the Roman Pontif (so T. Orlan, in Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, Paris, 1905, fasc. xv. col. 1632); but the late survival of the claim on behalf of local bishops, and its exercise (as still in the Eastern Church) by councils, would seem to conflict with this view. (Thus the Council of Cloveshoo (747) fixed the veneration in England of St. Gregory and St. Augustine of Canterbury; and cf. vindication by St. Martin of Tours of his right in the matter of veneration, in his Vita, by Sulpicius Severus, c. xi.) A survival of the rights of the episcopate is still found in the preliminaries which now precede beatification. The bishop of a diocese in which a special reverence is felt for some departed Christian collects evidence by which to be known of beatification and transmits this to Rome. If it is regarded as sufficient, the Pope issues a decree by which the cause of the venerable servant of God is introduced to the Congregation of Sacred Rites. From this moment the title of 'Venerable' is given, and the first step towards beatification is taken.
3. Method. — Beatification is of two kinds—formal and equipollent (or equivalent). The latter is due not to a positive declaration of the Church, but to a tacit acceptance. Veneration of a particular person has begun, and spread, without formal approbation, and the moral and spiritual evidence of historians are accepted as grounds for a general permission. To this class belong the cases of St. Ronwald, St. Norbert, St. Margaret of Scotland, Pope Gregory VII, all eventually canonized saints (for comparatively modern evidence of how this grew up, cf. the case of St. Osmond, Malden, Canonization of S. Osmond Wilts Records Society, 1901, pp. 108–110). Formal beatification is regarded by Benedict XIV as far more weighty than equivalent beatification (op. cit. lib. 1, cap. lit. n. 10), since the former is the result of a longer and careful process of minute examination, whereas the latter originates in popular sympathy, which the Church has come to accept without any such definite testing. Though there has been dispute on the point (see CANONIZATION), it appears that the brief of Alexander IV, De relictis et veneratione sanctorum, 1170 (in Corpus juris Canonicæ, l. iii. tit. 45), was the first definite reservation of cases of beatification for the decision of the Roman See. From this time the power of beatification has been withdrawn from the Popes of whatever dignity, and from Councils, and it is now considered not to be within the rights even of General Councils during a vacancy in the Papal See.

For formal beatification, testimony not only of holiness of life but of miracles (which need not necessarily have been wrought during life) is required (cf. l. I. Ferrari, Prompta Bibliotheca, Rome, 1766, tom. vii. f. 276 : "% duo coequale requiruntur, salient excelluntia virtutum in gradu heroicæ, et miracula, ut nee excellencia virtutum sinu miraculis nec sinu virtutum admirabilis.") From the time of Alexander VII the process of beatification has taken place at the Vatican (Benedict XIV, op. cit. lib. i. cap. xxiv.). The writings (if there are any), virtues, and miracles are strictly examined by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. "Postulators" are appointed to plead in favour of the claim: a "Promotor of the Faith" (popularly known as Advocatus Diaboli) has the duty of seeking for flaws in the case. If the claim is regarded as proved, a decree of Beatification is solemnly pronounced in St. Peter's at the solemn Pontifical procession, in the case of the "English Martyrs," is described in Caunus, Lives of the English Martyrs, London, 1864, vol. i. p. 14 ff.). But the decision, though given by the Pope, is not regarded as infallible, because the ultimate decision of the Church is not reached until the process is completed by canonization (cf. Benedict XIV, op. cit. lib. i. cap. xliii. n. 10). Before this stage is reached a further examination is held, which may result in the name being struck off the list of Beatific. The "Promotor" is not considered as infallible in pronouncing a decree of beatification. It is, however, regarded as extremely rash to dispute or criticize such a decree.

Beatification authorizes a cult limited to particular districts and to particular acts, which are defined in the terms of the particular decree or indulit. If no special terms are laid down the cult is regulated by a general decree of the Congregation of Rites of September 27, 1659 (Gardellini, Decretum et decretales Pontificales, 229), which orders that (1) the name of the Beatus shall not be inscribed in Martyrologies, local calendars, or those of religious orders; (2) images, pictures, or statues of him may not be publicly exposed in churches or places of the public cult of the Holy See; (3) his relics are not to be carried in procession; (4) he may not be chosen as patron of a church; (5) the cult may not be extended from the place allowed to another without indulit.

For the customs which regulate beatification in the Orthodox Eastern Church, where it is not distinguished from canonization, see article CANONIZATION.


W. H. HUTTON.

BEATING AND STRIKING.—See Striking.

BEATITUDE.—See Blessedness.

BEAUTY. — It is impossible within the limits of this article to discuss all the theories that have been advanced on the conception of Beauty. No conception, indeed, has received more attention from philosophers. We shall select out of the general history of ideas the most outstanding theories of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Byzantines, with a view to tracing their relationship. The subject will be dealt with under the following heads: (i.) in Greek philosophy, (ii.) in the philosophy of the Church Fathers, (iii.) in the philosophy of the Middle Ages, (iv.) in modern philosophy, (v.) in contemporary philosophy, (vi.) conclusion, in which the author will endeavour to point out the principles that arise from this discussion, and the course which, according to him, should be pursued in order to arrive at a true conception of Beauty.

I. IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY. — The first prominent name is a born artist, and his education affords him plenty of scope for all the manifestations of the Beautiful. Nevertheless, the appearance of aesthetic theories comes very late in Greece. It is not until the time of Socrates. The reason is that nothing comes of the study of Beauty except in an integrally constituted philosophy, and before the age of Pericles Greek thought was unable to attain to true systematization.

One common feature, we believe, characterizes all the aesthetic theories of the Greeks: Beauty is considered as an attribute of things. If they think at all of the impression that it makes on one, they do so only in a secondary way, and not in order to see in the impression an essential element of Beauty. The result is that Greek speculations on Beauty are closely allied to metaphysics.

There are two principal theories which have successively held favour in the schools: (1) the Platonic-Aristotelian theory, and (2) the Platonian or Neo-Platonic theory.

1. Platonic-Aristotelian theory. — We do not possess a special treatise on Beauty either from Plato or from Aristotle, their ideas on the subject being scattered throughout their different works. Plato’s chief references to Beauty are in his Symposium, First Alcibiades, Gorgias, and a few books of the Republic. Aristotle informs us, at the end of his Metaphysics, that he will deal more fully with Beauty in a special treatise, which, if it was ever written, has not come down to us. In his Poetics some general principles are found, although these are dealt with specially alone in his Poetics. The intellectual relationship between Aristotle and Plato in aesthetics is so close that their doctrines may be summarized together, as follows:

(a) Beauty resides in order, and in the metaphysical elements of order, namely, unity and multiplicity (harmony, symmetry, proportion). It is well known that the study of unity and
multiplicity forms one of the favourite problems of Greek speculation; the study of order is the aesthetic aspect of this problem. And Greek art, chiefly the architecture and sculpture of the time of Pericles, provides an eloquent and perfect comment upon the attempt to impose order on the chaos of nature.

The masterpieces of Greek sculpture symbolize in stone and marble the theory of numbers and their attributes.

Measure and proportion, says Plato, are the elements of beauty and of perfection. 'I do not mean by beauty that born such beauty as that of animals or pictures, which the many would suppose to be my meaning; but ... understand me to mean straight lines and circles, and the plane and solid figures which are formed out of them; ... for these I affirm to be not only relatively beautiful, like other things, but they are eternally and absolutely beautiful' (Philebus, 51; Jowett's Dialogues of Plato, 1892, iv. 623). Aristotle likewise writes τὸ γὰρ ἀλήθεν ἐν μεθείναι καὶ σάλφει, 'Beauty consists of order united to magnitude' (Poetics, vi. 1453 a 34). Plato expounds this theory in terms of the elements of the universe — air, water, earth, fire. This he reduces to geometrical figures, which he thinks perfectly beautiful — in the same way as Aristotle applies his theory to the State.

In the arrangement of a thing, a beauty is bestowed which may be added to the element of order the charm of colour (suavitas coloris), as characteristic of the beautiful. Xenophon, the Stoics, Cicero, and others are upholders of this conception, and we shall see that Plutinus mentions it as a common way of representing beauty among his contemporaries and immediate predecessors.

(b) The beautiful is the good. — This identity applies chiefly to moral good, or virtue. (Conversely, vice is the deformity of the soul. It is the philosophical transfiguration of error.) In this sense, beauty, for Plato, is the Good. Thus, Socrates, in the Phædus, understands Homer, both ill-favoured in body and evil in heart: 'Beautiful, too, are both truth and knowledge, you will be right in esteeming this other nature [the idea of good] as more beautiful than either' (Plato, Republic, vi. 508; Jowett, op. cit. iii. 210). And when we remember that the central idea of Plato's metaphysics is the Good and not the True, we understand how defective is the saying, erroneously attributed to him, 'The Beautiful is the brightness of the True.' Aristotle tried to establish a link between the Beautiful and the Good, but these are superficial, and we conclude with Bénard: 'Quand on signale ici un grand progres dans la science du beau, on se trompe' (L'Esthétique d'Aristote, in Acad. Sc., et polit, 1857, p. 659).

This short account of the Platonic-Aristotelian doctrine requires a few further remarks. (1) Naturally the theories which have just been expounded are influenced by the differences in the doctrine of metaphysics that separate these two great Greek minds. For Plato, reality (and, consequently, beauty, order, and harmony) is fixed in a supra-real world, of which things perceived by our senses are only a fleeting shadow; for Aristotle, reality dwells on the earth, and the beautiful is immanent in the well-ordered relations of things, where our senses perceive beings, through the channel of the senses and its power of imagination. (2) Plato and Aristotle agree with Plato in separating the beautiful from art, the latter having its whole raison d'être in the imitation (μιμησις) of nature, as such, without taking into account the aesthetic value of this imitation. And, inasmuch as it is an imitation of the actual, art is somewhat depreciated, the only value recognized in it being the help it gives to the production and diffusion of morality. (3) Plato and Aristotle (especially the latter) imply in certain texts that the beautiful should make us higher than we are, and that it must improve us; neither of them analyses the nature of this pleasure or the psychic activities that produce it. The objectives and ontological conceptions of Plato and Aristotle.

2. Plotinian or Neo-Platonic theory. — In the 3rd cent. of the Christian era there arose in Alexandria, the centre then of civilization and culture, a new aesthetic formula, which was not long in spreading to other Greek centres. Plotinus (A.D. 204—270), the most brilliant representative of Neo-Platonism, explained these new ideas in a noble book, full of inspiration and mystical exaltation, the Enneads. The first chapter of Book VI. is devoted to 'Beauty.' There are in his doctrines two distinct conceptions of beauty.

(a) First, there is a critical part, or a prosecuting speech against the Platonic-Aristotelian argument. 'Is it, as everybody holds, the relative proportion of each part to the other and to the whole, with the additional charm of colour, that constitutes beauty, when it addresses itself to sight? In this case, since the beauty of bodies in general consists of the symmetry and just proportion of their parts, it cannot be found in anything simple, it can appear only in composites. The whole alone is beautiful; the parts cannot of themselves possess any beauty. They are beautiful only in their relation to the whole. If, however, the whole is beautiful, it seems necessary that the parts also should be beautiful; beauty cannot result from a collection of ugly things' (Enneads, i. 6).

(b) Secondly, there is a constructive part. The new argument may be given thus: Beauty is a transcendental idea, that is, 'everything is beautiful in the measure of its own reality.' 'Everything, he says, touching on the universe springs from the unalterable generating power of a primary being, called the One or the Good (Platonic influence), from whom, by a method of loss, is derived a series of principles, produced the one from the other, each less perfect than its predecessor: the intelligence, the soul of the world, and, lastly, matter and the sensible world. Like this descending scale of Being and the Good, there is a descending scale of beauty, and in order to make us deeply understand Plato had recourse to a comparison with light and its spatial diffusion — an image borrowed from Plato's Republic (bk. vi.). Further, light becomes synonymous with Being, with Goodness, and with beauty. 'Everything shines in the world of intelligence. . . . In the world of sense the most beautiful thing is fire' (Enneads, v. 8, § 10; cf. i. 6, § 3, and passim). It is of great importance to notice that the glory of light (φως) has, according to Plotinus, a valuable metaphysical and moral signification, the comparison of being, and that it is not a question of the impression produced, or of a relation between the splendour of the thing and the capacity of the subject who contemplates it.

Another innovation of Plotinus is that art is not excluded from the domain of the Beautiful, his logical argument being as follows: — The artist realizes the Beautiful in the proportion in which his work is real. And that is why the artist should not slavishly copy Nature; but, with his eye fixed on the Μέγα, or archetypal idea, he re-creates the copy of being, and it is not a question of the impression produced, or of a relation between the splendour of the thing and the capacity of the subject who contemplates it.

ii. IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHURCH FATHERS. — Indebted to Neo-Platonism for a great number of their philosophical doctrines, the Church Fathers assumed and even accentuated its aesthetic optimism. They exalted Nature, they sang its beauty, and many (e.g. St. John Chrysostom) deprecated art, the work of man, in order to make the beauty of the world, the universe, the glorious. This is not so in the Church Fathers' conception of beauty that is not directly due to the Greeks. St. Augustine, the most representative, who, in his youth, wrote a treatise de Pulchro, inclines somewhat towards the Platonic-Aristotelian theories. Omnis corpus pulchritudo est
BEAUTY

partium congruentia cum quadam coloris suavitate (De Civitate Dei, xxii. 19). He has bequeathed to us a famous definition of the conception of order: 'Ordo est parium dispariique rerum sua loca dignum.' (ib. xix. 3). On the other hand, St. Basil and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite adopt the Neo-Platonic theories. The latter exercised great influence on the aesthetics of the Middle Ages by means of his treatise On Divine Names; for it was the commentary on this treatise that drew forth the dissertations of Scholasticism on the Beautiful.

iii. IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—It was principally Scholastic philosophy that developed the ideas of Beauty in the Middle Ages. But these ideas did not appear in a systematic form until the 13th century. And even then no treatises or discussions were written on Beauty as at the beginning of the 18th century. We know only one short work, de Pulcro, belonging to this period. It is attributed to Thomas Aquinas, but probably belongs to one of his immediate disciples. Among the great Scholastics, ideas on aesthetics appear in an incidental way, intermingled with other subjects and nearly always in the form of commentaries on the text of Aristotle. Scholastic philosophy as a whole, however, if one takes the trouble to connect the texts; and a new thought is evident in them. The Beautiful no longer appears under purely objective aspects, as in the Greek schools, but as a complex notion, which belongs partly to the things and partly to the psychic subject who receives the impression of them: the Beautiful is the result of a close connexion between the two. We shall now sum up the fundamental doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, the prince of Scholastic philosophers.

(1) Subjective aspect of the Beautiful.—Aesthetic activity is an activity of perception: 'Pulcrum respiicit vim cognoscitivam' (Summa Thol. i. quest. 5, art. 4), or, more precisely, it is a disinterested contemplation by the eye, the ear, and the intelligence. This contemplation begets a specific enjoyment, the pleasure of the Beautiful: 'Unde pulcrum ducitur quae visa placet' (ib.). (Here 'visa' refers not only to sight, but to other perceptive faculties of an aesthetic kind.) And now there is a difference in the aesthetic point of view, which appears a profound difference between the pleasure of the Beautiful and the pleasure of the Good: we enjoy the Good by taking possession of the object itself, and we enjoy the Beautiful by the simple presence of the object. This pleasure is attended supra bonum quendam ordinem ad vim cognoscitivam; ita quod bonum ducitur id quod simpliciter complaceat appetitu, pulcrum autem ducitur id cuius apprehensionis placeat (ib. 1. 2a, quest. 27, art. 1).

(2) Objective aspect of the Beautiful.—It is quite wrong to refer the Scholastic doctrines concerning what constitutes beauty in things to the influence of Neo-Platonism. The theory that was unanimously accepted was the Platonic-Aristotelian, broadened and brought into harmony with other metaphysical theories of Beauty. Order and its elements constitute the Beautiful; ordo, magnitudo, integritas, debita proportio, aquaeltas numerosa, commensuratio partium dependens, etc. 'Ulus pulcrorum' says 'natum contentum in disepon proponendo consistit.' (ib. i. quest. 5, art. 4.) And aesthetic order is closely connected, on the one hand, with the form of beings (forma), that is to say, with the principles of their constitution and of their perfection: 'bonae qualitatis et ordinis existentiae habet ex parte formae,' and, on the other, with the finality of beings, which dominates the constitution of Scholastic metaphysics: 'Dispositio

nature conveniens est pulcritudo' (ib. 1. 2a, quest. 54, art. 1).

(3) Relation of the object to the subject, or the charitas pulcrui.—The order of the Beautiful is not only order which prepares the subject capable of giving to the subject that perceives it the natural and entire satisfaction which engenders aesthetic pleasure. Order must be bright, it must be luminous to the eyes. The more forma strikes the spectator (and form is the principle of unity in a work of art or of nature), the more resplendent it is (resplendentia, supersplendens claritas), and the more aesthetic will be the value that the impression experienced gives. Although the Scholastics make use of the theories of pseudo-Dionysius regarding the light of the Beautiful, their doctrine rises above his formula, and, therefore, above Neo-Platonicism, with which pseudo-Dionysius was inspired. While for Plotinus the theory of light has a metaphysical bearing, for Thomas Aquinas and the other great Scholastics it is a psychological phenomenon, for it has to do with the mysterious connexion between the object and the subject which forms the basis of the complex phenomenon of Beauty. And from the historical point of view this is a noteworthy advance on the part of the philosophy of the Middle Ages.

iv. IN MODERN PHILOSOPHY.—From the beginning of the 17th cent., which is usually regarded as the commencement of modern philosophy, the study of Beauty has steadily gained in importance and extent; and from the day on which Baumgarten, a disciple of Leibnitz, detached it from the domain of philosophy and made it a separate branch of knowledge, the number of treatises devoted ex professo to aesthetics has continued to increase. The rise of modern criticism after the Renaissance has often been assigned as the cause of this development. And indeed it is a factor whose incontestable influence we are bound to recognize. Artistic culture, greatly aided by archaeological excavations and the analysis of statuary and ancient drapery, had prepared the way for the discussion of the great problems of Beauty. But there seems to be a second reason: the progress of psychological research, which is one of the salient characteristics of modern philosophy, naturally stimulated the study of aesthetic phenomena; and this influence is clearly seen when it is remembered that in modern and contemporary philosophy Beauty is usually studied only under its cognitive and emotive aspect, i.e. as a psychological fact.

As the development of modern aesthetics has a course parallel to that of philosophy, we shall follow the great historical divisions generally agreed upon: (1) philosophy from Descartes to Kant (17th and 18th cents.); (2) Kantian philosophy (18th cent.); and (3) post-Kantian philosophy (19th cent.).

1. From Descartes to Kant.—Just as there are two lines of psychological systems, empiricism and rationalism, originating from Francis Bacon and Descartes respectively, so there are two lines of aesthetic systems.

(1) Empiricism.—The Empiricists, reducing all our conscious states to sensation, understand Beauty an agreeable sensation. For Hume, the basis of the Beautiful is 'the beautiful capacity of the mind, which obeys the general laws of association. This principle was adopted and developed in England by Hutcheson (1694-1747). Home (1696-1782), and Burke (1750-1797); in France by Batteux (1735-1798) and Diderot (1713-1784), and in Holland by Hemsterhuys (1720-1790). Home gives the best expression of the leading ideas of the school in his Elements of Criticism, and Burke carries the
sensationalist idea that inspires him to its extreme limits in a work entitled Inquiry into the Origin of the Sublime and the Beautiful. Nearly all these phenomena, he thought, arise from the sense, the sense of artistic taste, which was afterwards called the sixth sense, and the object of which was enjoyment of things beautiful.

2. Rationalism.—Among the intellectualists or rationalists (ratio, ‘reason’), who established a fundamental distinction between the perception of sensible qualities, and the idea, or the general representation, it is in Leibniz and his immediate successors that we find the most noteworthy treatments of the Beautiful. It has been said that modern German aesthetics arose from Leibniz. It seems as if the intellectualists, inspired by Desartes, had reserved the character of Beauty for the most exalted psychic activities, i.e. for clear and distinct ideas, which play such a prominent part in the Cartesian doctrine. For some men, indeed, like Crousaz (Traité de Beaume, 1715), the Beautiful is something that may be approved of just like a theory, and Boileau expresses this intellectualism when he writes in his Art Poétique: ‘Mais nous que la raison anime en sincères engagements engagés à l'intérieur de nos âmes, nous les prions de nous introduire dans les aethétiques des sens, d'assumer la science contrariaire à cet esprit.

And while he relegates the clear perceptions of our psychic life to the domain of science, he consigns aesthetic knowledge of things to the dull and less conscious regions of the soul. The aesthetic phenomenon, he says, is a confused perception of the order and the harmony of things, and by this doctrine he thought he was explaining that mysterious and indecomposable characteristic which constitutes the charm of Beauty.

For the sake of the argument of this statement, we should have to give a full account of the philosophy of Leibniz, which cannot be undertaken here. It will be sufficient to recall the law of continence and hierarchy, which arranges all the monads and the monadic activities in a grand order. Each monad differs in perfection from that which precedes it, and from that immediately following, by infinitely small differences; the activities or the representations of each monad— and, therefore, of the monad that we are—differ in degree by infinitely small differences, so that between our least consequent representations (‘obscure ideas’) and our most consequent (‘distinct ideas’) there is room for an indefinite number of stages corresponding to all the degrees of clearness. Now, Beauty is one of those activities which are inferior in quality to the highest and are therefore confused, and therefore indefinite, perception of all that constitutes order. Whereupon Lotze says that German aesthetics is brought into being by belittling the object.

Baumgarten, who arranges Leibniz’s theories and is the author of the first treatise on Beauty (Esthetica et Estheticorum altera pars), associates this phenomenon with a vanishing away as soon as we try to analyze it. And Meier, another disciple of Baumgarten (in § 23 of his Anfangsgründe der schönen Wissenschaften, 1748-1750) thus expresses himself: ‘The cheeks of a beautiful woman are beautiful as long as they are seen with her, but when they are taken away with a magnifying glass and their beauty departs.’

2. In Kantian philosophy.—The disciples of Leibniz and Baumgarten had considerably furthered the problem of the Beautiful, but all were eclipsed by the gigantic figure of Kant. Kant’s aesthetics is the result of the same dispersion of science and his ethics; and just as, in the Kritik der reinen theoretischen Vernunft, and the Kritik der reinen praktischen Vernunft, he had established human knowledge and human duty in the very conception of the Beautiful, so in his Logic (things), he explains opinions on the Beautiful and the Sublime by calling for the construction of a third faculty, the source of contemplation and sentiment. This is the subject of a chapter of his third critique, Kritik der Urtheilskraft. The subjectivity of the Beautiful, he thought, was not just a love, but a love. Beauty is an attribute, not of things, but of our representative states. It is the predicate of an aesthetic judgment which unites all men by reason of their nature (synthetic judgment a priori) to a subject when that subject calls disinterested contemplation into force. The object of representation is intended to please me—subjective finality; but at the moment of enjoying it I am unconscious of this finality; to be conscious of it would be to break the charm.

‘Schönheit ist nichts, das der menschliche Geist, oder die menschliche Natur, in dem Gegenstande, sofern sie ohne Vorstellung eines Zwecks an ihr wahrgenommen wird’ (Kritik d. Urtheilskraft. i, i. bks. 1, § 15). Similarly the sublime is the result of our subjective powerlessness to grasp an object, mingled with a definite feeling of the superiority of our supra-sensible being. ‘Erhaben ist was uns erhebt.’

3. In post-Kantian philosophy.—The chief currents of modern philosophy and aesthetics after Kant are:

1. Post-Kantian criticism in Germany (first half of 19th cent.).—Powerful in itself, the new theory proposed by Kant (assisted by the brilliant flight of Romanticism in Germany and the aesthetics of the philosophy of Königsberg, and accepted by such men as Schiller and Schelling—philosophers as well as litterateurs) dominates all modern criticism. It is true that a characteristic innovation was introduced into German criticism by those who are called idealistic critics as well as by the realistic critics: the Beautiful remains a creation of our mind (Kant), but this ‘mind’ becomes a monistic principle, the ‘ego-absolute’ of Fichte, the ‘absolute’ of Schelling, the ‘mind’ of Hegel, the ‘will’ of Schopenhauer. Schiller (1759-1805) returns to the theory of play. To ‘play’ is to contemplate phenomena with an utter indifference as to their representative value. And just on this account does aesthetic activity become human activity par excellence: ‘Man is truly man only when he plays.’ It is intimacy with the Beautiful that produces the restfulness of life, that balances all the faculties, to which Kant, in his Critique of Practical Reason, attributes a transcendent and freewill (‘Vom Erhabenen,’ Briefe über die aesthetische Erziehung des menschlichen Geschlechtes, 1795). In 1800 and 1801, Schelling, in the second form of his philosophy, aesthetic idealism, revived this governing idea, and made aesthetic activity and ‘play’ the fundamental categories of representation. He reconciles its opposite tendencies. The work of art is the only perfect production of the Ego. Thus Jena, where Schelling was a professor along with Fichte and then with Hegel, became the centre of the closely allied philosophic criticism and literary romanticism. Novalis identified the imagination of the poet with the productive imagination of the Ego; and von Schlegel, whose name is connected with the movement called Ironism, claimed for the poet the right of not troubling himself either about the contents of his work, or about its representative value, or about the public who make the unjust claim to judge it.

Then Hegel appeared (1770-1831), and ruled the German schools for half a century. For Hegel, art is placed at the last point of the mind. Art is the last step in the dialectic procession of the Logos. When the mind has traversed the numerous stages of its development sketched in the Phänomenologie des Geistes (1807), and when, in conformity with the threelfold process of antithesis, synthesis and negation, the mind becomes conscious of itself, this auto-contemplation is realized by Art, Religion, and Philosophy.
and the Beautiful in which it is realized, are the 'perfect identity of the ideal and the real.'

Schopenhauer (1778–1860), who may be considered the last of this line of pantheists belonging to the fold of Kantianism, provided a larger and more intimate framework for the Beautiful, and for Beauty this high position in the cycle of psychic activity (Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, 1819). Although the thing exists in itself, science is doomed to recognize only its representation ('Vorstellung'). But, besides this knowledge of the phenomenal world, which is directed by the a priori constitution of our mind, we may have the 'immediate intuition' of the cosmic Ideas, or of the thing-in-itself, and this pure contemplation is the aesthetic contemplation. As such, it is freed from desire and withdrawn from the sufferings that accompany every voluntary action; and this is the secret of the penetrating charm of Beauty. By art, man makes the idea the ruling power—a symbol which nature never realizes in its absolute purity. Art becomes an intoxicating drink, causing the woes of existence to be momentarily forgotten.

(2) The conflict between Hegelians and Herbartians in Germany (middle of 19th cent.).—The pantheistic Germans whom we have just mentioned all sought to make beauty a manifestation of Being. The Hegelian theory, in spite of the ascendancy in official spheres enjoyed by its promoter, was not long in bringing on a reaction: there was a desire to remove Beauty from the sphere of metaphysical reverence to the ground of psychological observation. In the name of observation, Herbart made Beauty consist of the mere perception of relations and forms. The aesthetics of content ('Gehaltsästhetik') of the Hegelian school was now opposed by the aesthetics of form ('Formästhetik'), and the conflict between the two tendencies lasted in Germany until the end of the 19th century. Hegelianism includes among its most zealous defenders Fr. Th. Vischer, who published some important works on the Beautiful (e.g. Aesthetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen, 3 vols. 1848–57), while Zimmermann carried the reactionary doctrine to an extreme (Allgemeine Aesthetik als Formwissenschaft, 1865). The Hegelian party was not defeated in this strife, but we see several of their partisans departing from the rigour of their principles and giving a place to science. Among these, we may mention Moriz Carrière (Aesthetik, 1859), as well as Schasler and Ed. von Hartmann, both of whom are authors of works on the history of Aesthetics.

German idealism enjoyed some fame in Italy through Gioberti, who favoured Schelling, de Sanctis (Professor in the University of Naples after 1870), and Antonio Tari (Professor in the University of Naples from 1861 to 1884), who were all affected by the preponderating influence of Hegel.

(5) Eclectic spiritualism.—In France, during the first half of the 19th cent., Cousin (1792–1867), by his lectures in the Sorbonne, and then through his influential official positions, both academic and political, exercised a dictatorship similar to that enjoyed by Hegel in Germany. He popularized a philosophy, somewhat deficient in originality, which he himself called Ecolasticism; and in a well-known book, Du vrai, du beau et du bien (1818), gave a place to philosophy and a place to the problems of space and time. But in expressing their aspiration, these thoughts on Beauty have the fault of being remote from reality. They are, moreover, derived from recollections of Hegel and the Scottish school of Reid. The same tendencies are to be seen in de Lamennais, although he followed another direction of thought-traditionalism (De l'Art et du beau, 1843). On the other hand, Th. Jouffroy (1796–1842), the most noteworthy of Cousin's disciples, wrote a Cours d'esthétique (1843), in which he insisted on the rights of intuition and method in the study of the Beautiful. And to the same metaphysical tendencies may be traced La Science du beau (1801), by Charles Lévêque, who returns to Plato in his treatment of the characteristics of Beauty. By the middle of the century only faint traces of Cousin's eclecticism were left in France.

(4) The aesthetics of Positivism.—Sensualism, represented at the beginning of the 19th cent. by Condillac in France and the Associationists in England, does not leave much room for aesthetic phenomena. But when it reappears with renewed vigour under the form of Positivism, which may be called a sensualism suited to contemporary minds, there is room for new conceptions of Beauty and of Art. These, however, did not appear either in Comte, the founder of the new doctrine, or in Stuart Mill, its most brilliant logician; but after the system seemed perfectly balanced, and systematized in all its parts, Herbert Spencer devoted a chapter of his Principles of Psychology to the study of the genesis of aesthetic phenomena, in conformity, however, with the governing ideas of his cosmic evolutionism. The sentiment of Beauty has its origin in 'play,' i.e. in the exercise of an excess of activity independent of any function useful to the being. Useful activity becomes beautiful as soon as it ceases to be useful. And as humanity evolves unceasingly 'from the unstable homogeneous to the stable heterogeneous,' art increases with the progress: the more perfect society becomes, the more time will its beauty be developed.

Hippolyte Taine (1828–1889), in his noteworthy work, Philosophie de l'Art (1865), studies art as a social fact, and he tries to reduce it, like all other social facts—such as literature and politics—to factors or prordial facts, which are three in number: race, circumstances, time. From this point of view, aesthetics becomes, in the author's words, 'a kind of botany, applied, not to plants, but to human works.' M. J. Guyau emphasizes, while exaggerating, the social side of art, and recognizes in it no function except that of developing sympathy and the social life (L'art et le point de vue sociologique, 1880; Problèmes de l'esthétique contemporaine, 1884).

(5) Psycho-aesthetics.—The increasing progress of physiological sciences and of the application of psycho-physiology to the study of aesthetic states furnished a new element of research during the latter part of the 19th century. Helmholtz in Germany, and Grant Allen in England, tried to determine the physiological concomitants of certain phenomena of the Beautiful. Fechner (Vorschule der Aesthetik, 1876) carried on numerous experiments in the same direction.

V. CONTEMPORARY TENDENCIES.—During the last ten years the number of works treating of aesthetic questions has been multiplied in all countries. This is not one of our numerous periodical publications that does not devote some attention to them. Moreover, there has been appearing at Stuttgart since 1906 a Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, under the direction of Max Desser, which allows large place to philosophical problems of the Beautiful. Now all these writings, with a few exceptions, show this common characteristic: Beauty is considered only under its subjective aspect as a psychological phenomenon. The salient features of modern aesthetics resemble, exaggerated, in the aesthetics of our own time.

In the first place, Kantism, in this as in other
subject, is again received into favour—not the idealistic and pantheistic criticism which had been established by Jena, but psychological Kantism in its primitive form. **Jonas Cohn (Allgemeine Ästhetik, Leipzig, 1901)** transfers the results obtained to transcendental ground ("ins Transzendentalen umschreiben"). **Stephan Witasek (Grundzüge der allgemeinen Ästhetik, Leipzig, 1904)** shows the same tendencies; and a German critic, **A. Tumarkin**, in a criticism of a group of German works on aesthetics, is able to write: "Jede wissenschaftlich begründete Ästhetik, von welchen Voraussetzungen sie auch ausgehen mag, führt unweigerlich zu einer Rückkehr zu Kant."

On the other hand, psycho-esthetic researches are being actively pursued in the psycho-physiological laboratories; puppets of Wundt, Ebbinghaus, and others have turned their attention to this side of the subject. Some also apply to aesthetics the historical and inductive method which has produced such excellent results in other departments. **E. Grosse** publishes a work on the origin of art (Die Anfänge der Kunst, Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1894); **J. Volkelt** (System der Ästhetik, Munich, 1900) still does not consider it possible to be mental"; while, in another line of observation, we trace the development of the artistic sense in the child, especially in his first attempts at drawing.

The most noteworthy representative of the pure psychological tendency is **Theodore Lipps (Aesthetic, Leipzig, 1903)**, whose opinion is that the only raison d'être of aesthetics is to analyze the sentiment of Beauty, and this in the final analysis rests on the Einfühlung ("innate feeling"). **Karl Groos** (Der ethische Genuss, Giessen, 1902), a disciple of the school of Lipps, follows the same tendency of dealing with the Beautiful only by internal analysis. The same may be said of **Véron's** (L'Esthétique, Paris, 1878) treatise, and of the discriminating analyses of **Léchâles (Études esthétiques, 1902)**. Even if these authors do not deny the objectivity of the Beautiful, they neglect it, and regard the phenomena of consciousness as the only object of their investigations. The Italian professor, **Benedetto Croce**, whose treatise on aesthetics (Kunstwissenschaftliche Philosophie, 2nd ed., Milan, 1902) is translated into several languages, is true to this contemporary attitude of mind when he writes: "Beauty does not belong to things; it is not a psychic fact, it belongs to man. Therefore... that aesthetic activity is the imaginative and concrete intuition, as opposed to the logical and general conception. **Ruskin**, whose ideas are known in France through Robert de la Sizeranne (Ruskin et la religion de la beauté), occupies a place apart. It is impossible to assign this great and passionate admirer of Nature to any contemporary system of philosophy.

vi. CONCLUSION.—From this rapid survey of the evolution of aesthetic doctrines, we may gather a few conclusions.

By studying in the Beautiful the psychological impression and all that belongs to it, our contemporaries have established aesthetics on firm and fertile soil—that of observation. Let us observe the origin of art in the child, in primitive societies, as also in the advanced civilizations; let us analyze the works to which we ascribe the character of beautiful, that we may understand the secrets of the enjoyment of art which they produce; let us study the physiological phenomena that accompany this this phase of conscious being when it perceives the Beautiful; let us, above all, determine by examination of our consciousness the psychical aspects of the Beautiful. Nothing more is required. Beauty resides in the disinterested contemplation of a representative content of conscious being followed by an enjoyment or a pleasure which can be compared with no other in the scale of emotions.

But is it sufficient to regard merely the impression produced? Are we in the study of the Beautiful to lose all interest in the esthetic factors springing from the object? Surely not. Contemporary philos- ophy is wrong in ostracizing metaphysics and adorning psychology with its spoils. On the question whether the Beautiful possesses an objective reality, we agree with the Greeks: Beauty is an attribute of things. But if we complete the Greek point of view by requiring beauty to have an absolute, relative, conception. It exists neither as a physical fact nor as a psychic fact; it is the result of a close connexion between an object and a subject, for the attributes of the one form the appropriate original of the perceptual enjoyment of the other. The objective attributes were demonstrated by Plato and Aristotle: Beauty resides in order, but, we add, in expressed order. That is to say, if the order realized in a work of nature or of art is to be aesthetic, it must be manifest, evident, and pleasing. The more evident and attractive an artist can make the dominant character or principle of the chosen order, the more complete and more penetrating will be the contemplation of the perceptive mind: consequently the more beautiful will the work be.


**Maurice de Wulff.**

**BEDIYĀ, BERĪVĀ.—**A generic name for a number of vagrant, gipsy-like groups, who at the Census of 1901 numbered 57,861, most of whom are found in Bengal and in the United Provinces. In Bengal they are the people of the gypsy and mountebank occupations. Some are pedlars and mountebanks, who pretend to be Muhammadans, but exhibit pictures of Hindu gods; others tata girls, sell simples and quack remedies, and pretend to extract worms from carious teeth. They are divided into two kinds, one called the lindi-snappers, or snake-charmers. The Beriyās of the United Provinces are pilferers and petty thieves, and make their living by various kinds of rascality. Their appearance indicates that they are members of the pure Indian gypsy race, allied to the Doms (wh. see) and other vagrants of the same kind. Risley makes no reference to their religious beliefs in Bengal; but Rajendralal Mitra states that the Bodiyā is a Hindu or a Musalman according to the prevailing beliefs of the people among whom he dwells. Some see a similarity of these people to the Kanh-shis or Sikhs, while some are the Aachhipiyas. It is extremely unlikely that people in this stage of culture can have really adopted the faith of Nânak or of Kabir; but it is quite possible that they may sometimes adopt the Aachhipiyā (wh. see) cult. In the United Provinces, where they are in a much more degraded condition than in Bengal, they worship as their tribal deity the Mother-goddess in the form of Devī, Kāli, or Jūlamūkhi. Many of them worship a deity called Sâayyid, who is probably a Muslim sensa. Some are of Hindu and Others are of the Mughal and dominant culture, but is identified by the Beriyā with the Prophet Muhammad. They seem, however, to depend more upon the cultus of ancestors than upon any other
form of belief, and rarely employ Brahmins, and those only of the very lowest grade, for their domestic rites.

L. V. S. Ragooburji Mitra, Memoirs Anthropological Society, ill. 125 ff.; Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, 1890, i. 83; Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896, 144 ff.

W. Crooke.

BEELZEBOUL.—See BalaZzeubbe.

BEGLARS, BEGGING.—See Charity.

BEHISTUN.—1. Locality and name.—Behistun is a mountainous elevation which rises somewhat abruptly from the surrounding country—presenting from one point of view a double aspect—about sixty miles from Hamadan, on the main caravan route between Baghdad and Tuliran (the present capital of Persia). At its highest point it reaches about 3600 feet, but it is really the continuation of an otherwise low range of hills rather than an isolated eminence.

The name at present made use of by the neighbouring inhabitants is Bisitan or Bhisitan, which is supposed to have been derived from that of a small village in the immediate vicinity. One of the best known and best known of the great names of this period of history—Bisistun—suggests 'columns' (Bistin =Bkr. štibun), and the specific allusion is probably to the rock or the like (š pamph. štrun). Thus the name would mean 'high columns,' referring to the lofty, and often, heavy, face of the rock. The name at present most in use among the inhabitants of the place is simply 'Bhashan' (Bahrain). Hence we are brought down to the language of the Arabic historian Yaqut, by Sir H. Rawlinson, Diiodorus Siculus (ad. 1st cent.) seems to have made the surfaces of this cliff sacred to the worship of the ancient 'columns,' and a similar name appears in the inscriptions as 'deterioration' of the name of the Avesta, as 'deterioration' of the language of the Avesta. Its distance, as a spoken dialect, from the Gāthā speech must have been about two hundred years. It can only restored in Avestan or in Sanskrit.

2. Inscriptions.—The Inscriptions, which chiefly concern us here, render Behistun famous, as they are perhaps the most important of their kind which have survived to us. They are chiselled upon its sheer surface at about 80 feet above the level of the plain, or about 200 feet above the base of the particular cliff. They occupy, all included, a space of about 60 feet in breadth and 20 in height.

3. The language in general.—The Inscriptions are written in three languages—Old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian—in letters a little over an inch in height, it having been found necessary to economize the space. The last two are more naturally to be regarded as translations of the first, but this is not strictly the fact, as there are several sections in the Persian whose equivalents are wanting in the Susian; while, on the other hand, the Babylonian contains some particulars omitted from the Persian. The Persian Inscription consists of four columns, about 12 feet in height and 6 feet broad, flanked on the left, as one views them, by the three columns of the Susian version. A ledge of narrow dimensions—about 2 feet—runs along the foot of them.

4. The sculptured figures and the position of the Inscriptions.—The sculptured figures of Darius and his captives appear immediately above. The nine figures are roped together in a row at the neck. The tenth, that of Gaumata, pseudo-Smerdis (Smerdis), or Bardiya, is prostrate under the left foot of Darius, who is himself 8 inches in height, with two attendants behind, who are each 4 ft. 10 ins. tall. The height of each of the nine prisoners is only 3 ft. 10 ins., while Aryanazda, under the shadow of whose wings the transactions transpire, flutters above, but 3 ft. 10 ins. by 4 ft. 2 ins. in dimensions. The ninth captive has an enormously tall Scythian cap, and occupies space taken from one of the supplementary texts. Under the first prostrate figure is written his name with his crime. "The Gaumata, the Magian, died, saying, 'I am Smerdis (Simirdus, son of Cyrus.).'" Similar inscriptions in the three languages appear over the other eight.

The Babylonian version stands over the Susian, on the left of the figures, as the observer regards them, on the right-hand side of the forms themselves. Supplementary, but now obliterated, texts appear also above the Persian, but more to the left of the section. The Like letters of the three languages were evidently made use of in order to render the Inscription intelligible to the inhabitants of the main divisions of the Empire. That they were copied in multiplied replications hardly needed the proof which has actually come to light: for what appears a considerably fragmentary reproduction of the inscription have been found by Kohlwey (see Bib. Missellen, pl. 9, p. 24 ff., quoted by King and Thompson, p. 170).

5. The Old Persian language.—The language in which the inscriptions were written is highly different from the Avesta, quite Aryan in all its grammatical forms, though it is rather a younger sister than a direct daughter of the Avesta speech; and it is the direct mother of New Persian so far as it survives in its Aryan elements.†

We have here no examples of a dialect common to the Avesta and the Daric. The pronoun dūn, dun, e.g., is Daric and Avestan, but not Vedic; the word pāt, 'been,' has no such application in the Veda, but it is familiar in this sense in both Avesta and Inscription; such an expression as 'the right path' is in its untranslated form in the Inscription; its proper name Fravartī also in Av. Fravashti, with no immediate Indian correspondent; and so with the pronouns a-, 'you.' This earth and this heaven' occurs in the Avesta and in the Inscription, while it only remotely lingers in the Sanskrit. So Daric inscriptions are the only ones which give the peculiarities of Avestan, as against those of the later Sanskrit. Among the more striking of these is the termination of the proper names, pl. masc. infin., e.g., Hārmavē, 'harmed,' as against the later Indian - dés; see also some of the infinitives). It would be an exaggeration to say that the inscriptions was at all at the same stage of 'preservation' or 'deterioration' as the language of the Avesta. Its distance, as a spoken dialect, from the Gāthā speech must have been about two hundred years. It can only restored in Avestan or in Sanskrit.

6. Religion of the Inscriptions.—The personifications are in all cases in the style of the Vedic, and their differences from those of the Avesta.

(a) Aryanazda is, of course, Ahura Mazād, Vedic Āsura (su-)Māthós (or Āsura Mahādās). Notice the fall of the h in the inscriptive Āaurā for Ahūnā. Was not this owing here to the strong accent upon the dāra (cf. Vedic Āura)?

(b) The presence of a God-unity in the Inscriptions must not be denied because of the supremacy ascribed to Ahura in the words 'the greatest of the gods.' There can be but One 'greatest of the gods'—the equivalent of the Vedic Šakti, the concept of absolute goodness. The 'other gods' referred to were inferior, ranking with our archangels. This is confirmed conclusively by the fact that the next chiefest of the gods were said to have been created by Ahura—this in the Avesta (these 'other gods' do not appear before negative the idea of One-God-ism)—whereas the Amesha-spetas were originally His attributes. As Ahura was one of the most distinctive expressions manifestations of God-unity which the world had till then, or has since then, possessed, so the name is most effective; if it is the 'Life-Spirit-Lord,' the 'Great-Creator,' or the 'Great-Wise-One'—infinitely more impressive than our English word God,' a term possibly of heathen origin.

(b) Other so-called gods.—Besides Āura there are Mitra and Ānavaita, two of the noblest sub- deities of Aryan literature, who seem to have stepped boldly out of the Avesta into the Inscriptions; but with them we appear to have reached our limit as regards analogies between personifications in the Inscriptions and the Avesta. For where are the Amesha-spetas upon the Inscriptions?

*Take even a few words like dāwārā, with which cf. the forms from Av. Axtā, Axtā, Indian Astā, Indian Jātā, see also dōst, with which cf. Av. east, Indian āstā, etc.

† We do not forget the normal disappearance of the expressed h in the Inscriptions; the Inscription 'The breath' may have been left to be understood; and we may recall how very slight a mark expresses it in Greek.
tions (as has often been, perhaps, too thoughtlessly asked), and, above all, where is Angra Mainyu? 

The problem is a difficult one, but the evidence certainly shows that these personified attributes regarded as archangels were not at all prominent in the author's mind when he composed the sentences for the chisellers. Full references to them had long existed in the earlier Gathas, or perhaps in the pre-Gathic and other literature of North Iran. But any argument e silentio here verges close upon the fatuous, for there are whole masses of Avesta text itself without a trace of any one of them. That the personified attributes were not known in Middle Persia, and that the seat of the Government of the Parsees was at Sagas, is something that might almost add, fortunately—the most sacred name Deva is not here perverted, as it was in Avestan Ragha, and as it unfortunately became at last universally in Iran. In Ragha it became permanently the designation of the evil Spiritual Hosts. Bagha (Bagha) was the word made use of upon the Inscriptions for the Deity, and this with no evil connotation as regards the character of the being or beings believed in—in fact, 'goodness' is fully implied in the word. It is a strange fact, in the historical record, that the glorious name of the Windischmann Vahuka, wherebj* worship was dethroned within one vast territory alone, while it has remained undisturbed over all India, Europe, and the European West—as Deva, Deus, Zio, Div, Dios. Yet, while the name became so slightly degraded and almost forgotten, the name of all the territory included within his Empire and even in that borders upon his central province, it nowhere appears for good or ill upon his Inscriptions or upon those of his line. It would be daring to risk once more the hypothesis of 'intention' in such an omission. This would be to attribute to Darius too close a mental analysis as to the subjects involved, momentumous though they were. It is more likely that the omission was purely accidental. The very form of Mazda-worship which prevailed at the Persian capital was more Vedic, and, shall we say, more original—judging from this negative respect for the Vedic word—than that which was developing with such strides in the northern province, and which was destined to become one of the dominating worships of the half-world becomes the lowest in the new. This is a plain and most convincing proof that a Mazda-worship of a quasi-pre-Vedic type prevailed not only in Persia proper, but everywhere in Central Asia at a very early period before any other form of worship now known there had appeared, and indeed before future Rishtis ever invaded the southern peninsula.*

(f) Dualism. —Close upon this follows the still more vital question as to how far Darius, with his teachers, accepted dualism. That this relatively profound doctrine was brought into greater prominence through the animosities of that conflict which induced Zarathushtra, or his predecessors, to turn one of the very names for 'god' into their name for 'demon' seems probable. The fury of the reform movement must at times have become acute; and this all the more decided Zarathushtra to pronounce the one formula of all time for such a doctrine.†

He saw, as most people—if dimly—

Attention should be called to the expression recorded of Cyrus in 2 Ch 36:22, as in Ezra 15, where he is cited as speaking of the Almighty as 'the God of heaven.' Was not this Deva, 'Heaven-god,' pure and simple? The expression seems undeniably valid here.

† See Ezra xiii.
saw and see, that the two forces in the Universe tending towards good and evil were the more distinctly severed, since the masses whom he most affected of infamy sang aloud their hymns to devas (beings called their gods). But did Darius share this view? All the elements of antagonism are more in evidence upon the Inscriptions than in most Iranian writings. Everywhere there is denunciation side by side with adoration (see above); and the question whether Darius had actually accepted the clearly defined formulas of Zarathushtra and his predecessors or not is hardly to be considered of secondary importance. It is simply a question—though a somewhat fine one—of fact. One able writer was of the responsible preaching of those excessive 'dualism' of the NT with its Satanic and demoniae manifestations, though a definite theoretical dualism is alone in question wherever the discussion reaches to ultimate, or rather primordial, origins. Whether, viewed in this light, some of the Jews of the OT were not actually dualists is also a serious question, which demands a word of attention here in view of the close connexion between it and the case of Darius.

From between Jehovah Elohim and the gods of the nations is often instituted in the OT, and this involves the recognition of the existence of those supposed supernatural beings. It remains for us simply to ask whether the Jews—leaders or laymen—ever really believed that the Supreme Jehovah was the responsible creator of those diabolical personal accretions or not. Can we suppose for a moment that they held to such a view, or even believed that these fell creatures unfolded themselves, through a degeneration, under the eye and hand of an Almighty Providence. It is quite clear that they never thought of such a problem; but if they held these evil beings to be of separate origin, this involves at once a theoretical dualism. They may not have held distinctly to the doctrine that there were Two First Spirits, but some of them must have come pretty near it. So also must the religious section of the countrymen of Darius, the priests of old Persia proper; but where is the trace of a definitely co-ordinated statement of it in the Inscriptions?

It is hard to say; not only amid all their contents and allusions, is there a trace of any theological eschatology in the Inscriptions? The Avesta is one mass of eschatology, but we are startlingly reminded of pre-exilic Israel when we find upon the Inscriptions rewards held out for this life only. Where there is a hope of a future immortality to be found in the OT prior to the Exile, although the Avesta and post-exilic Pharisaism are quite full of it? Where is it in the Behistun Inscriptions? Where is the Avestan and the exilic final judgment in our own pre-exilic theology? The latter conception is equally absent from these Persian panels, which, we should say, were the very place for it. Where is the Heaven of the Avesta, with its golden thrones, upon which sit Justice, Love, and Order, as archangels?—The notion of future reward in Heaven is as foreign to the Behistun Inscriptions as it is to Moses. And where is there a trace of a millennium?

(4) Soteriology.—We should naturally expect also to find in the Inscriptions some allusion to the coming Restorer, like the one expected in the Avesta and in exile Israel, the more so because the texts in question breathe hope as they denounce offences—both on an almost unprecedented scale; but there is no trace of such a concept there any more than the OT. A word or two may perhaps be added of the OT. The composer's mind seems wholly posessed with the conviction that a supreme, all-powerful, and good God was watching over every circumstance within His immense dominions. Darius seems to have risen each day with the burden of a new task, to bear with equal interest with all nationalities, each with its kinglet. His faith, at times somewhat like a fixed idea, at times perhaps affected, convinced him that God's activity extended to a minute administration of compensatory justice, which was, however, to have its effect now, and now only, in this present life. Perhaps he felt that only a supernatural power could have made his past position possible for so long a time. He prays to Auranazda in terms largely stereotyped by his successors, although in the most striking of these prayers, as we have seen, there is a close imitation (see the passage cited below). But, as all the OT, he was the praying man, and he implores signal as is his testimony to the unity of God, and His creative energy and providential omnipotence, the eschatology of the Inscriptions is expressly rejected. The writer seems to have been so full of God—so engrossed with business—that he could not think of anything further that was supernatural. We may compare the OT book of Ecclesiastes, which urges in touching terms the 'remembrance of the Creator' (12), if the passage is correct, and that is by no means certain (it is the correct), but cares little for objective futurity. Koheleth is not disturbed by the failure of retributive justice in this world; he sees little difference between the treatment of the evil and the good; yet he has no dream of a future judgment, or even of any life at all beyond the grave. The same appears to be the case with Darius. What is true of Behistun holds also for Persepolis, Naksh-i-Rustam, and the other Inscriptions; for, as was said above, the expressions later become stereotyped. Hence they too, must have had predecessors of a fixed type, all of which goes to prove that Darius was not the speaker of an innovating creed. Though he was the first prominent prophet of his theology, that theology was thoroughly Old Persian and sui generis. It was in the North that detailed eschatology flourished. There it was a concentration of the original elements of the pr material doctrine, and was destined, as said above, to the Arabic. The old Persian (the present Parsi), which was more specifically Darius's home, the primeval lore of Veda and Avesta had, if anything, rather stagnated. Such are our conclusions from the obvious facts. The Behistun columns are almost the document of the Divine Unity, creating and preserving the omnipotence, as they are also the exemplar of intense spiritual fervour, in view of these doctrines; but they are absolutely silent about the other life, whereas, at the very moment when they were being composed, the Avesta and some of the exilic and post-exilic books of the OT contained the standard records of those doctrines of futurity—a sort of Christianity before Christ.*

* Common to the Avesta and post-exilic Pharisaism are, in addition to the three doctrines specified above, the doctrines of immortality, resurrection, final personal judgment, millennium, Heaven and Hell. The Avesta has the prior claim to be termed the document of these views, owing to their long native growth in Iran, centuries before they became the elements of post-exilic Pharisaism.

† This expression occurs about a dozen times within the short Inscriptions; *you Heaven* is also very Avestan in its ring.

‡ Cf. the twelve thrones of Mi 198 [3 Lk 2289 (cf. Rev 209].

§ His authority is rather effective.

3 Notice that this expression was Aryan, for Darius must have

† Cf. the twelve thrones of Mi 198 [3 Lk 2289 (cf. Rev 209].
BEHISTUN

this great earth for afar, the son of Vishhtya, the Achemenid, a Persian, son of Khosrow, an Aryan of Gath. Through the grace of Auramazda these are the lands which I captured beyond Persia. . . . I conquered them—beyond Persia. I brought them to the throne. The Parthian. What I said to them that they did. The law which was promulgated by him, I have maintained. [Here follows a list of the provinces or sub-kingdoms]. . . .

(i) Darius the horseman, Auramazda saw this earth . . . in war (5) he delivered it over to the Persians (i.e.) king: I have done through the gracious will of Auramazda have I settled this earth through my throne {or 'through my government,' or 'under my throne'; otherwise, I have ruled this whole land as 'the same word as 'throne' just under}. What I said, that was fulfilled as was my wish. If thou thus thinkest 'How manifest are the hands which have settled this earth,' then thou wilt know now, that which bears my throne, that thou mayest know. Then it will be known to the world, the duration of the Persian hero has reached; then wilt thou know, that Persia has fought battles far from Persia. (Thus) saith Darius, the king, What I have done, I have done all through the gracious will of Auramazda. Auramazda gave me aid till I had completed this work. May Auramazda protect me, and my clan, and this province against . . . hosts (5). For this I pray. Auramazda—this may Auramazda afford me. O man, may what is the command of Auramazda be to thee acceptable, let that not be obsolete (or repulsive) to thee. Leave not the right way, Sin, not."

The Parthian Inscription at the foot of Behistun. This briefer text contains two distinct compositions. In one of them were sculptured colossal bearded figures, from 8 to 9 ft. in height. Only three of these, however, are still approximately complete. This relatively valuable relic has unfortunately suffered from the vanity and folly of a 'Persian-deities' called Ali Khan Zanganah, who, about a hundred years ago, had a large panel cut in the middle of the monument, in the hope of immortalizing (in Arabic) the memory of his own beneficence in building a caravanserai at Bisitun and supporting it from the tribute of two villages. This vandalizing abomination extends to 12 ft. in width, and rises to the top of the panel. In the other part of the composition, the figures are in lower relief and on a smaller scale; although they are much mutilated, it is possible to make out distinct heads. In the centre is a horseman, and above his head is a winged figure about to crown him with a wreath. He is unrobing a second horseman. From the mutilated inscription we learn that the victorious cavalier is the Parthian king Gotarzes (A.D. 46–50) overcoming his opponent Meliades, who was also a Parthian. Behind Gotarzes are the remains of another figure with lance in rest.

The extensive hewn panel-surface. Near the middle of the base of the rock and almost opposite the village, a huge bare space attracts the eye. It measures nearly five hundred feet in breadth and over a hundred feet in height. The tool-markings of the stone-cutters are in curved lines, and above the cutting the natural rock in some places projects several feet. In front of it is a terrace or platform, made of earth and rocks heaped up and extending forward for a distance of nearly 300 feet. At the end of this appear the remains of a massive wall. Some writers hold this space to have been prepared for the reception of the recall amends. These conditions the Parthian king Gotarzes, that the nine (i) captive kings, whose names we now read so easily, were the representatives of the ten (i) lost tribes of Israel.

For the discussion of the text, which, but for the name Gotarzes, has now all but disappeared, see Justi, Gtp B p. 504 ff.

See A. V. Williams Jackson (Persia Past and Present, p. 183), who may have made a special study of the rock-surface and 'paved off' its breadth.
an inscription, in spite of its enormous dimensions (so de Morgan, cited by Jackson). Others, judging from the large platform, suppose that it was meant to be the back-wall of a palace (so King and Thompson).—Possibly with some reason, though there is nothing further to indicate the accuracy of such a tradition.

10. The site of an ancient building.—From the foot of the cliff the site of an ancient building is to be recognized, with the outlines of its walls. It is called by the natives Gah-i Kai Khosru, the "seal of Kai Khosru," the Sassanian king (A.D. 531–578) —possibly with some reason, though there is nothing further to indicate the accuracy of such a tradition.

11. The monolith.—At a quarter of a mile from the mountain or rock, there lies a sort of huge boulder, about 20 ft. in circumference and 10 ft. in height. It is carved on three sides with life-sized figures in low relief. The central figure is described as bearded, with moustache, and wearing a round cap, and a necklace at the throat, some rings of the necklace being still distinctly visible. It has a close-fitting, undecorated upper garment, girdled; the right hand is extended over a low column, which may be a fire-altar, and the left holds some object, possibly a cup. The legs are very thick, and apart as if in walking, while the feet, although rather small, are joined together in a curious manner, which look like "those of a cricketer." Jackson suggests a Magian priest. King and Thompson speak of a king; and a king might be a priest. The second figure is on the right-hand side of the boulder. It is smooth-faced—the effect suggesting the head of a woman or of a boy. There is a necklace about the throat, and a bracelet on the left arm. The third figure on the left side of the boulder is again bearded; the pose is life-like. Jackson thought the figures were Achemenian, from the absence of flower-diadems. But King and Thompson regard them as Sassanian, mentioning "the streamers" on the central figure. No writing is recorded as having been discovered upon this monolith.*


BEHMAN.—See Bohime.

BEING.—The term 'Being' indicates the subject-matter of Metaphysics in general, although it is usually discussed under the particular head of Ontology. As a problem, Being is discussed with the aim of discovering a criterion of reality which shall interpret the phenomena of nature and consciousness, whose objective and subjective data respectively are elaborated in the forms of Cosmology and Psychology.

1. History of the term.—The terminology of the fundamental metaphysical principle shows how Western thought is indebted to the Greeks and the Germans; from the one we receive the expression ıs, from the other the term Ding. With the early Greek philosophers are found koura (Parmenides, 92; Heraclitus, 92) and ıs (Parm. 123; Herac. 27). The ıs of Parmenides who usually speaks of ıs or of ıs (59, 91); and, according to some authorities, Melissus uses ı ıs as the title to his work (Erdmann, Hist. Philos. § 38. 1). Plato selects ıs to indicate the subject of Being, and looks upon this as ıba (Rep. vi. 533–534); at the same time, when he speaks of the reality of the Idea, he indicates it by ısos (ib. ix. 385). Aristotle popularizes ıs by receiving it first among the categories (Met. vi. 1), and reduces Eleatic dualism to a ısos. The weight of Greek philosophy was turned in favour of ıs as a concept, and of ıs as a term.

From Latin writers come the terms essentia and substantia. Seneca uses substantia in Ep. 113. 4, but seems more inclined towards essentia (Ep. 58). Quintilian uses substantia (viii. 3. 33). Medieval writers vacillate between these classic terms, but theological motives incline them to essentia as a more appropriate characterization of the Divine Being. Among these Augustine was the earliest and most influential, and it is significant that, as a Christian, he unites the idea of God with the antique ıs and essentia. 'Essentiam dico, quo ıs Graece dicitur, quam substantiam substantiam vocamus' (ib. Trin. v. 2). When Abelard seeks the most general predicate of things, he follows Augustinian terminology and thus prefers essentia to substantia (Erdmann, § 156. 3). Aquinas employs both essentia and substantia. In the strife between nominalist and realist, there comes about a change in terminology when realism is put as the predicate of universalia. The defender of the orthodox, or Realistic, view was called a reals (Erdmann, § 158). Abelard introduces realsiter into the discussion of the problem (Eucken, Gesch. d. philos. Terminol. p. 86), while, at a later period, Duns Scotus adds realitas (ib. p. 68). English thought, as in Locke, was inclined to adopt 'substance' and 'essence' as expressions of Being, while the Germans use the Greek ıs and the Latin rea. Meister Eckhart uses reals (Meister Eckhard, pp. 66, 59, 90, etc.), as also Ding (ib. pp. 1, 80, etc.). Eckhart further employs wirklich (ib. p. 86, etc.), Chlauberg the Cartesian originated 'ontosophy' (Metaphysica de ente quo reaxis Ontosophia, 1660). Kant's preference for Ding is well known; Herbert uses real.

2. History of the preference for Ding is well known; Herbert uses real.

* For other descriptions of this monument see Oscar Mann, Geschichte der Archäologie, Berlin, 1883. The present work is written by Mr. Jackson. Persia Past and Present, New York, 1906, p. 219 ff.
Parmenides develops a static monism which is directed against the ideas of both not-Being and Being. Since he regards the latter as infinitely intellectualistic to identify Thought and Thing. In this spirit, he declares that Thinking and Being are the same—τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸν νόησιν καὶ ἐννοεῖ (40). It is Being that is truly existent and not not-Being—νοεῖν δὲ εἰσί. Parmenides (43-44). This rather pointless utterance seems to indicate that, while Being exists as something permanent in thought, not-Being is an appearance which exists only in perception—δεδομένα. In opposition to this static view, Heraclitus urges that Becoming is the highest possible concept and that since all things change—καὶ μᾶλλον τίτολον γίνεται—there is no principle of permanence to be found (see 90-91). Plato's speculative philosophy tends to reconcile the opposed views of Parmenides, who taught him to seek the unchanging as the real, and Heraclitus, from whom he learned that substance could not be found in ever-changing phenomena. Plato's own conception of Being reposes in his theory of Ideas, which latter represent realities in the midst of changing phenomena. The Idea, or Concept, not only includes various things within it, but exercises a certain ontological function among them as a guide to their own reality. On the practical side, the Idea is the perfect type, of which the individual thing is an inferior imitation. This plastic conception of Ideas leads Plato to ascribe objective reality to things, and to place the ground of this profound view specimen to be found in the principle of permanence. The Idea possesses Being because it is permanent, while the individual thing is unreal because it constantly changes. In the myth of the Phaedrus (247), the Idea is looked upon as the 'colourless, formless, and intangible essence,' which becomes visible to the mind as the latter rises to the celestial regions. In the Parmenides dialogue, the unity and permanence of the objective Idea are pointed out. In contrast to Plato, Aristotle emphasizes the dynamic phase of reality, and develops a view which, with appropriate intellectualistic qualifications, is energistic. In the Aristotelian metaphysics, the principle of Form takes the place of the Platonic Idea. This Form is contrasted with Matter, and both are regarded as the two extremes from which things are tuned to others—Efficient and Final. These four principles constitute the foundation of Aristotle's notion of Being (Met. 1. 3). Aristotle thus inclines towards a causal conception of Being, where Plato had introduced a substantial one. In general, the results of Greek philosophy were the expression of a static and formal. While Christianity, which had its root in practical Semitic traditions, had no systematic philosophy to offer, it furnished subsequent speculation with ideas of the soul, the world-wide, and God. At the same time, there resulted a new metaphysics which was marked by the methods of inwardness and transcendentalism. With Plotinus, the classic conception of Reality was superseded by 'that nature which is beyond Being' (Enneades, xiv.) And that which is ultra esse is also ultra percipi, so that it is known only by means of ecstatic contemplation. Augustine is less mystical in his deduction of sensus interior, for it is in a more psychological manner that he seeks to prove the existence of the self. His method, which a thousand years later was made famous by Descartes, is the sceptical one, in accordance with which the dubito implies a cogito (Beatus Vita, § 7; Sod. ii. § 1; de Trin. x. § 40). Accordingly, the same method, the Being of God is deduced (Conform. xvi. 40). In Scholastic philosophy, the doctrine of Being connects itself with the idea of God and the nature of the Catholic Church. Anselm, following Augustine, endeavours to deduce the Being of God from the idea which we have of Him: for the Being of God which is both an intellect of its re is more perfect as an idea than that which which intellect sola is. There is a second way in which the idealism of Plato was united in Scholastic fashion with the Christian religion; that is, in the opposition between Nominalism and Realism, which led to the conflicting metaphysical notions 'universalia sunt realia,' 'universalia sunt reals.' The resulting conception of Being was something more than the plastic one of Plato; it was both internal and universal. For modern thinking, the way was still further prepared by the conflict over the supremacy of intellect (Descartes' Intellecualist, Schopenhauer's Intellectualist Thonism) re-appeared in Cudworth's Intellectual System and Clarke's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God. The voluntarist of Scotus ('Quaestiones in secundum librum sententiarum,' Dist. xiii. (Op. xiii. p. 443)) was unconsciously imitated by Kant and Schopenhauer, and by them related to the modern psychology of the will.

Modernism (which is not quite independent of a medievalism which, in the instance of Cassiodorus, used the terminology of impersonal Being, and so forth) brought in a continuation of Christian views of Being in Descartes's scepticism. Like Augustine, Descartes connects cogito with dubito, and to the cogito adds ergo sum. Doubting is thinking, and thinking is existence. The existing thing is esse, 'that which exists,' 'that which is,' 'that which is,' 'that which is.' Descartes's view of mind and matter by regarding them, not as res cogitans and res extensa, but as the attributes —cogitatio and extensio—of the one substance. The result of his teaching is an rationalistic monism which identifies Being with Nature, and sets up a parallelism between mind and body. Leibniz, who makes possible the transition to Kant, takes a pluralistic view of Being, and regards the world as made up of an indefinite number of monads, which still admit at least of the unity of the world and the principle of the identity of Being, being reflexions of the same world, represent reality in different grades of perception (Monolog, § 14) and participate in the one world-plan by means of 'pre-established harmony' (New System, 1677).

From dogmatism, Kant led modern metaphysic into criticism. Not only does he oppose his modern forerunners, but he defies the whole Indo-Germanic tendency which in Vedanta, Platonism, and Spinoza had united Being with Thinking. In a certain sense, it was a sort of Semitism which led Kant to affirm the supremacy of practical reason, and to put ethics in the place of logic. Kant creates a dualism between Reason and Reality, between Thinking and Being, and thus declares that we cannot know things-in-themselves. First in order, in the Critique of Pure Reason, which leads to this conception, is the idealization of Time and Space ('Trans. Æsthetic'), both of which Kant regards, not as objective things, but as purely subjective and yet permanent forms of sense. Kant's motive for making Space and Time intuitive does not appear in the Æsthetic, but is confessed later on in the discussion of the 'Antinomies of Cosmology.' Here, in commenting upon the inevitable contradictions of reason, in connexion with which he may with equal cogitatio argue for the finitude or the infinitude of the world in time and space, Kant points out that these forms of sense are purely subjective, so that our attempt
to find the beginning of the world in time and its limits in space is a regressus of representations, but not ontological progress (Kritik, pp. 605-607). These claims stem from the condition of a possible experience (ib. p. 115), and thus relates to the world of phenomena, not to that of noumena (ib. p. 230). Mathematics and physics are made possible by a transcendental method which forbids absolutes. In another way, the Principle of Causality, Kant's constructive theory of Being appears in the Critique of Practical Reason and the Metaphysics of Morals, where he seeks to show how God, Freedom, and Immortality, which are not premises of the speculative understanding, are still involved as 'postulates' of practical reason.

Romantic philosophy in Germany accepted Kant's transcendental method of deducing knowledge from the understanding itself, but did not find it necessary to adopt the restrictive results of his metaphysics. To consist in the self-positioning 'Ich', whose fate it is to oppose itself to the nicht-Ich for the sake of achieving moral destiny ('Wissenschaftslehre'). Schelling's notion of Being recalls the monism of Spinoza; yet, when Schelling seeks in his 'Identitätstethisches' to reconcile Being and Thinking as opposites, he employs an aesthetic method. Hegel accomplishes this same reconciliation by means of the logical evolution of Being, through stages of sein, Dasein, Fürsichsein, which correspond to the familiar metaphysical divisions of Ontology, Cosmology, and Psychology. Realistic philosophy in Germany found expression, first of all, in Herbart, who notes Kant's distinction between phenomena and noumena, and yet believes that appearance is a sure indication of reality—'Wo viel Schein so viel Hindertung auf Sein' (Allgemeine Met. § 307).

With this assumption of modern Realism before him, Herbart constructs a static pluralism which seems to unite Parmenides with Leibniz; at the same time, and after the manner of Herbart, Du Bois Reymond develops an intellectualistic view of the soul as the function of representation. Schopenhauer accepts Kant's doctrine of Time, Space, and Causality, and relates these to the 'world as idea' (Vorstellung). He seeks in the central concept in which, the thing in-itself, known in mediacy and therefore in mind (Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, § 1). To be is thus to will, and the various kinds of Being—mineral, vegetable, animal, human—are so many grades of objectification of the will-to-live (ib. §§ 21, 23). Another realist, Lotze heeds Kant's warning against the empty thing-in-itself and seeks Being in connexion with its qualities. The origin of Being he puts down as unknowable (Met. 5), and turns away from the idea of 'pure Being' as something fictitious (ib. §§ 8, 9). Lotze follows Herbart in making Being consist of relation, and formulates the expression, 'A thing is the realized individual law of its behaviour' (ib. § 36).

3. The philosophy of Being.—The history thus presents some general principles, and indicates certain points by way of thought and terminology which speculation may fitly use. In contrast with the ancient setting of the problem, which consisted in a conflict between Being and not-Being, modern metaphysics involves the more decisive antithesis between the metaphysics of substance and Being itself. The modern conception is further enriched by a psychological content which enables the thinker to reconstitute distinctives concerning Being in general upon the basis of consciousness.

From the standpoint of methodology, two considerations seem to guide all metaphysical speculations; on the one hand, thought forges the principle of Substance, on the other it is sway'd by that of Causality. Behind this distinction between the substantial and the causal categories lies the difference between the laws of the mind—principium identitatis, principium rationis sufficientis. The Principle of Identity, which asserts that everything is what it is, persuades speculation to premise an immutable Being which ever maintains its identity in the midst of change. In another manner, the Principle of Causality, which affirms that everything that happens has a cause, makes possible a second method of speculation which is as anxious to account for change as the first one was to elucidate Being. As a result, philosophy has witnessed the development of a static conception of Being, which, with Parmenides, Plato, and Spinoza, has exalted Substance to the highest station. Parallel to this, a dynamic conception of the problem led to a more active formulation of the world-course, and, with Leibniz, Heraclitus, and Spinoza, it has been the task to raise Causality to a similar eminence. In keeping with this broad and far-reaching distinction, modern philosophy has re-cast this difference between the substantial and the causal so that it assumes the contrast of intellect and will. The static principle of Identity led metaphysics to postulate a Substance as the true expression of Being, and it was urged accordingly that a thing cannot possess qualities unless it exist as something superior to them; while the dynamic principle itself confronted by a series of changes for which a Sufficient Cause must be furnished. Substantial intellectualism, as defended by Aquinas, Descartes, Herbart, and Lotze, sought to show how a thing must exist before it can act; while, in opposition to this dogmatic view, the causal voluntarism of Scotus, Kant, Schopenhauer, and Wundt found the Being of things to consist in the active principle which ruled their several states of change. Where the substantial view prevailed, it was 'No causality without substance'; the voluntarism, 'Keine Substantialitat ohne Causalitat' (Wundt, Syst. d. Philos. p. 312). Of these two schools, the static, substantial, intellectual one is the more orthodox; the dynamic, causal, voluntaristic one is more advanced and critical. The two opposing central conceptions may be seen in Aristotle's criticism of Plato; Scotus's opposition to Aquinas; and Kant's critique of Leibniz's dogmatism. On the purely formal side only two views of Being would thus seem possible.

On behalf of the substantial view, it is pointed out that Being has a certain affinity for Substance, and is equally inclined towards the idea of permanence. For this reason the advocate of the substantial view has not found it necessary to defend a notion which consisted in the mere assertion of what seemed obvious. If anything is, it must be substantial, and that which is in a state of constant change cannot be real. The inherent weakness of this view of Being became manifest when the metaphysics of substantialism endeavoured to relate the world of concepts to the world of percepts. Plato's all-sufficient idealism is at variance with the notion of creation developed in the Timaeus. Medievalism, with its idea of Being as essentia, could hardly advance beyond a negative view of reality, and therefore was self-conceived and self-dependent, but cannot justify the attributes which, with the modifications, represent the actual world of minds and
bodies. Kant, who saw the emptiness of the thing as Substance, placed reality beyond the realm of knowledge. The substantial view has the weakness of assigning its own properties, and is incapable of explaining the existence of things in human experience. On the psychological side, the substantial view looks upon the mind as something intellectual. Since the passage to the mind was originally through cognition, as with Augustine and Descartes, it was lig expected that the soul should be looked upon as something intellectual—res cogitans. Moreover, consciousness seems ever to have a cognitive form, while mentality itself seems hardly separable from thought. The reality is observed, and the content is the richness and manifoldness of the cognitive process seem calculated to express the range of mentality, while there appears to be no recess of the mind which is not accessible to self-conscious thinking. This Cartesian confidence has led philosophy to believe that every act of mind is an operation of thought. Where, as a second process, feeling enters in, its determining feature, as Herbert pointed out, is something which by way of arrest happens to the idea; so that feeling is a consciousness, or a cognition; therefore, so in the same way, vision is explained away as a cogitatio volitoniis (Descartes), while the whole mind is surveyed in the light of the supremacy or sufficiency of the intellect.

The causal view of Being is critical where the substantial one is constructive and dogmatic. Accordingly, it is claimed that the mere existence of Being explains nothing, inasmuch as it does not account for action which takes place in the world. Where the Law of Identity seems to signify this, the thing to contrast it with is, 'Gold is gold,' the Law of Sufficient Reason must further enter in to show how a thing relates to its own qualities, as gold and its colour, its fusibility, its solubility, its value, etc. Hence, in Logic, it is said, 'Gold is yellow in the light, fusible in the fire, soluble in aqua regia, valuable in the market,' etc. The Principle of Causality is as efficient in relating a thing to its qualities as the notion of Substance is in adjusting it to itself, and metaphysics since Kant has tried to find not so much the characteristics of the thing but the relations. Iron does not exist apart from hardness, ductility, and other metallic properties; colour is nothing in independence of qualities, from red to violet; mind does not exist except as thinking, feeling, willing. That which unites these several states in substantial one is constituted in the thing, and in the inviolate connexion among metallic, chromatic, and conscious states is found the Being of metal, of colour, of mind. The causal view of Being relates a thing unimportantly to its qualities and not transcendentally to itself, and thus it is in a position to explain the manifest fact of change which to substantialism is a paradox. Since Being does not consist in one substance which can never abandon its ontological place, but is the causal principle which relates the various states of Being to one another, it is conceivable that, within the circle of its own qualities, a thing may change from one state to another, just as colour may be red or blue, consciousness may be thought or volition, man may be child or adult. In this spirit is Lhots's view of the substantial view without accepting the causal one, declares that it is the Thing that changes, not its qualities (Met. §§ 21, 24). The causal view, which pays attention to a thing's qualities and its changing states, hopes to find the real as the result of comprehension.

On the psychological side, the causal view of Being is furthered by voluntarism. This school involves a larger view of mind than that of self-conscious thought, just as it extends its borders beyond the human to the animal mind. The origin of mind is looked upon as that of man; it is interpreted voluntaristically, for life begins in action rather than in thought (cf. Paulsen, Introduct. to Philos. bk. i. ch. i.). Further, the goal of life appears to be set by practical interests rather than by speculative ideals, and life is realized in action rather than in thought. Like Plato, Kant describes the root of life in the will, and begins his translation of St. John by saying, 'Im Anfang war die That.' In addition to these popular considerations, voluntarism is entitled to some ontological respect when it is understood, in the same way, what it really is. Schopenhauer, who has advanced this view most vigorously, affirmed, 'The will is groundless' (Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, § 20), for which reason he reduced all reality to it. In this way, the simplicity of the will seems to satisfy the philosophical demand for unity as the essence of reality and mentality. On the psychological side, Höfling has declared, 'As Eros was made one of the oldest and at the same time one of the youngest of the gods (as also the child of Poverty and the bride of Luxury), so is the point of view, represented as the most primitive or as the most complex and derivative of mental procts' (Psych. v. viii. § 1). Such considerations seem to indicate that the will, while not so characteristic as cognition, is possessed of as much ontological significance. The substantial view is a survival of an antiquity which reposed in the ideas of the plastic and intellectual; causal voluntarism is the typical modern view of those who are Kantsians rather than Platonic. In the large sense, classical voluntarism is the view of the world of phenomena as seen in modern science, just as it is in harmony with the modern life-ideal of energism.

A more restricted view of Being is discussed in connexion with monism and dualism (pp. 173). These theories are one remove from the central problem of the real, for they concern themselves with the idea of Being in its forms of the mental and material; nevertheless, modern philosophy has laid upon them a certain amount of metaphysical responsibility. Monilsm, as the denial of the duality of matter and spirit, seems to be monistic, while Christianity, with its distinction between the natural and the spiritual, emphasized dualism. But in connexion with philosophy, the issue was not raised until the dawn of modernism, when Descartes separated the mind from the body, and in this separation as from res extensa. At a later date, Wolf distinguished 'monist' from 'dualist,' although at an earlier period Thomas Hyde had employed 'dualism' to describe the religion of Zoroaster. These two theories do not attempt to solve the problem of Being, but confine their attention to the relation existing between its two phases, mind and matter. Of the two, dualism has the advantage on the side of statement, when it declares that we are confronted by a twofold series of things, between which there is a causal connexion. But, from the standpoint of solution, monism seems to be in the ascendency, inasmuch as it is better calculated to avoid certain metaphysical pitfalls. The devices of dualism appear at once when Descartes, unable to justify his connexion between soul and body, attributes the interaction to the intervention of the Deity. This precipitated Occasionalism, which looked upon the motive which arouses bodily motion, as well as on the stimulis which produces sensation, as occurring without connexion, not of endless interaction. Man is innocent of it, as we know from the lack of causal consciousness, argues
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Geulinix; for, just as Descartes had evinced Being by his Cogito, ergo sum, so the want of causal efficiency appears in a Nescio, ergo non facio (K. Fischer, Descartes and his School, tr. Geulin, p. 122). This makes a Volapy in accordance with which the phases of mind and body are; but like the dials of two mutually adjusted, but disconnected, clocks (New System, 1695)—an analogy which Geulinix before him had employed (Ethica, p. 124 note). That which stands in the way of dualistic interaction between the mental and corporeal phases of Being is, first, causality which, as a category, seems to be limited to the physical world. At the same time, the scepticism of Hume, the criticism of Kant, and the realism of Lotze tend to make all interaction between things impossible, just as they leave the way open to a view of causa inanissima, as a result of which all things, material and mental alike interact by virtue of their participation in the one real Being who is the World-Ground. A second difficulty appears in the form of the conservation of energy which, as a physical theory, can suffer no addition to or subtraction from the given amount of energy in nature. Certain curious devices to surmount this difficulty are summed up by Naville (La Liberté et le Monisme, 1880).

Moussin, which advances a theory of psycho-physical parallelism between the mental and material phases of Being, tends to do away with the sharp difference between mind and body. Spinoza, who founded monism, makes interaction unnecessary by his pan-enimism et atque ordo et connexio idearum (Ethica, lib. ii. prop. vii.). The whole problem, which lapsed for a century between Leibniz and the new psychology, is taken up in a Spinozistic fashion by Holdmg, who declares that both the parallelism and the proportionality between the activity of consciousness and cerebral activity point to an identity at bottom. The difference which remains in spite of points of agreement compels us to suppose that one and the same principle has found expression, according to the different names of the monist of to-day, who hesitates to characterize this tertiary principle which embraces mind and body, lapses from the panthenism of Spinoza into an agnosticism of his own. The statement of modern materialism, as formulated in still other works, is this: On the logical side, the Law of Identity prevents our saying ‘Mens est corpus,’ and it is towards such an identification that the monist constantly tends. Secondly, monism is confronted by an empirical challenge, when it seeks to treat mind and body as though they were not dissimilar. Both monism and dualism are shortsighted in regarding mind and body as though they were parallel phases of Being which meet upon the same plane; a more satisfactory view escapes the dilemmas of the problem by relegating the body to a place lower than the ontological position of the mind, as is done by Hegel and Schopenhauer.

The result of this survey of Being as an ontological problem has been to show how a static, supernatural Being was evolved, constantly elaborated by the intellectualism of antiquity; while a dynamic, causal, and dualistic notion was the product of voluntaristic modernity. In general, it appears that Being, which does not consist of any particular thing, is best understood in the idea of order, which with the ancients was σόφος, with moderns nature.

To be thus means to have position in the one world-order, so that a thing receives reality, not by partaking of a certain imaginary world-stuff, but by participating in the world-order. A critical doctrine of Being will not find it necessary to assume a negative attitude towards phenomena which were prized by the ancients because of their aesthetic fitness, by moderns on account of their scientific significance. At the same time, it is unwise to repose all faith in nomens, as though the world were one of mere things and contained no persons. In view of the totality of the world of Being, phenomena, nomens, and pneumathe have their place, and a theory of reality is compelled to examine the phenomena of inner as well as of outer experience. A total view of Being thus includes humanity and nature, just as it is made up of the world of persons and the world of things.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the article, special reference may be made to the following: Bowe, Metaphysics, New York, 1882; Bradley, Appearance and Reality, London, 1893; Eucken, Die Einheit des Geisteslebens, Leipzig, 1885; Fuller, Metaphysics, New York, 1914; Loize, Metaphysics, tr. Bosanquet, London, 1887; Ormonde, Concepts of Philosophy, New York, 1898; Pautiaux, Introduction to Philosophy, Berlin, 1898; Wundt, System der Philosophie, Leipzig, 1889. CHARLES GRAY SHAW.

BEL.—See BAAL.

BELIAL, BELIAR.—These two names, as will be shown below, are but different forms of the same word. Belial is the older; Beliar is a modification of it.

1. Belial.—In the AV Belial was usually rendered as a proper name, as, e.g., ‘daughter of Belial’ (1 S 16); but RV usually translates such phrases as though Belial were an adjective. Thus ‘daughter of Belial’ becomes in RV ‘wicked woman.’

Belial occurs in the earliest strata of the narratives of Judges and Samuel, in writing that is coeval with the J document, if not a part of it. From this time on, the word is used in prose narratives and late poetry as a predicate of certain classes of people. Thus we find ‘man (or men) of Belial’ (1 S 25 30 2 S 16 20 18 63); ‘son (or sons) of Belial’ (Dt 13 3 15 29 2 S 26 20 18); ‘man of Belial’ (Ps 63); ‘with the sons of Belial’ (Nah 1 P9 AV, ‘a wicked counselor’); ‘thing of Belial’ (Dt 15 RV ‘base thought’), P9 41 RV ‘an evil disease’ 101 RV ‘base thing’). In but two instances in the OT it is used differently: in Ps 112 16 ‘wadys of Belial’ (77 77) are made synonymous with the cords of death, cords of Sheol, and ‘snares of death, as though Belial, like Sheol, were a proper name for the underworld. Again, in Nah 2 19 Belial is used as a name for a great evil power. RV translates it here ‘the wicked one.’

There are, then, three uses of the word in the OT: (1) as a genitive, designating a worthless, wicked, or disagreeable person or thing; (2) the underworld; and (3) a great wicked power. Of these uses, the first is by far the most common, there being but one example of the second and third.

The etymology of Belial has long puzzled interpreters. It is explained in the Talmud (Sanhedrin, 111b) as from מ"ע (‘without’) and מין (‘a minority’). It is derived (with echoes (see Rashi on Dt 13 13)) by Cheyne (loc. cit.) regards it as from מ"ע ‘to.’ (‘I may not ascend’). He compares the Babylonian math in turn, the ‘land without Belial,’ and believes the word to mean ‘the place which lets no man return,’ and so ‘the watery abyss.’ These two are not quite synonyms in Semitic thought. The land without return’

Cheyne, Expositor, 1859, 432 432, held the beliefs to mean: (1) ‘subterranean waters’ (2) ‘a destroyed place’ (3) ‘worthless scoundrel’; but this classification does not seem so accurate. 458

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would suit the meaning in Ps 115 (= Ez 229) only. Garvie (Hastings' DB, s.v.) thinks 15 may be 572, and 372 philologically changed from 372; the whole meaning 'Lord of the forms' is thus lost. The other point that can be seen, has nothing to commend it. Hommel (EspT vii. 472) regards this as a transmutation of the Babylonian form, but which Chang predisposed—a deity worshipped in early times who afterwards made a journey to the lower world (cf. the Ador and Ass. pp. 559, 593). Baalsinim (EspT ix. 490) and Oxford Heb. Lexicon (p. 1060) hold to the etymology 372 'unto worth.' 372 is a good Hebrew root used only in the Hiphil, in the sense of 'avert, change.' The philological suit the majority of OT passages. Baalsinim regards the meaning 'wickedness' as late. Moore remarks of Hastings' ' (1895) in Inter. Crit. Comp.) that the etymology is dubious.

This must be said of the comparison of Belial with Belil: Belial is clearly a designation of Sheol in Ps viii, while at the end of the Babylonian poem called 'Ishtar's Descent,' Belil is a sister of Tammuz, whose lover Ishtar rescued him from the under world. If Ps v contains an early sub-stratum, or if we may look to poetry, even when late, to preserve archeaic usage, we might regard Belial as originally a name for Sheol. Since the shades were unsubstantial beings, Belial as a qualitative adjective might easily be taken as a sign 'without what is disagreeable,' the 'wicked.' Its application to the arch-enemy in Nahum would be natural. Briggs (Psalms,' in ICC. i. 142, 152) regards 'worthless' as the original meaning, and the application to Sheol as the derived significance. Belial is a very large word, and from it we can form words of the same meaning, and give the sense of 'no profit.'

2. Beliar.—Beliar is a later form of Belial, the final liquid having been changed into its kindred liquid r in accordance with a phonetic law common to many languages. The earliest occurrence of this form of the name is in the Siphylite Oracles, ii. 187, and ii. 92, and 97. In the former of these passages Beliar is the great evil power of the world, or Antichrist; in the latter, he is represented as an emissary proceeding from Rome. In the Ascension of Isaiah, Beliar is mentioned in the following passages: 18 9 24 31, 12 45 4. 10 16 9 16 12. He is invariably regarded as the Antichrist, or great king of this world who has ruled it since it came into being. In this character he practically takes the place of Satan; king Manasseh is, for example, said (29) to have turned his heart to this former of the Twelve Patriarchs considerable light is shed on the conceptions of Beliar then current. He is the source of impurity; he sends evil spirits against men; but he cannot overcome a chaste man (Reuben, 2, 4, 10). He is the enemy of light, but the Messiah will bind him (Levi, 18 and 19). He is the source of lying, but he flees from the man who avoids wrath and lies, and the Messiah will wrest from him his captives (Daniel, 5).

The conception of Beliar in this apocryphal literature is identical with that of 2 Co 6, where, according to the best attested reading, Paul asks: 'What concord hath Christ with Beliar?'—Beliar is regarded as evidently equivalent to Satan, or Antichrist. The character of Beliar as Antichrist is a natural outgrowth of the personification of Belial in Nah 18 (2)

LITERATURE.—EspT viii. (1897) 423, 472, ix. 409; Bousset, Antichrist Legend, 1895, pp. 20, 171, 172; Charles, Ascension of Isaiah, 1900, p. 7; Kautzsch, Apokryphen, 1900, ii. 461; Garvie, in Hastings' DB i. 382 ff.; Cheyne, Bib. col. 525-327; Kohler, JE ii. 658.

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of an emotional experience. There is a pleasurable sense or feeling of repose, of inward stability, such as comes from the resolution of difficulties, the demolition of obstacles, the harmonizing of conflicting elements. But it has called belief the emotion of conviction. From this point of view, belief may be regarded as a primary psychological experience, a state which cannot be reduced to factors more fundamental than itself. It is both independent of and determined by various psychical factors, but in itself it is distinctive, unique, and unmistakable. It is easily distinguishable from doubt, which, in itself and apart from supporting beliefs, is a disagreeable experience, involving a sense of suspense and strain, of instability and helplessness—a state which the subject normally strives to transcend.

(2) Belief and the feeling of reality. Belief ought to be, but is not always, distinguished from another modification of consciousness, namely, the feeling of reality, or 'reality feeling,' as it is termed by Baldwin, to whom the distinction is due. This is also a primitive and unanalyzable mode of conscious experience. It accompanies simple sense-presentations—a colour, a tone, a smell, etc.; these are 'just there,' coming to us with a vividness and immediate reality that put all empirical considerations of accepting or rejecting out of the question. There is no thought of competing or conflicting alternatives; each experience exists, so to speak, absolutely in its own moment and in its own right. To give this state the name of primitive credulity, as Bain does, is to identify different experiences. The 'reality feeling' state, no doubt, furnishes the stuff out of which judgments are formed, but as such it has not arrived at that stage. Judgment involves selection, the definite choice of 'this' from among other factors or complex of facts; and belief, in this regard as the subjective side of judgment, may be called a state of resolved doubt. Now, in the 'reality feeling' state doubt cannot appear.

(3) Belief and apprehension. It is worth while to insist further on the distinction mentioned above between belief and the mere presence of an idea or complex of ideas, or, as Brentano would say, between 'judgment' and 'apprehension.' The distinction is between thinking of some complex of ideas as 'factive,' as 'true,' as 'real,' and regarding reality. It is possible to entertain an idea, to give it for a time mental hospitality, without coming to the point of definitely ascertaining it or definitely refusing to assert it. We may think, e.g., of an object in the remote past, or of the objects of the future, but this is not equivalent to saying that we are thinking of objects as 'real.' We can feel the existence of an object as a fact, and to say that we are thinking of objects as having a reality, necessarily involving ourselves, at the time of thinking, in the affirmation or denial of the existence of these personages. The non-scientific person may receive statements as to the speed of light or the distance of the moon from the earth, and feel no obligation to pass a judgment on their truth or falsity. It is no doubt true, as Stont has pointed out, that 'the existence of an object means for us that . . . it forms a determination or qualification of reality in general.' Unless the thought of this reality, however vague it may be, is at the same time an affirmation of it, no specific thought of a specific object is possible.' (Analytic Psychology, i. 112.) But this remark affects the case only in the event of the distinction between mere apprehension and belief being kept sharply distinct. It affects the affirmation of consciousness entirely. It is a relative distinction, in the sense that both members of it must be regarded as aspects of the cognitive act. But, as Stont himself allows, it is ultimate from the point of view of analysis, and is a distinction well worthy of being borne in mind.

(4) Belief and knowledge. It is customary to distinguish 'belief' from 'knowledge,' and some philosophical writers, as we have seen, have drawn a sharp line of demarcation between them. There is, on epistemological grounds, undoubtedly warrant for the distinction. But this must not lead to the conclusion that belief is psychologically different from knowledge. When these two are considered psychologically. From this point of view we may rather say that knowledge is belief at its highest power.

To know is to have the complete assurance, to recognize that which is 'known' as definitely and firmly fixed within a system of fact. We can assign the ground for it, i.e., we can show how it is related to and consists with the other elements of the system. We hold it fast. The high degree of assurance which leads to wrong distinctions as in 'I do not believe, I know.' The correct, if pedantic, statement in such a case would be, 'I know and therefore I believe.' 'Knowledge' refers to the objective grounds on which the subjective assurance (belief) rests. It is clear, however, at the same time that the two states are not conterminous. While it is impossible to refer to a knowledge-state which is not also a belief-state, it is, of course, manifest that not every case of belief is also knowledge. But, if truly enough, knowledge is sometimes referred to as a species of the genus belief. Beliefs are judged to be either true or false. This in itself indicates the wider denotation of the term as compared with 'knowledge.' Here it may not be unprofitable to quote a remark of James Mill's: 'Belief is the passing of such judgments involving reference to criteria which are beyond the purview of psychology. Beliefs, 'false' as well as 'true,' are facts of mental experience, and from the psychologist's point of view both are of equal interest and worth. The question for him is not how they come to be valued as true or false, but how they come to be beliefs—this special kind of mental existent. The justification or condemnation of a belief is a logical or epistemological task. The explanation of this belief is another matter. Belief does not inevitably wait upon knowledge; it is not always ratification of a clear insight into the truth of things. On the contrary, belief as a rule is antecedent to knowledge; proof is an after-thought. It is not, therefore, sufficient to refer to the rational grounds of a belief in order to explain it; the causes which bring it about, the sources from which it derives its vitality, are to be sought not merely in the region of the logical understanding.

2. Factors of Mind. Belief. (1) The cognitive factor. Undoubtedly belief must be in relation to some mode of cognitive consciousness: a sense-percept, a memory-image, an idea or train or complex of ideas. These furnish the immediate points of reference for any belief. The question remains as to how far they may be regarded as the effective causes, the important and central determining factors, in any given case of belief. To put it otherwise, are we to consider the development of belief to be governed by purely cognitive or intellectual considerations?

James Mill, following Hume, may be taken as an example of those who have a bias towards an affirmative answer to this question. H. Spencer and Bain (in the amended version of his view on this subject) follow suit. Hume, who speaks (Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, §v. pt. ii. 1) of belief as a more vivid, lively, forcible, firm, steady conception of an object than that which the imagination alone is ever likely to attain, seeks to show that the superiority of belief arises from a forcible, firm, immediate conception of the object with something present to the memory or sense. James Mill devotes his elaborate and suggestive chapter on 'Belief' in his Analysis of the Phenomena
of the Human Mind" to the working out of Hume's hint and to attempting to trace all forms of belief to the 'grand comprehensive law of association.' No instance can be adduced, he boldly says (op. cit. p. 367), in which anything besides an indissoluble association can be shown in belief. Thus, for example, the belief that we see extension and figure as well as colour, is referred to the almost invariable and constant conjunction of our visual, tactile, and muscular sensations. So that, when we have the sensation of colour, we cannot avoid having the ideas of extension and figure along with it. There is a certain inner incoherence in this doctrine, as has, indeed, been pointed out by J. S. Mill. Mill, in the conclusions here quoted, states that in these cases it is generally admitted that we receive no sensation but that of modification of light. This at once brings the doctrine of indissoluble association into question, because we have here a case of many in which such an association does not lead to belief. For, those who are interested in these matters, and who follow in Mill's track, do not believe that they see extension and figure, or they declare that they entertain this belief only at times, in particular cases. It is thus two conflicting attitudes possible with regard to the same fact, and there clearly must be in at least one of the two cases a determining factor other than association. Association cannot be made the key-word with regard to belief any more than it can with regard to knowledge. It should, nevertheless, be recognized here that the operation of association has undoubtedly an influence on many beliefs. It appears, however, that that association is effective not so much as a factor in setting up the belief as in conserving and supporting it once it is set up. This is hinted at by Hume (op. cit. § v. pt. ii.). When H. Spencer tries to show that association is the central principle, the ultimate mental uniformity here, he is not successful. It is true, as he says, that if certain states of consciousness absolutely cohere in certain ways, we are obliged to think them in those ways. But this proves nothing; it would be equally true and equally unconvincing to state that, if we are obliged to think certain facts in certain ways, then they must always and everywhere be found which in those ways we cannot solve the problem of belief by the mechanical formula 'indissoluble connexion.' To complain, as J. S. Mill has done, that it leaves no distinction between the belief of the wise and the belief of fools beside the mark, because it introduces the epistemological principle. But this complaint indicates a point worth of note in this connexion, namely, that a belief rooted in and supported by an association and widely held may be refused and contradicted by a few who have 'thought more' about the facts in question. And, as more and more people are induced to think with or after the pioneers, the new belief begins to overtop the old and finally almost, if not altogether, obscures it. The familiar case of the belief that the sun moves round the earth illustrates this point. To say that the new belief that the earth moves round the sun is due to a counter-association is to play with words. It is due to the fact that this relation has come to be seen as a necessary part of a whole system of ideas with reference to the universe. We have upon the most important condition of belief so far as cognitive factors are concerned. The perception of a given element of experience as fitting into and harmonizing with the rest of experience, in so far as it is experienced, is an irresistible claim upon our acceptance. The requirement of system, of ordered connexion, is the profoundest need of the intellect, and according as this need is met will belief be induced. Belief determined on such grounds is equivalent to knowledge, and the further discussion of the conditions here would lead us to the highest region of the theory of knowledge. See Epistemology.

(2) The emotional factor.—It is manifest, however, that, as has already been pointed out, human beliefs do not always rest upon such grounds. It is not unusual to find belief determined by other considerations than reference to systematic connexion. It has been widely recognized that emotional elements appear as factors in the incitement and sustenance of beliefs. It has been noted that the state of belief has in itself a certain emotional content. Illustrations of the difference between fiction and belief lies in the sentiment or feeling which is annexed to the latter, not to the former (op. cit. § v. pt. ii.). But it is not as an aspect of the resultant that feeling is here to be considered, but rather as a determinant of the process leading to that result. The prevailing emotional disposition, the mood of an hour or of an epoch in life, will materially influence the beliefs of the individual. Such influences act mediately. Religious fervour, social enthusiasm, heroic emotion, anger, the desire for peace, and to accept those ideas which harmonize with and nourish the disposition or mood. In the most general aspect of this consideration it is to be noted that in the sanguine, youthful period of life, when vitality is high, belief as a rule flourishes more abundantly than in the colder and more discriminating period of advanced years. Again, as James has pointed out, theories of a pessimistic type, which tend to darken and chill the life of feeling, are not readily or widely believed, even though they may appear satisfactory to the understanding. They meet with an inarticulate, but none the less stubborn, opposition in the region of the emotions. They run counter to the average mood of humanity. On the one hand, the harmony of a particular belief with the emotional mood intensifies and enforces the feeling with which the idea is suffused; on the other hand, with the decay of a particular mood, related beliefs suffer proportionally. With the dwindling of religious enthusiasm, when 'love grows cold,' belief in the objects of faith becomes more feebly, a tendency to criticism, uncontent of in the intenser emotional hours, makes its appearance, and the beliefs readily disintegrate. Bain, in suggesting that the saying of Jeremy Taylor, 'Believe and you shall love,' should more rationally, 'Love and you shall believe;' at least here refers to the efficacy of the emotional factor in belief. We believe with the heart as well as with the head. The search for truth itself is supported by its emotional coefficient—love of truth—which, as has been wittily said, is often utilized in order to prove that that which we love is true.

(3) The conative factor.—In the volitional or active aspect of conscious experience we find an almost equally important determinant of belief. This is not correctly separable from the foregoing. The various factors will be found together, in varying measure, in any act of belief; but, for purposes of clear exposition, the conative factor can be treated as though it were separate. At first sight volition seems to have little, if anything, to do with belief. It rests here, however, since Hume that there is a certain coeherence in belief; it 'depends,' he says, 'not on the will, nor can be commanded at pleasure' (op. cit. § v. pt. ii.). The experience of being 'compelled to assent' to a proposition has justly suggested to belief that belief cannot be commanded at pleasure, that it cannot be brought forth by a simple fiat of will, in that abstract sense of will. It is nevertheless
true that will plays a leading rôle in the constitution of our belief. So impressed by this was Bain, that in his main treatment of this phenomenon (Emotions and Will, p. 371 ff.) he maintains that belief is a growth of a physical, logical, or intellectual process; and that in the experience of finding satisfaction for them we find belief. The belief emerges at that point where the desire which is the expression of the need finds the means of its adequate fulfillment. This applies, e.g., in the sphere of science, where we seek for a continuous and coherent system of objective fact, as in the sphere of religion, where we seek for an adequate support for our moral and spiritual needs (cf. Royle, Religious Aspect of Philosophy, p. 390 f.). We orientate ourselves in this direction not because that, according to the present of the need, by means of the power of attention (q.e.v.), which involves selection, self-determination. In brief, and in a somewhat misunderstood phrase, we 'will to believe.' This, of course, does not involve unchartered freedom or the introduction of sheer caprice. Our needs are not created by whims. They are the expressions of a nature striving to realize itself, and we but recognize their appearance. It is true that they may be regarded as the needs of a particular subject, and that the ends which they accommodate are not those of the subject. But that does not necessarily involve us in indeterminism. Here, however, we are breaking ground upon the problem of Freedom. Keeping to our proper theme, we have further to observe that, though the end is posited by the subject and without prejudice to what is thereby implied, there is a certain objective limitation in the media through which it is to be realized. The nature of the process by which the end is attained is, so to speak, fixed independently of the subject. The subject finds it and accepts it as leading up to his end. The urgency of the need will no doubt often lead to the over-hasty and unceremonious acceptance of means as real which further tests condemn, but the central element in these tests is just the need referred to; that which has been proved fictitious did not really meet the need. What is here said connects itself with the statement regarding the emotional factor, for the emotions are intimately connected with the finitude and the observation of our consious limitations.

(4) Belief and personality.—The stream of belief then is fed from various springs. We cannot truly say that it is a cognitive, an emotional, or a conative state, in the sense that it depends solely on any one of these forms of the conscious life. We believe in the whole, in the whole, because Belief expresses the definite attitude of the personality towards its experience. In Baldwin's definition of belief as the 'consciousness of the personal endorsement of reality' the adjective bears an unusual fullness of meaning. 'Nous manifestons de notre personnalité l'expression plus adéquatement celle-ci que la croyanse,' says Jules Payot (La Croyanse, p. 173), and we may sum up this portion of our statement with his emphatic pronouncement: 'Nous y venons avec tout ce que nous sommes' (ib. p. 174).

(5) The social factor.—This reference to belief and personality introduces the mention of a factor in the constitution of belief which is of a different order from the above-mentioned, but which deserves special notice because of its import. This may be called the social factor. One of the most vital parts of that environment to which a man must make adjustments, in order to maintain and realize himself, is what we call the social environment, the milieu in which we live and feel our interests in which we all find ourselves planted. Our equation to that is one of our great life-tasks. An important part of that environment is the body of
believes—including what are called superstitions, traditions, and prejudices—in which the communal life expresses itself. These we acquire for the most part unconsciously, as a part of inherited experience, through our necessary participation in this life in its various forms—the family, the school, the church—and in the common interchange of social talk. If and when we arrive at the self-conscious and reflective stage, these may be criticized and modified or abandoned. Their abandonment, even when a substitution is made, is as a rule achieved only after considerable effort. For on the abandonment follows a sense of the loss of something of that solidarity, of participation in something of value which is one’s own and precious to us. A barrier is placed between the ‘unbeliever’ or the ‘doubter’ and his fellows. Only the very strong or the very headstrong man will dare to erect it. And he will do so only on the assumption that the barrier is a temporary one. The fervour with which a novel idea or doctrine is promulgated is due largely to a desire to regain that sense of social support which for the time being has been lost through departing from generally accepted belief. Even so, the loss of support would be the measure of the value of a belief in any society; to the great majority of its members the social sanction of a belief is so strong as to be practically invincible. The social need is imperative, and orthodoxy appears to them to be a necessary means to its satisfaction. The unfriendly attitude of the community or society towards the heterodox is in this regard intelligible. The insurgence of a small part against the whole threatens, or appears to threaten, the integrity of the whole; and this, so far rightly, something to be thwarted and put down. In certain extreme cases the community places the heterodox and insurgers under constraint, by committing them to a prison or a lunatic asylum. Society, in any form, is then a great conservator of beliefs; and the social factor is one which cannot be neglected in tracing out the causes of belief.

(6) Religious belief.—The detailed discussion of various forms and stages of belief—the beliefs of primitive peoples, the superstitions of civilized man, belief in the unscientific or the unenlightened, and under law, belief in the objects and ideals of aesthetics, morals, and religion—would be a long and an arduous undertaking, and it would add nothing but illustrative material to the general discussion. More constant devotion of which all believe, in special remark for a special reason. Religious belief has sometimes, particularly, though not exclusively, by Catholic theologians, had a claim to uniqueness put forward on its behalf. It is suggested that it is not determined or built up in the same way as other modes of belief. Thus we find Newman, quoting Dombrowski and others in support (Grammar of Ascent, pp. 186-7), laying it down that there is a marked distinction between human or natural faith and Divine or supernatural faith—the latter being defined by him as ‘the assent which follows on a Divine announcement, and is vivified by Divine grace.’ This form of belief, it is maintained, differs from ‘human’ belief not merely in degree but in kind, being intrinsically superior to it. This superiority, it is further stated, is not merely obscurely stated, is not merely a matter of experience, but is above experience. The distinction is one which depends on a metaphysical theory as to the ultimate source of belief. Dealing with the phenomena by the psychological method, however, we reveal differences of such a kind as to compel us to isolate it completely from other forms. It undoubtedly differs in content, and this again no doubt affects the intensity or quantitative character of the state, but in a psychological regard there is no deep-lying or fundamental qualitative distinction leading to it. In this form of belief there is not, apart from the it is and endorsed is of a wider and more comprehensive character than that elsewhere dealt with.

The issues involved are of a more tremendous and far-reaching kind. Life, in the light of religious belief, is no more the brief drama of an isolated self acted out against the shifting background of the world of time and space; it becomes part of an all-comprising reality, subsumed in the life of God. The narrow limits of the self are transcended; the personality is enriched and dignified by the sense that he is a part of something that is greater and more valuable. It is intelligible how with the emergence of belief of this kind there comes the sense that salvation has been found. It is also intelligible how it should come about that such a belief is regarded as given to the subject, not formed by him. For the subject is not always clearly aware of all that is here set forth as contained in it. It does not, as a rule, come as the result of a clearly reasoned process, it usually arises out of a more or less inarticulate sense of great need, and in its first presentation it is a matter of emotion accompanying the satisfaction of it; it is so powerful that it comes with a certain invasive character, it rushes in upon the subject. The believer has an overwhelming feeling of the reality of his experience. The investigation of the grounds of the belief is a matter for later reflection; it is the business of the theologian and philosopher, who come in after the act of belief. Indeed, the individual believer may feel averse from any such reflection or examination, on the ground that it tends to trouble and obscure the purity of the emotional state. Without prejudice to the question as to the rationality of religious belief, and dealing with it simply as it presents itself as a psychological phenomenon, we may say that here the emotional and volitional factors are markedly present, the intellectual factor playing apparently a minor role. The volitional factor has already been hinted at. The believer arrives at his belief by seeking, by turning himself in a certain direction, putting himself in a certain attitude, and this may be, does not take place through the formation of a deliberately conceived and clearly conscious resolve, but it is nevertheless volitional. The believer finds because he seeks. There is nothing more constant or more constant devotion of which all believe, of this belief than this, that the subject must act, he must turn his face in the right direction for the light to fall upon it. There is marked insistence also on the point that it is not by appealing to the reason directly, but in acting upon the will and the emotions, that religious belief is implanted and fostered. This is corroborated by psychological knowledge. It does not follow that this means an appeal to the irrational rather than to the rational in man. And when James speaks (Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 73) of ‘the inferiority of the rationalistic level in founding belief,’ he is presumably referring to the articulately rational. As to the specific forms which religious belief may take, this obviously depends largely on the social factor, on the influence of the institutions, the forms and the like, through which the society in which one lives expresses its religious consciousness, and realizes and satisfies its religious need. See also FAITH.

LITERATURE.—Adams, art. ‘Belief,’ in EB’P., p. 337; Bain, The Emotions and the Will, 1873, chap. vii. 7.16. Belief—itself, Science, 1875, p. 571, and Appendix, p. 100, also Note to James Millet’s Analysis of the Phenomenon of Belief, p. 418, Baldwin, Handbook of Psychology (1859), ‘Feeling and Will’ (ch. vii), also with
Empirical epistemology has come to the same final issue. Mill's attempt to justify logically the principle of the Uniformity of Nature, by appeal to accepted inductions of lower grade, has been completed by recent Empirical Logic (Mill, Logic, bk. iii.)...; veracity, which is the only entity, therefore, is grounded in our complete nature, and its most general postulates are primary beliefs.

A reign of law embracing all reality... is only an assumption with which we are acquainted, and which we recognize... an immediate confidence or faith... as is also the universal tendency of thought to reduce all co-existence into a connection (Loeze, Logic, § 849).

Super-sensible realities also, so far as the plan of our complete nature requires that they shall be made present to us... and influence the passions and imagination,... are certified in belief. Hence, far they are primary in relation to other contents of belief, how far they can be logically elaborated, and how far corroborated by the independent process of strict knowledge, must be considered in their own... or a purposeful ‘ignorance,’ that may be chosen as ‘bliss,’ but to a final trend of our spiritual development and to methodical analysis of the complete structure and function implied in it. Historic instances... are Butler's means of ‘showing moral obligation,’ and Kant's, for establishing, through the primacy of Practical Reason, our judgments as to Freedom, God, and Immortality.

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BELIEF (Theological)—BENARES

opens empirical facts to explanation by reference to super-sensible realities; as in historical Free-choice or Miracles or Incarnation (Lotze, Logic, § 949, § 950, §§ 779, 780). Of many cognitions we are conscious only in such a manner as not to be able to judge whether the grounds of our assent are objective or subjective in character. Both for our Conceptions, whether logical Conviction, that is, Knowledge, or practical, that is, Belief; because they are not “necessary” (Introduct. 3). But belief, unlike knowledge, may be valid for rational nature as such, without being valid for all persons. The individual mind realizes its development under conditions much more special than those for the racial or collective mind, and admits details not admitted into the cognitive system common to all. Among the examples are the following: (1) Our common cognition assumes that objects of thought are not altered by the mere event of their being thought of (Venn, Emp. Phal. of. Disc. 62; Balfour, 47). (2) Our individual mind this postulate may be suspected in favour of maxims of expectation that lead to their own fulfilment. Such are the mutual confidence of social co-operation, self-reliance in personal enterprise, hope during illness (James); and, on a higher level, our assumption of moral sufficiency for an occasion, or of personal acceptance with the Divine Being. (3) The option of uncertainties must often be closed for the individual, though remaining still open for science or for common belief. Inferences that are ‘informal,’ and under the sanction of an ‘illusive sense’ like the insight or ‘tact’ of an expert, must be substituted for explicit thought. In practical discretion, taste, conscientious scruple, and personal faith we must thus interpret our own personal nature (Newman, chs. 8 and 9; Geuerman, Glaubens oder Wissen, 1856). (3) External authority must be accepted in default of personal inference; the spirit of our time, the dogmas of specialists in science, testimony for historical events, moral conventions, creeds of the hierarchy of our society.

As possible principles for constructing a scale of certainty in belief, have been suggested: (a) the narrowness of the void in our scheme of reality which is left by strict knowledge; (b) the finality, in values for developmental, or creative need; which attitude to fill it; (c) the intrinsic inaccessibility of the void to knowledge itself (Beneker). LITERATURE.—See end of preceding article.

J. BROUGH.

BELIEF (theological).—See AGnosticism, AtHeism, and especially Faith.

BELLS.—See Gongs and Bells.

BENARES.—1. Name and history.—Benares (Banaras), the largest city in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh except Lucknow, is situated in the Benares District (lat. 25° 18' N., long. 83° 3' E.), on the left bank of the Ganges, which flows past the city for a distance of nearly 34 miles. The river bends to the N.E. so that the city stands for the most part on the N.W. bank, which is in places 100 feet high. A census taken in 1808, which gave the population as 582,900, was vitiated by the assumption that twenty persons should be assigned to each house. The true population (1901) is returned as 290,531, consisting of Hindus, 153,566; Muslims, 53,966; Christians, about 1200, chiefly in the cantonment, civil station, and mission grounds; with a few adherents of other religions.

At the present day Hindus speak of the city, which is acknowledged to be the religious capital of Hinduism (‘the general school of the Gentiles, the Athenaeum of India,’ to put Burne’s words), indifferently as either Kāśi or Benaras, but the latter name, anglicized as Benares, is that commonly used by people of other nationalities and in literature.

The name Kāśī (Kāśi, in Pāli Kāśi) was originally the name of a tribe or nation inhabiting the country between the Ganges and Ghāghrā (Gogra), and at times apparently extending its authority over territory to the north of the Ghāghrā and the south of the Ganges. Legends of Kāśī date from the 8th century B.C. The current name is that of the District, north of the Ghāghrā, and the small town of Rudarpur in that district is said to bear the alternative name of Kāśī (Martin, Eastern India, ii. 338). To the south of the Ganges, the Kārāmāsā river, now forming part of the boundary between the Mirzapur and Shāhābād Districts, was recognized traditionally as the frontier between the kingdom of the Kāśis (Benares) and that of the Magadhan, S. Bihār). The waters of that river are regarded by high-caste Hindus from other regions as impure (Rudarpur, Kāśī, Gogra, and Jaunpur, together with portions of the Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Allāhābād, Partābār, Sūltānpūr, and Fyzābād Districts, all of which are now included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh). The Kāśi people are mentioned by Pānini and other authors in both Sanskrit and Pāli prior to the Christian era. Gradually the name was transferred from the people to their capital city, and the transition is marked in the Brhat Sanhitā, an early work, which applies the name Kāśi to both people and city. The Kāśis lost their independence at an early date, their kings being supplanted by the Kosalas, who in time assumed the name Kosalas (Oudh) before the time of Buddha. An ancient Kosalan king, named Kañsī, of uncertain date, is described as the ‘conqueror of Kāśī.’ Nevertheless, the older Buddhist books include Kāśī in the two principal States of India, although it was never independent in historical times. Gradually the name Kāsī or Kāśi (Pāli Kāśi) was transferred from the tribe to the city. The form Kāśikā also occurs.

The alternative name Varanasi (also Varanasi, Varanaśi) applied to be more ancient, was the name Kāśi as the designation of the city, and to be really its proper name. The Buddhist Jātakas and early Sanskrit books describe the city of Varanasi as being situated in the Kāśī country. Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim (A.D. 400), writes the name as Po-lo-nei, which seems to correspond with a spoken form Bōrānas. Huen Tsang (Yuan Chwang, A.D. 637) writes Po-lo-na-ne (= Varanasi or Baranasi). Popular etymology derives the name Bānāras (by metathesis of Baranas), either from an imaginary Rāja Baran or Barana, or from the names of the rivers Varan (Barnā) and Asī or Asī, but neither derivation can be accepted. In the Pūrānas the name Avimukta is given to the city, which is mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas under various fanciful names. The name Banaras appears in the Jain śāstra. Local tradition restricts the name of Banaras to the northern and apparently most ancient part of the city, the central block, also ancient, being
called Kāši, and the south-western section, the most recent, being known as Kedār. The attempt made by Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi (1719-48), to give his own name to the city, which he called Muhammadabad, failed. The general usage is concerned, but on his coins the name frequently occurs as that of a mint, and sometimes is written as Muḥammadābād-Benāres.

Hindu legend associates the foundation of the city with Rājā Divodāsa, who is the subject of wild mythological stories, and the Buddhist tales constantly mention Rājā Brahmadatta as having been king of Benares 'once upon a time,' but it is impossible to discover any basis of fact for either the names or the stories. Benares, with its surrounding territory, was absorbed, as already stated, by the greater Kingdom of Kosala, about b.c. 600, or earlier, and when Kosala in its turn was forced to bow to the growing power of Magadha (vulgo Kosala), not in our period, but in a previous century, the dominion of the Maurya, Sunga, and Gupta dynasties. In the 7th cent. the city passed under the rule of Harsha-vardhana, the powerful Vaisya king of Kanauj, and in the 9th cent. it was included in the dominions of the Pārāśrāja kings of Kanauj, and then in the 12th cent. the Gahāyūras of Kanauj, of whom the last, Rājā Jaychandra (Jayachand), was killed in A.D. 1193 (A.H. 589) in battle with Muhammad of Ghor (Shihāb-ud-dīn, Muhammad ibn Sīnā). From that time Benares remained under Musalman domination until 1775, when it was ceded to the government of Warren Hastings by the Nawāb Vāzir of Oudh. Since that date it has been British territory.

Aberdeen, Farquhar-i-Akbāri, ii. 28 [Gladwin's tr.], seems to have been misinformed in stating that Benares was visited twice by Sultan Mahāmīd of Ghazni in A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019-20) and A.H. 413 (A.D. 1022-23). The contemporary author of the Turākī-Subhutkīsin expressly states that no Musalman army had ever visited Benares until Ahmad NiẓāmīDīn made a hurried raid on the city for a few hours one day in A.D. 1033 (424-25 A.H.). The raiders were not in force sufficient to enable them to do more than plunder the richer shops. Musalman influence was not felt in Benares until the time of Muhammad of Ghor in A.D. 1193. The considerable effect of the long Musalman occupation for six centuries is shown by the fact that at the last census in 1901 Musalmans formed 28 per cent. of the population of this intensely Hindu city. The Maurya quarter is almost exclusively occupied by Musalmands, who are largely engaged in weaving the rich brocades (kīnkhāb, vulgo 'kincob') for which the city is famous.

Benares suffered severely from the persecuting policy of Aurangzeb, who went so far as to order the 'governors of provinces to destroy to a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship' (W. Hunter, Aurangzeb, 1806, p. 135). Complete general execution of such orders was impossible, but in Benares much was done, and multitudes of temples were destroyed. Very few of the existing temples, earlier than the time of Aurangzeb. The temple beside which stood the Asoka pillar seen by Hiuen Tsiang was converted into a mosque, although the massive pillar was allowed to remain until 1809, when it was broken to pieces by a furious Musalman mob, on the orders of the Nawāb旱ward, that adherents of the rival religions. This riot was still fresh in men's minds when Bishop Heber visited the city in 1824. The pillar, the stump of which is known as Laţ Dhario, and considered to be an object of great sanctity, is correctly described by the Chinese pilgrim in A.D. 637 as standing to the N.E. of the city and west of the Barānā river, whose course is described as similar to that of the Manzā, and the name is still used. Bernier mentions that the chief of the Benares pandits had been granted by Shahjahan a pension of two thousand rupees, which was withdrawn by Aurangzeb immediately after his accession.

The most conspicuous evidence of Aurangzeb's bigotry is the mosque above Panchganga Ghāt, the minarets of which (147 ft. 2 in. high) are by far the most imposing edifices in Benares. The mosque occupies the site of a large ancient temple dedicated to Śiva under the name of Bisheshar (Vīvesvāra), and is largely composed of materials of the Hindu shrine. The modern temple of Bisheshar, generally called the 'Golden Temple,' close by is small, but notable for its dome and tower covered with plates of gilt copper, the gift of Malārāj Rājīt Singh, the 'Lion of the Panjāb.' It is the most holy temple in Benares, Bisheshar being regarded as the actual ruler of the city.

2. Sacred places.—During the predominance of the Marāthās and before the 18th cent. it was more after the establishment of the British power, temple-building, which had been either forbidden or discouraged by the Musalman rulers, received a great impetus, and hundreds of new shrines have been constructed. Sherring estimates that out of 600 temples along the Panch-kōi, or pilgrims' road, round the city, no fewer than 500 date from the British period, and very few are 250 years old. This vigorous modern development of temple-building is the outward and visible sign of the marked revival of Hinduism under British protection, an in turn is still in progress and daily growing in strength. Most of the unrest at present (1909) agitating India is closely connected with the Hindu revival. Forty years ago the number of Hindu temples in Benares, excluding petty niches and shrines, was estimated as 1454, and now it must be considerably greater.

But, as already observed, Musalmands form 28 per cent. of the population, and they were credited by Sherring with 272 mosques. Notwithstanding the considerable success of the Muslim propaganda, indicated by these figures, Benares has always continued to be the most Hindu of cities, and few visitors find occasion to take note of the large Musalman population. The mosques, although numerous, are not remarkable for architectural merit, and even the mosque of Aurangzeb offers little worthy of notice beyond the noble minarets which tower above the city.

The most striking feature of Benares, best viewed from the river, is the long series of ghātés, or stairs leading to the water, which line the bank of the Ganges. They number about forty, and vary much in sanctity and popularity. The five principal ones, visited by all pilgrims, are, as reckoned from the south, Asī Saṅgāni (the junction of the Asī rivulet with the Ganges), Daśāsamedh (Daśāsvamedha), Mañikarnikā, Panchganga, and Banā Saṅgāni (the junction of the Banā river with the Ganges). Hindus always regard the junctions of streams with peculiar reverence. A Pilgrim visits to the Ganges either the complete course of pilgrimage, and the merit of bathing at Daśāsamedh Ghāt is equal to that of a pilgrimage to Prayāg (Allāhabād), where the Ganges unites its waters with those of the Ganges. The legend of bathing to expiate the virtue of the Daśāsamedh and Mañikarnikā Ghāt is too long for quotation, but we may note that five rivers, four being invisible to mortal eyes, are
supposed to meet at Panchganga (‘five-river’) Ghât. Their names are given as Bhûtâpâpi, Sarasvatî, Kîrânâ, Jârna (alias Yamuna = Junna), and Gangâ (Ganges). The belief in invisible subordinate beings, which is common among Hindus in many localities.

A considerable area round Benares shares in the sanctity of the city and rivers, and is circumambulated by pilgrims travelling along the Panchgâni road, which, however, does not seem to be ancient in its existing form.

The Panchgâni is regarded as an exceedingly sacred road. While even a foot or an inch beyond its precincts is desecrated by any profane visitation, the touch of soil within it is the Hindu’s imagination, hallowed. It would seem, too, that every object, animate or inanimate, existing within the enclosed space, participates in the general and all-pervading sanctity. The entire area is called Benares; and the religious privileges of the city are extended to every part of it. Who ever dies in any spot of this enclosure is, the natives think, sure of happiness after death; and so wide is the application of this privilege, that it embraces, they say, even Europeans and Muhammadans, even Pariahs and other outcasts, even hares, murderers, and thieves. That no soul can perish in Benares is thus the charitable superstition of the Hindus. (Sherring, The Sacred City of the Hindus).

The road is designed to describe the arc of a radius of five Kâs, or ten miles, with the Manikarnîka well as a centre, and is therefore called the ‘five-well road’.

The votary starts from the Manikarnîka Ghât to Asî Saîgam, and thence to the village of Kandiâwara, where he stays for the night. The second day he marches ten miles to Dhûlpândi; on the third day he has a long-walk of fourteen miles to Râmsâvar; on the fourth day he goes to Sâripur (Sivapur); and on the fifth day he advances to Kapîldhâr; the sixth and last stage being from Kapîldhâr to Bárni Saîgam, and so back to the starting-place at Manikarnîka Ghât. The distance of the total round trip is about 50 miles, and at each stage worship has to be performed and Brahmins must be paid. Liberal payments to Brahmins are an indispensable element in the programme of a Hindu pilgrimage, and the Benares Brahmins know how to use their opportunism. The Gangaputra (‘sons of the Ganges’), who attend on pilgrims at the ghâts, have a sinister reputation for unscrupulous greed.

It is impossible within the limits of an article to give a detailed account of even the principal temples of Benares. We may state them associated with him by exuberant Hindu imagination, but some slight notice of a few of the most sacred holy places and their legends is indispensable. We shall take Sherring as our guide.

The temple of Teli-chhatri dedicated to ‘three-eyed’ Siva have the special merit of securing everlasting happiness to the worshipper if he should die elsewhere. If a devotee spends a whole day and night in the month of Baisakh (April–May), without sleeping, and uninteruptedly engaged in religious exercises at this temple, he is promised final liberation (moksha) from the miseries of existence. Kâsi-devi, the tutelary goddess of the city, is housed in a temple in Mahâlî (ward) Khâtipura, which is believed to be the centre of the city. (Sherring, op. cit.).

A shrine close by, called Vyâsghât, is dedicated to Vyâs, the reputed compiler of the Vedas, who is also honoured at a temple in the palace of the Maharâjas at Râmgarh on the other side of the river, which is associated with a quaint myth. People who die on the Râmgarh ghât are supposed to incur imminent danger of being re-born as asses—an unpleasant fate which may be averted by a pilgrimage to the shrine of Vyâs (Veda Vyâs) there during the month of Magh (Jan.–Feb.). Multitudes of pilgrims make their pilgrimage during that month, and so doubly assure immortality from rebirth as a despised ass. The Hindus of Patna share the fears of the Râmgarh people, and for the same reason are cremated on the northern side of the river. The explanation given is that Ma-gadhia or ‘Aryan’, a non-Aryan and Buddhish land, is considered so unholy that if a man die and is burnt within its limits he is sure to be re-born as an ass (NINQ, vol. v. [1896], par. 533).

A visit to the very holy tank called Pîsîch-\[\text{\underline{m}ochan}, or ‘deliverance from devils,’ situated on the western side of the city, is compulsory on all pilgrims, who find its waters a valuable prophylactic against evil spirits and bad dreams. Pilgrims to Gayâ are required to certify that they have bathed in Pîsîch-mochan, but if for any reason the essential ceremony has been omitted, the fault may be repaired by ablation in a duplicatetank at Gayâ. Sun-worship is practised at the Sûravaj-kund, or ‘sun-pool,’ in the southern-western quarter, and a temple in the same region is devoted to Diruvasewar, the personified Pole-star. Another temple is dedicated to the moon-god, Châuâki Ghât and Nîg Kûn are devoted to serpentworship.

The existence of such shrines illustrates the immense variety of the elements constituting popular Hinduism. Hindu interest in astronomy and its sister sciences, astrology and astronomy, is a Mân-\[\text{\underline{m}owdier, the famous observatory with gigantic instruments of masonry constructed by Raja Jay Singh of Amber or Jaipur in A.D. 1693.}

The Indâsîavancha (Dâsilavancha) Ghâat, the reputed scene of the celebretion of ten horse-sacrifices (aśvamedha) by the god Brahmâ, is one of the five principal places of pilgrimage on the bank of the Ganges. The large colony of Bengalis, including many pensioners who retire to end their days in the holy city, occupies a separate ward, and is the only one where the bare-footed mendicant and the less educated sections of the population. The principal Bengali temple is dedicated to Siva as Kedârêvâr, ‘the lord of Keda,’ a renowned shrine in the Himalayas.

The holy wells occupy prominent places in the pilgrim’s circular tour. One of the most noted is the Gâyîn Kûp, or ‘well of knowledge,’ situated between the temple of Bisheshar and Aurangzeb’s mosque. The god Siva, who supports Benares on the point of his trident, is believed to reside in this well. The ancient mythology associates with it the name Manikarnâk, supposed to be filled with the sweat of Visnu. No pilgrim fails to smear his head and body with the stinking water.

The temple of Aumâpûrâ, the goddess who is credited with being the creator of the world and the protectress of the citizens under the orders of Bisheshar, the divine ruler of the city, is much frequented, and is the scene of indiscriminate alms-giving to crowds of beggars. It is known to Europeans as the ‘cow temple,’ and is the dirtiest in the city. It was built by the Peshâwâ, Bajî Râo, about 1721. At a little distance stands a temple dedicated to the minor deity, Gañêcha or Vinayakabôta, under the title of Sakhi, ‘the witness.’ Pilgrims, on completing their journey of the Panchgâni road, must pay a visit to this shrine in order that the fact of their pilgrimage may be verified. Should they neglect to do this, all their pilgrimage would be without merit or profit (Sherring, op. cit.).

Bisheshar, or Siva, with the title of Visveswara, ‘Lord of all,’ is held to be, as already observed, the divine ruler of the city, and is believed by the Hindus of controlling all the other innumerable gods and goddesses and keeping the city free from demons. The sacred boundary of the Panchgâni road is guarded by the deities of six hundred shrines, and the only day of the year as is fairly observed on the precise one who dwells in the Pîsîch-mochan tank. Bisheshar’s viceroy, the divine Kotwâl, or
Benares is sacred to the Jains as the reputed birthplace of Supārśvanāth, the seventh Tirthan-
karā, but at the present day the Jain cult is not very 
important in the city. Bishop Heber (Narrative, ch. xii.) gives an interesting account of his 
visit to a Jain temple where a few Europeans have been 
seen. Several Jain temples stand along the bank of the river between Bachraj Ghāt 
and the Asi confluence, and from regard to Jain 
feeling the shooting of birds and the capture of fish 
are forbidden in this section of the stream. The 
Jains were under the name of Nityanandus are 
noticed by Hiuen Tsang. All lists of the Hindu 
sacred cities, which slightly vary, include Benares.
The traditional enumeration quoted by Sherring 
specifies seven such cities, namely, (1) Kāśi, (2) 
Kānti, (3) Māya (=Hardwar), (4) Ayodhya, (5) 
Dvārakā (=Dvārakā), (6) Mathurā, and (7) Avantī 
(=Ujjain).
A 12th cent. grant places Kāśi at the head of a 
list of four famous places for bathing pilgrimages, 
the others being Kusāda (prob. =Kanauj), Uttarā- 
kosāla (=Ayodhyā), and Īndrapura (prob. = Īndrā- 
prastha near Delhi) (Ia xviii., 13).
A minor religion largely favoured by the lower 
classes of Hindus in Benares is the cult of the 
Pānch (Panj) Pir, or Five Saints, who are vari-
ously enumerated. The most famous of them, and 
headed by Ghāzī Mīyān, the deified son of the 
sister of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The cult 
is a degraded adaptation of the Shi‘ā Muham-
madans’ reverence for the five great saints of 
Islam, whose names Muhammad, his son, 
in-law ‘All, his daughter Fatima, and Hasan and 
Husayn, the sons of ‘Ali and Fatima. The subject 
was investigated exhaustively by R. Grevem, who 
collected the legends and popular songs of the 
cult. The ceremonies are invariably performed 
by Muslims. The Bihārī of Benares, who believe 
that the Muhammadan origin of the worship is fully 
recognized by its Hindu votaries. Most probably it 
originated in the invertebrate Hindu habit of venerating 
any manifestation of power. Ghāzī Mīyān, 
the ‘prince of martyrs,’ was a specially fierce fanatic, 
and so made his mark upon the popular imagi-
nation. Many examples might be cited of the 
indiscriminate mixture of the rites of Islam 
and Hinduism in the common people in various 
parts of India.

4. A seat of learning.—From time immemorial 
Benares has been a seat of Hindu learning as well 
as of worship, and has been the resort of the most 
famous teachers. The city still holds the highest 
rank as the centre of the intellectual life of India, 
and its pundits succeed, although not without 
difficulty, in keeping alight the torch of the 
wisdom of their ancestors.

Bernier, writing in 1667, accurately described the Indian 
method of study. ‘The town,’ he writes, ‘contains no colleges 
or regular classes, as in our universities, but rather resembles 
the schools of the ancients, the masters being dispersed over 
different parts of the city and each teaching in private houses. 
Sometimes in their own houses, sometimes in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit 
them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, 
and others six or seven; the most eminent have, as many as 
forty or fifty; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective 
preceptors, during which the work of instruction proceeds 
but slowly,’ etc. (Travels in the Mogul Empire, ed. Constable, 
p. 234).

In 1817, the year in which the Marāthi power was 
broken, a report obtained in the town who taught the śāstras, or Hindu scriptures, in 
Benares. Forty-eight teachers then instructed 893 
pupils in the Vedas only, while seventeen initiated 
218 disciples in the mysteries of Panini’s grammar. 
The other sections of the scriptures,including law, 
were little followed. The Bihari teachers 
—of the five recognized schools—follows in its 
main lines the system of Vijnāneshvara, the author
of the *Mātīkatāra*, who lived at Kalyāṇa in the Deccan in the 12th century.

At the beginning of the 19th century competition of European learning must have reduced the attendance at the Sanskrit schools, and the number of pupils must be far less than it was a century ago, when Marāṭhā patronage was available. It is an established rule that a teacher of the scriptures should not be paid wages for his work, and must be content to trust to the voluntary benevolence of his patrons. This rule caused the failure of the Sanskrit College established in 1791, which could not easily secure the services of the local savants. The building could only accommodate the missionaries here. The municipal committee of the missionaries. The Queen's College, dating from 1853, which has been worked on other lines under the direction of eminent European principals and professors, has done much to promote the scientific study of Sanskrit. The Central Hindu College, founded by Mrs. Besant in 1898, with the object of bringing up young men on the best Hindu principles, while giving them free access to European learning, is an interesting experiment, which may or may not survive its founder.

5. Religious teachers, etc.—A full account of all the distinguished religious reformers who have dwelt or sojourned in Benares from the time of Buddha, twenty-four centuries ago, to the present day would almost amount to a history of Indian philosophy, and particularly of Hinduism (see below). The connexion of *Buddha* with Benares will be dealt with in the art. *SĀRNĀTH*, and it will be sufficient here largely to give the names of some of the leaders of Indian thought who have been more or less closely associated with the sacred city; they will be dealt with in separate articles.

The earliest of such leaders among whom we know anything definite is the renowned *Śaṅkarāchārya*, the Brahman of Malabar, who lived for a considerable time in Benares, surrounded by a large circle of disciples. The weaver-poet *Ketūr*, founder of the Kabir Panthi sect, a disciple of Rāmānand, was a native of Benares, and lived there from about 1380 to 1420. *Chaitanya*, the revered Vaiṣṇava apostle of Bengal (1455-1533), resided at Benares for some time, and in *Sāri* plates (1478-1530), which established the Rādāhaballabhī sect, died in the holy city. No name sheds more glory upon Benares than that of *Tulsī Dās* (1532-1624), author of the *Rāma-charita-mānas*, the Hindi equivalent of the *Rāmāyana*, the favourite book among the high-caste race of Northern India. He spent the greater part of his long life at Benares, and a manuscript of his chief work, written about twenty-four years after his death, is in the possession of the Mahārājā, who is the owner of a fine library and an interesting collection of old Indian paintings. The monastery (math) where the poet lived and the ruins ghāṭ called after his name are near the Aśi confluence. During the 18th and 19th centuries many Hindu authors of more or less note, whose names have been laboriously collected by *Grierson*, resided at Benares; the most notable, perhaps, being *Gokul Nāth*, whose *Bhāgavatā* version of the *Mahābhārata* was published at Calcutta in 1829, and *Harīchandra* (1830-85), the poet, critic, and journalist. *Ward* notices the remarkable case of *Hāti Vidyālākhārī*, a learned Bengālī lady, who taught the śāstras at Benares a few years prior to 1817. The Sanskrit College issues a periodical called *The Pandit*, which deals with Sanskrit texts.

The city as a whole is one of the most learned in India, but they are so intensely conservative that most of them will have nothing to do with modern notions, and so are losing influence over the young men of these days, who cannot shut their eyes and ears to the signs of the times. Mrs. Besant's College, already mentioned, has been organized on a somewhat modernized Hinduism of a broad and liberal kind. The Mission is attended by about 120 high-caste girls.

6. Missions.—The long-continued labours of the European missionaries settled at Benares for nearly a century culminated in the founding of the Mission. The London Missionary Society was founded in 1817, and in the same year the Baptists of Serampore formed a branch of their organization under charge of an Eurasian agent. The work of the London Missionary Society began fifty years later. Mr. *Wesley* established a mission about 1850. The chief missionary institutions are in the suburbs of Sīgra.

The college founded in the 17th cent. by Rājā Jay Singh, who established the observatory, has passed into the hands of the Church Missionary Society. The missionaries have done most good service in the cause of secular education, especially during the years prior to the foundation in 1857. Since that date their institutions have been overshadowed by those immediately under the Department of the Secretary to the Indian Government. The direct outcome of missionary effort in the way of conversions of adults appears to be very small, and it is obvious that Benares must always present special difficulties to the preacher of Christian doctrines.

**Literature.—**North-West Cantonment Survey Map, 6 inches to mile (Calcutta, 1869); *Jf,*, *Thornton, Bengal*, 1855; *Hamilton, Description of Hindostan* (London, 1890); *James Frougpe, Benares Illustrated* (Calcutta and London, three series, 1852-54); *Victor's plates*, 1850-51; *Journal of Travelling*, The Sacred City of the Hindus (London, 1889); and *Handbook* for Visitors to Benares (Calcutta, 1873; an abstraction from the larger work); *J. Ewen, Benares: A Handbook for Visitors* (Calcutta, 1858; Inaccurate in details); *E. B. Havell, Benares, the Sacred City* (London, 1866; well illustrated); *Journal of Travelling* in *Buddhist Kingdoms*, tr. *Legge* (Oxford, 1889); *Huin Tsiang (or Yuan Chwang), Buddhist Records of the Western World*, tr. *Hild* (London, 1858); *Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-55 ed. (London, 1904); *Bennett, Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1856-65 ed. (London, 1856); *Gazetteer*. *Eclectic Travels in India*, tr. *V. Hall* (London, 1859); *Bishop Heber, Narrative of a Journey through the Provinces of India*, 1821-45 ed. (London, 1844); *Ward, The Hindoos* (2 vols., quarto, Calcutta, 1845); *Rhys Davids, Buddhist India* (1893); *Grierson, The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (London, 1900); *K. C. Aiyar, Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya* (Madras, 1893); *R. Greeneen, Wisdom of the Pandit* (1908); *Oriental Records* (1915), 9th Annual Rep. of Central Hindu College (1906-07).

**VincenT A. SMITH.**

**Bene-Israel** (more correctly *Besi-Israel* = בֵּנֵי-ירָשָׁי, i.e. 'Children of Israel').—By this name is designated a body of Jews inhabiting the Bombay Presidency of India. The community is important in its numbers, amounting to some ten thousand souls, and remarkable in its character. A number of peculiar religious usages among them reward careful attention.

1. Origin and history.—No historical records of their past are possessed by the Bene-Israel. The legend preserved by them as to their arrival in India is that in 683 BC, seven men and seven women were cast by a shipwreck on the Indian coast at a point some thirty miles south of the island of Bombay. Many of the less fortunate of their company were drowned in the disaster, and their bodies when washed ashore were buried by their comrades in two tumuli—those of the men in one, and those of the women in the other. These mounds the Bene-Israel still show in the village of Nau- gaon (or 'New Village'), near the Collectorate of the country. While their numbers have increased in numbers, are said to have spread throughout the villages of the Konkan, in the neighborhood of their first Indian home. In these places they practised chiefly the trade of...
oil-pressing; and this avocation, coupled with their habit of observing Saturday and giving their oxen rest from the oil-mills on that day, gained for them the appellation of Shomar-Teli, or 'Saturday Oil-men,' whereby they distinguished them from their own Hindu oil-men, who rested their bullocks on Mondays, and were therefore called Somar-Teli. This name is in use to the present day.

It is worthy of note that, in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot which the Bene-Israel claim as the place of their first landing in India, there used to exist an important seaport and emporium of trade, which was frequented by the ancient Arabs. This community of traders, having established themselves here, were known as the Arabian, Persian, and other ports. It was known by the name of 'Chennul' (pronounced 'Tsemvul'), and was almost certainly the 'Simulla' or 'Timoula' of Ptolemy the geographer (A.D. 150) and others.† In Buddhist inscriptions it appears in the form 'Chemula.' Chinese travellers have called it 'Tchi-Mo-Lo'; Arabic writers, 'Salmur' and 'Jaimur.' It is represented by the present insignificant village and port of Revandada, dating from the time of the Portuguese, and situated some two miles inland. Many earlier harbours have vanished owing to the silting up of the creek. The caprices of local misrule at one period closed this ancient port to foreign trade, and this perhaps may have been the means of cutting off the Bene-Israel from the outside world, and leaving them alone to develop their own local customs and institutions. Their remarkable independence and distinctiveness may perhaps be traced in some measure to their seclusion from the better known Indian remnant of their people inhabiting the Malabar coast. For example, the latter, owing doubtless to their having preserved the means of communication with their brethren in other parts of the world, have retained their knowledge of Hebrew, whereas the Bene-Israel had, till lately, lost all knowledge of their ancient tongue.

Though ranking among the fairest of the people of the country, the Bene-Israel, as to complexion, stature, and grace, stand alone among the more ancient races of India. Most of their habits and modes of life and dress they have also accommodated themselves to the ways of the land they live in, and they speak the Marathi vernacular. Till lately they have wholly rejected the 'Yahudi,' and it is impossible to regard the title as a stigma if applied to them, and have insisted instead on the appellation 'Bene-Israel.' Some would account for this by supposing that at some time or other the adoption of the latter title may have served to screen them from persecution by Muhammadans; but it is, on the whole, more probable that the origin of the name is to be sought in some more positive source. One's eyes naturally turn to the lands which first received the deportations of the Israelites of both captivities, and which continued for many centuries to be the centre of the life of Israelites both of the ten tribes and of the two tribes last taken captive. J. Brühl 2 relates that in Persia he found the Jews almost invariably calling themselves 'Israel' instead of 'Yahud,' and he believes it very probable that many of the Jews of Persia and of Kurdistan (which is partly under Persian and partly under Turkish rule), as well as numbers of the Nestorian Christians, 3 are descendants of

2 The author of the above work (p. 287) refers to it as "Semulla.
3 Their works: Where are They? London, 1850.
4 For the Jewish descent of many of the Nestorian Christians of Kurdistan, see, besides Brühl, Rabhi Benjamin u., "Beght der ten tribes. There are several cogent reasons for connecting the early Jews of India with those of Persia as to origin. Early navigation made the transit between the Indian and Persian seas easy. Again, in South India the Jews of Malabar are found to be located side by side with an historic body of Christians, no less unique in character than themselves, known as the Christians of St. Thomé, and these, if not actually derived originally from Persia, as some hold, may have come at any rate in their early history most intimately associated with that country, as is witnessed by the discovery of three ancient Persian stone crosses, and also by the well-known fact that among this community there was a remnant direct from Persia itself.‡ There is therefore no difficulty in believing that Persia, the depositing ground of the Israelites of both exiles, and the place in which they were long massed together in the greatest numbers, and where, also, in later times they were not infrequently subjected to severe persecutions,§ may have been the country which furnished Indian shores with many a contingent of Israelite immigrants. These would probably have been, after all, but the successors of those Persians who had passed to India, and left along the well-known trade routes to India, for purposes of merchandise. It is, however, at the same time right to mention that some have believed the Bene-Israel to be an offshoot of the Jews of Yemenu (Arabia Felix). Agreeing bishops direct from Persia itself, but, impossible, or, indeed, altogether unlikely view, may be set the fact that no marks of intimacy or tradition of any common origin survive to the present day; nor is there traceable much that is common to the Yemenite Jews and the Bene-Israel in their distinctive observations. To the unbiased observer the Bene-Israel suggest themselves as the descendants of Hebrews who at their first introduction into India must have made somewhat free alliances with the women of the land (as, according to ancient pre-Talmudic Hebrew practice, there was hardly a bar to their doing **), and thus an infiltration of Indian blood into their community would have taken place at an early stage of their sojourn in India. This was doubtless soon succeeded by a rigid practice of allowing marriage only with members of their own body—a rule which, example and influence of the Hindu caste system around them would have tended to encourage, and to which they have doubtless ever since most strictly adhered.

At the present day the Bene-Israel Hindu caste could be more exclusive in regard to this custom of allowing racial intermixtures than the Bene-Israel. They outban and stigmatize at once as Kádá Ílal, or 'Black Israel,' all offspring of mixed unions. Such are not allowed at communal feasts to sit in close proximity to the rest of the community, or to

5 See G. Miller, Maha, Sprich Church in India (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 15-30.
6 A., pp. 114-130.
7 The Jews of India, whose earliest connexions were with Persia, entered China by sea, via India, if tradition be correct.
8 As in the year a.d. 466, under the name of Peroz, 'The Wicked.'
9 Wilson, The Bene-Israel of Bombay: an Appeal, also Land of the Bible, ii. 668. Rabbi J. Saphir, like Dr. Wilson, considers that the physiognomy of the Bene-Israel resembles that of the Jews of Arabia rather than that of the Jews of Persia, to which the name "Israel" may perhaps be referred.†
10 J. Wilson, The Bene-Israel of Bombay: an Appeal, also Land of the Bible, ii. 668. Rabbi J. Saphir, Like Dr. Wilson, considers that the physiognomy of the Bene-Israel resembles that of the Jews of Arabia rather than that of the Jews of Persia, to which the name "Israel" may perhaps be referred.†
intermarry with any except their own class. An analogy would seem to exist both from the Bene-Irael to the more or less unique Jewish communities, such as the Falashas of Abyssinia, the Jews of K'ai-feng in China, the Jews of Yemen, and some among the so-called 'Black Jews' of Malabar, all of whom, while they manifest undoubted Jewish characteristics, have, however, no connection with the Bene-Israel, and reveal no less clearly traces of some intermixture with the people among whom they have sojourned.

In the case of the Bene-Israel there is a characteristic type pervading the whole community which bespeaks the genuine Hebrew stock from which they spring. But it is necessary that we should

2. Religious customs. It would be expected beforehand that a people with the antecedents we have described would exhibit much that was peculiar and interesting in their religious customs, when they again came into notice; and this is certainly the case with the Bene-Israel.

Three characteristic Hebrew observances which never died out among them first claim notice. These are (1) the practice of circumcision, (2) the keeping of the Sabbath, and (3) the retention in some cases of peculiar Jewish formula, the Shema 'Yisrael' (commencing, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, One Lord'). For want of a liturgy they were accustomed to use, in their ignorance, the words of the latter formula on every occasion, as a substitute for a prayer, repeating the sentence several times over. We have noted their requirement of the title Shomrei Teli ('Saturday Oil-men'), on account of their unkurying their oxen on Saturdays in observance of the Jewish Sabbath. A further distinctive habit which has clung to them, though some are dropping it now, is the custom of wearing side-locks of their hair (nishe), in reference to Lv 19:27 28. To this custom the fashion commonly adopted of shaving most or all of the rest of the head is wont to give a peculiarly exaggerated appearance.

(a) Fasts and festivals. A regular sequence of religious seasons, fasts, and festivals has been in vogue among the Bene-Israel, and these when examined are found to coincide remarkably with the usual festivals and fasts of the Jews. They were preserved, however, wholly under Indian names, the latter being often connected with some special kind of food partaken of, or abstained from, on the occasion of, or being given on account of the festivity or fast; bearing some resemblance to, or coinciding in point of time with, similar Hindu festivals. Thus the Feast of Tabernacles (kept, however, a fortnight out of time) was known as the 'Feast of partaking of Khr', a kind of confection made of new rice, sugar, scraped coconut, and spices. The Day of Atonement was termed 'Fast of Door-closing,' because on this day all rigidly shut themselves up in their houses, wearing white clothing even to their very caps, and avoiding converse or contact with others. Purim was called 'Feast of Holi,' because the time of keeping it coincided with a Hindu festival of the same name, one of rowdy and debased character, observed at the same time. Passover was known as the 'Feast of Jar-closing,' the jar being one containing a sour mixture or sauce, to which conceivably a suspicion of fermented liquid or leaven may have been held to attach.

The Lord of Ab (for the designation of the first Temple) was characterized as 'Fast of [partaking of] Birkya,' the latter being a sort of pulse put into the curry on this day, a vegetable dish having been adhered to during the eight days preceding the Fast of Weeks had somehow dropped out of use.

The festivals and fasts so far mentioned appear to form a class of their own among the Bene-Israel. They are all alike designated by the word yom (pronounced to rhyme with 'torn'), which is a Marathi word, meaning 'day,' and also 'festival.' The word yom can denote both 'fast' and 'festival.' It will be observed that the seasons of observance already described relate uniformly to the chief and oldest Jewish festivals and fasts. There is a further set of festivals and fasts, also in vogue among the Bene-Israel, which have every appearance of being a class by themselves, and which have probably been superinduced in later times upon their older observances, presumably at the instigation of comparatively recent Jewish visitors and reformers from without. These latter are alluded to while relating almost entirely to Jewish holidays of later institution, are known among the Bene-Israel by names derived from the Hindustani language only, such as roza, of Persian origin, and roza, which, in the latter class belong the ten days of expiation observed by Jews preceding the Day of Atonement, on which special penitential prayers called segihoth are used, and which, because of their bearing some resemblance to the long fast of the Muhammadan, were called by the Bene-Israel Mazran. A day after the keeping of Navachya Seg or 'New Year's Festival,' occurs the Navachya Roza, or 'Fast of the New [Year].' It corresponds probably to the Fast of Gedahah, kept by Jews on the 23rd of Tishri; but it so precedes it by twenty days. Two fasts occurring at two different seasons of the year are observed under the one name of Subab Roza, the one fast apparently corresponding to the Fast of the 10th of Tebeth, commemorating the beginning of the siege of Jeru-salem, and the other to the Fast of the 17th of Tamuz, kept in remembrance of the breach made in the wall of Jerusalem. The meaning of the word Subab is obscure. According to its Hindustani meaning of "meritorious," it might denote that the keeping of these additional fasts was considered meritorious; or, if, as referred to the Hebrew root se'ah (to surround), an allusion to the investment of the city would be obvious.

* * * * *

The rice-bread almost exclusively used by the Bene-Israel is at all times an unleavened bread.

1 Birdgildar Seg.

The modern Jewish habit of doubling the first and last days of many festivals was not known to the Bene-Israel.

2 Such a reformer may have been David Bahabi, who is said by the Bene-Israel to have visited them long ago, and to have instituted this reform. He may have come from Cochinn, where the surname 'Bahabi' (signifying 'Egyptian') still exists in the form of 'Babhi.' Such an one would have possessed no doubtless connexion with the Bene-Israel, being of the medium of the Hindustani dialect, only in that case he must have visited them subsequently to about A.D. 1400, before which date Hindustani (or Urdu) was not a spoken language—not, as the Bene-Israel think, 500 years ago.

In the Bene-Israel add to these days a special fast during the preceding month of Elul (cf. Leo Melena [Rabbin of Venice, (1637), History of the Rites, Customs, and Manner of Life of the Present Jews in the East and West]), because do they begin on the first day of Elul, which is the month immediately going before, to think of Acts of Penance; and in some places, in the first three days, and in some places, in the confession of their sins, and release the Penance Papers. And there are many amongst them, the so-called Fasts, do Penitential Days, who aim to the Poor, continuing on this course, till the Day of Pardon comes; that is to say, for the space of four days.

3 These are the explanations suggested as possible by Mr. Isaac S. Sketchman. The writer of this article would take the
A very extraordinary festival, and one now hardly observed, was that known as *Elijah hanabiche 'urs*, or 'the Pair of Elijah the Prophet.' In keeping with the Hebrew origin of the Bene-Israel, the festival was held near a village-spot in the Konkan, named Khandalla, where, according to a legend, Elijah the prophet had once appeared to them, and thence had ascended to heaven. In date this festival corresponds to a Jewish one known as the 'New Year of the Trees' (נהוג שנה עץ), in reference to I Kings 19:1-2. The observance of such a festival as this seems indicative of a very prolonged sojourn of the Bene-Israel in India; for such a mixture of knowledge and ignorance in regard to the prophet Elijah is almost unique. The Bene-Israel have adopted this festival, as that mentioned, can hardly have sprung up and taken fixed form in a short time. Hindus are accustomed to keep *mela*, or 'religious fairs,' in honour of their temples, and the Indian Muhammadans have also similar fairs, called by them *urs*, in honour of the tombs of their *pirs*, or departed saints; and the Bene-Israel, in the strange custom that we have mentioned, must have been adopting the habits of the country.

(6) *Nasirite vow.*—Besides these rites and holidays, the Bene-Israel have several interesting customs not so generally in use among Jews elsewhere, one of which is an apparent survival of the Nasirite vow. A boy in infancy is made the subject of a vow on the part of his parents, that he shall not have a male offspring, or that his first child shall have died. From the time when the vow is made till the time of its redemption no razor is permitted to pass over the head of the child. In consequence, a lad comparatively grown up may often be seen with long hair tressed up behind his head after the manner of a woman. When the time arrives that his parents feel able to redeem their vow, the hair is shaved off and weighed in the scales against gold or silver, or whatever else the parents may have before decided to give, and the equivalent so obtained is devoted to religious purposes. The shaved-off hair, instead of being burnt (Nu 6:18), is thrown into some tank or river, probably in keeping with the customs of Hindus and Indian Muhammadans, who are much given to the burning of leaves or twigs from the *melad,* or *muhadd,* a kind of bush or tree, by the riversides, in the immersing of something in the water, the custom probably having its roots in Hindu veneration for the rivers Ganges, which is commonly credited with the power of re appearing unimpaired.

(c) Burning of frankincense.—A custom hardly less interesting than the foregoing, and one which prevailed till quite lately among the Bene-Israel, was the burning of frankincense on a number of religious occasions. Quite recently they have been dissuaded from its use by their Jewish co-religionists of other lands, who have represented to them that the practice was a superstitious one, copied from surrounding idolatry. It is by no means certain, however, that this custom had not its own ancient and independent origin. It is significant that the Jews in China had a provision for learning incense in their synagogue at K'ai-feng-fu, it being a mark of Imperial favour that the incense for the purpose was provided free of cost by the Emperor himself. As already mentioned, the tradition was that the Jews from the old Israel migrated by sea, via India, in the first instance.*

An indispensable concomitant in a number of the religious ceremonies of the Bene-Israel is a sweet-smelling herb named *malda.* Botanically it is the *Ocymum sanctum,* or 'holy basil,' the well-known sacred plant of the Hindus, called by them the *tulsi.* The important place which the *tulsi* twig occupies in numerous ceremonies of the Bene-Israel suggests the possible idea of its being used as a substitute for the hyssop of Mosaic ordinances.

(d) *Offerings.*—Certain religious offerings are made by the Bene-Israel, but they are little heeded by others, and have little commercial attention. A singular feature in them is the offering of goats' liver or of the gizzards of fowls (whichever animals may have been slain on the occasion). These portions, after being cooked, are thrown to the dogs. If the animal be a non- religious ceremony, the rest of the flesh of the animals slain being eaten by the host and guests assembled. It should be observed here that the Bene-Israel rarely, if ever, partake of any other flesh than that of goats (including occasionally those known as *malda* by many) or fowls; a kind of cake or pudding, is used ceremonially by them. The impression irresistibly conveyed to the observer by all this is that these are survivals in this community of the ancient meat-offerings of Mosaic times, if not also vestiges of ancient sacrifices themselves. As a typical example of the way in which the various articles mentioned above, including frankincense, *malda,* and *malda,* were employed by the Bene-Israel in various ceremonies connected with festivals, vowing, etc., we may quote the following description of a ceremony performed at the fulfillment of a vow, as given by Haeeem S. Kehikmar, in his Sketch of the History of the Bene-Israel:

' *A feast was set on* in the evening in the following manner:—After the invited party came in, a clean white towel or clean white sheet was spread on the floor, whereon a dish containing cakes of wheaten bread made of rice-flour besmeared with sweets, twigs of *sabăh,* and five pieces of the cooked liver of a goat, was placed. Another dish containing cakes of wheaten flour fried in oil, and waters of uncleaned bread also fried in oil, andivers and gizzards of as many fowls as may have been killed on the occasion, was also placed there. The dish also contained a glass of wine or other liquor as a drink-offering; and several other plates filled with all sorts of fruits were placed upon the seat, over which they said the *Kriyât Shema* about a dozen times. After the ceremony was over, a host-mahadd, together with a twig of *malda* and a piece of each of the articles placed in the dish and in the plates, were taken by the man who officiated as priest in his own hands, and were given to the first person who made the vow, he asked her what had caused her to make the vow. On her giving the reason, she was told that she was free from her vow, and the priest was given the articles in the dish and plates were distributed among the party, except the pieces of liver and gizzards, as well as the five pieces of cakes and waters, which were kept by the officiating priest for himself, while the guests were served with the feast.'* 

(e) *Dieta ry.*—With regard to dietary rules, it was customary with the Bene-Israel either to remove the sinew in the leg, in accordance with Gn 30:29, or if, skill sufficient for this somewhat intricate operation did not exist, to reject as food all flesh or flesh and liver. Note also that this is the same as in certain customs in use among Chinese Jews pointed to a pre-Talmudic origin.
the hindquarters of the animal altogether.* Blood, fat, animals strangled or maimed by beasts of prey, the Bene-Israel shunned altogether as food. In regard to fish, they would eat only those which kind have fair and clean.

(f) Kiss of peace.—In common with the Jews of Cochin, the Bene-Israel preserve the custom of parting at their religious gatherings with the Kiss of Peace. The custom likewise prevails among the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar, and is found, again, amongst the East Syrian Christians of Kurdistan.† This may be taken as one more indication of the probable link of connexion between the Jews of India and those of Persia in ancient times, equally as it is remembered, as we have already mentioned (see above, p. 470), that the Nestorian Christians of Kurdistan have a tradition of having been originally converts from Judaism. In performing the salutation among the Bene-Israel, the chief minister first bestows it on the most important persons present near him, by receiving the fingers of the outstretched hand (the palms held vertically) between his own hands, after which the hands of both are simultaneously released, and the tips of the fingers of each person pass over the tips of the fingers of the other. The lips are already saluted to bestow the salutation on others, the younger usually seeking it from the older, and inferiors from their superiors, till all have saluted each other. The procedure continues for some two or three minutes, during which an audible sound of the lips is heard throughout the synagogue.

(g) Cup of blessing.—At the close of some services in their newly-revived synagogues a ceremony takes place which has been termed by Christians who have observed it, 'the Cup of Blessing';‡ A cup, containing the wine or minchah for the poor, is put into the hands of the minister, who, after first pronouncing a blessing over it, partakes of a portion of it. The remainder is then poured by the attendants into a large vessel containing much more of the same mixture. The shabbat, or sabbath, then passing round the assembly, with one or more assistants, distributes the contents of the vessel to each member of the assembly by means of pairs of little silver cups, one of which is being filled while the other is being emptied by the minister. As the antiquity of this custom it is difficult to pronounce. In the opinion of some it is merely the performance of the usual Jewish ceremony of the Habdalah (חסדיה) in the synagogue instead of in the home; and if so, it may be of comparatively recent introduction.

3. Use of Hebrew names.—The Bene-Israel have mostly retained the use of Biblical names, but the latter have commonly assumed an Indianized form, as Baneji for Benjamin, Abaji for Abraham, and the like.|| Similarly the names of

the women receive the Indian affix bai (corresponding to our Mrs. and Miss) appended to them, as, for example, Sarahbai, Miriambai, and the like. When the names of all the Bene-Israel are purely Indian, they do not appear to be in any case compounded with the name of any Hindu deity, as is largely the case among Hindus. Surnames (which the Bene-Israel are gradually discarding) were formed by the addition of the syllable kar (pronounced to rhyme with 'stir,' and equivalent in meaning to 'inhabitant of') to the name of the village with which a man's family had become identified in the earlier days of Israelite settlement, such as Kihimbars* resident in (the village of) Kilino.|| Wilson has remarked that at the time when he made his investigations the name Rouken was the most common amongst men, and that the favourite Jewish names of Jehuda and Esther were not found. Both names have come into use among the Bene-Israels now.

4. Hindu customs.—Though preserving their characteristics and religion remarkably in the midst of an unfavourable environment, the Bene-Israel have not survived their long isolation altogether unshaken. Certain domestic customs and usages, too numerous and intricate to detail at any length, still linger among them, more particularly in rural parts, and specially among the women of the community. These owe their origin purely to Hind- uism, though not all of them are of idolatrous or superstitious character. Such customs are found plentifully connected with marriage ceremonies; also with occasions of birth, puberty, betrothal, sickness, and death.* On an occasion of small-pox, or even during a performance of vaccination, the goddess of small-pox, Skhtalwadi by name, is sought to be propitiated by some, and the furtive keeping of Hindu idols has not been unknown. As to the use of charms, and superstitious usages at childbirth, many parallels of a no less debased kind could be drawn from Kabbalistic practices under the sanction of modern rabbinical Judaism (see Beth [Jewish]). Rabbin Solomon in his Travels mentions that in the year 1816 he saw at Bell-gum (a town in the south of the Bombay Presidency) the following antiquity of the Bene-Israel. A portion of the army stretching forth the fingers of their hands to the fire and kissing them as they lit the lamps.† It is right to say that a great effort has been made in recent years by the Bene-Israel as a body to throw off all this, and that a great change has already taken place already.

5. Organization.—As to communal organization, the Bene-Israel, under the older order of things, recognized the authority of a headman, called a nuqaddum, over each village community where affluent in numbers, whose powers were considerable. He would assemble the community when necessary, preside over their deliberations, and act as their executive in matters relating to caste-discipline or organization generally. Besides this officer, there was another (not, however, found in every village) named the qazi, meaning properly 'judge.' To him pertained the religious duties of ministrations at religious ceremonies, the performance of circumcision, marriage, rites of burial, and frequently the slaughtering of animals. With the nuqaddum and qazi were associated certain

1796. His name was Samaici (Samuel) Hasani (Haskel, i.e. Ezekiel) Dickor (resident of the village of Dickor).||Wilson, Siam (Bey-town), ii. 672.

A ceremony for placing a distinction or line of demarcation between the times of the daylight-works and the Sabbath.

A good example is the name of the retired commander who built the first synagogue of the Bene-Israel in Bombay in
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chauldre, or ‘elders’ (properly four in number) who assisted them as counsellors. At communal meetings all adult members had a voice.*

6. Modern conditions.—It is only in quite recent times that the Bene-Israel have emerged into the light of history. It is through the observations and researches of Christians that they have become known, and in fact have been raised to some degree of education and advancement, and provided with their Scriptures and fresh beginnings of a knowledge of Hebrew.

(a) State of transition.—The long centuries during which they had previously remained hidden from notice can, it may safely be surmised, never have their story told. We now see the Bene-Israel at the transition state, just as they are reaching out towards modern modes of life and culture. Their present tendency and aim is to forsake the ancient landmarks of the past, which it has been the object of this article to try to search out and describe. Their present effort is to conform themselves in all respects to the ways of modern Judaism, choosing as their standard the easier and more liberal principles of the Reformed School of Judaism rather than the more rigid ones of strict Talmudic Judaism, which, indeed, their present ignorance of native learning and culture will not allow to follow. While they are in this transition state, it is now and then difficult to determine what has been of ancient usage among them and what has been of late, or of comparatively late, introduction. The study is further complicated by the probable occasional encroaching that has taken place, upon their original observances, of some of later date by occasional visitors and reformers at long intervals, in the way we have described. Previously the home of the Bene-Israel was exclusively among the merchants, and it was along this line of occupation that they have advanced. While many of their members, both men and women, are now engaged in the secular professions and trades, their occupation is still largely that of the merchant. In the towns of India they reside in the central part of the city, and their establishments are frequently under one roof. They are also found in the large seaports, such as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In the towns of India they are found in large numbers, and their establishments are frequently under one roof. They are also found in the large seaports, such as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras.

(b) Occupations.—Formerly, besides following their hereditary occupation of oil-pressing, many became also owners of land, cartmen, carpenters, stone-cutters, and cultivators. Now, in addition to their religious occupations, and under the East India Company there is a growing number of Jews who have become officials and miners, and into the services of government, railways, and the municipalities; and some into the learned professions also. In ancient times they displayed great prowess as soldiers, and under the East India Company they failed to rise to the position of non-commissioned and commissioned officers. They proved loyal to a man to the British at the time of the Mutiny. The new system of ‘promotion by caste returns,’ by which the numerical strength of a particular caste is required, as well as intrinsic merit, to secure advancement, has served greatly to deter a minority like the Bene-Israel from now entering to any large extent on a military profession. Not many are possessed of wealth at present, and it is a regrettable fact that some who at one time were well off have squandered their patrimony and become poor.

(c) Synagogues and worship.—In India the Bene-Israel had no synagogues or houses of prayer. The oldest of their synagogues in Bombay (which is the site of the ancient Bene-Israel) is the Bene-Israel Synagogue, which was erected in the 16th century, and which is still in use. The Bene-Israel Synagogue in Madras was built in 1740, and is still in use. In Bombay they have erected, mostly within the last hundred years, four or five synagogues of their own, two of which are of a permanent character, specially built as synagogues, and outside of Bombay eight or nine in different townships. In all of these worship is conducted in the native way. In the Bene-Israel Synagogue they possess the usual staff of synagogue officers, namely, the hazzän, or reader, the gabbai, or treasurer, the shanah, or sexton, etc.; and use the modern Jewish Prayer-Book of the Sephardim. They have now procured the aid of the Law, and read from them in the usual way. They have, however, no kohanim (supposed Levitical priests); and therefore the few functions assigned to such in the usual Jewish ritual have to be performed by members of the Bene-Israel Synagogue. They hardly now maintain their old character for the keeping of the Sabbath, for in Bombay and other centres of trade they attend offices, factories, and workshops in large numbers on that day. Though domiciled for a long course of centuries in India, they have done nothing to convert their Indian neighbours to the faith of the God of Abraham. In this respect their influence appears to have been nil.

(d) Chief characteristics.—The Bene-Israel are as yet but a feeble folk. Nevertheless they possess many sterling qualities, which might readily place them in advance of many another race. They are not too ready to be quarrelsome, and displaying too great a fondness for liquor on festive occasions, especially on the part of the rising generation living amongst the temptations of large cities, they have always been good citizens and for courtesy and hospitality they are unsurpassed. Their women show considerable aptitude as teachers and nurses, when properly trained. In regard to religious inquiry, great indulgence and want of sternness prevail; and the Jews are so materialistic and indifferent as to almost lose sight of the true quality of Jewish life altogether. They are not of the great religious and political movements, and for courtesy and hospitality they are unsurpassed. A great future in India may be in store for such a people as this, if they will live fully up to their opportunities.


J. HENRY LORD

BENEVOLENCE. — I. The meaning of the Hebrew word. — The NT writers are concerned mainly with practical morality. They make no attempt to frame a system of ethics. In studying one of the NT virtues, accordingly, we need hardly try to reach a definition of the term; rather note the value in it of the ultimate principle of NT morality, viz. love, and to trace its development in the NT.

* Their services are in Hebrew, a language which many can now read, but hardly can understand; many of their efforts have been based, by the way, on the idea that they are a link between the two languages by providing services having the Hebrew interwoven with Marathi. The daily service

* The most modern religious revival amongst the Bene-Israel is connected with the names of a group of Jews from Cochin in the early part of the last century. Prominent amongst these were the family of Solomon Shalma (Solomon) Sons Shalma, who died in 1856, after twenty years spent in endeavours for the religious reformation of the Bene-Israel (see Hasen S. Kehimkar, Sketch, p. 22).

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the phases of character and conduct in which its presence is marked.

In considering the operation of the supreme prime of benevolence, there is a broad distinction between the two words. The object of love is man in his twofold aspect as a possessor of sacred rights and as a creature of manifold needs. On the one hand, accordingly, love requires the fulfillment of justice. A man must be protected in all the rights of his humanity, inasmuch as he is no mere thing or chattel, but a being made in the Divine image, and meant for the Divine fellowship. On the other hand, with equal emphasis the NT declares the obligation of benevolence. Our fellow-men are sacred not merely in their rights, but in their needs; and we thus bound by the principle of love not merely to defend the former, but to meet and relieve the latter. The needs of men are meant to evoke the virtue which we designate by the term 'benevolence,' and by the other cognate words which in various aspects develop its meaning.

In the NT the following aspects of benevolence are the most clearly marked:

(1) χρηστότης. — This beautiful term may be rendered by our word 'benevolence,' giving us the idea of a disposition in which there is nothing lacking. It is, however, quite possible that it has been swallowed up in a love larger and more compelling. In such a disposition there is a fountain of good will which flows forth freely and spontaneously in emotions of loving-kindness and deeds of helpfulness. Closely parallel is the term 'beneignity,' by which, indeed, χρηστότης is rendered in the Rheims version of Gal 5:17. It suggests a character large in charity, tolerant in judgment, gentle in speech, of ripe wisdom in the affairs of the soul, finding its delight and its reward in the comfort which it finds in others. Our familiar word 'kindness,' however, brings us nearest the heart of this very lovely phase of character. It is the very half-mark of love (1 Co 13:8). It has close affinities with forbearance and long-suffering (Ro 2:4, 2 Co 6:12). It is its very nature to be patient and hopeful, and not to be turned aside by the frowardness and thanklessness of those whom it would help. Its conspicuous contrast is 'severity' (Ro 11:21). Not, indeed, as though severity were reprehensible; but only that under the limitations of the nature of an Arisen organism, a man can love another, while severity must be kept within the restraints of love. Kindness in thought, word, and deed is the homely yet hard requirement of the NT law of love.

(2) ἀγαθωσύνη. — This may best be rendered 'goodness.' It is the most general of the NT uses of active goodness or 'benevolence' (bonitas). It emphasizes conduct, while χρηστότης emphasizes disposition. Ἀγαθωσύνη is potential ἀγαθωσύνη; ἀγαθωσύνη is energizing ἀγαθωσύνη (Lightfoot on Gal 7:17). Kindness issues in goodness, and is a characteristic of it. It has often been remarked that ἀγαθωσύνη does not occur in classical Greek, and that the virtue it expresses is not to be found in the Greek ideal of character. It has no place, for instance, in Aristotle's famous account of the 'high-minded' man. The μεγαλόφωκος will, indeed, confer benefits. He will do so, however, not from the love of man as such, but from a sense of what is suited to the artistic completeness of his character. In the NT man is looked at under the light of the Divine character in conduct, as the story of the Divine man, like, accordingly, is the good man, in whom love manifests itself as a ceaseless benevolence, which is a finite reproduction of the infinite goodness of God. A good man, unlike the μεγαλόφωκος, thinks not of himself as the recipient and the steward of the Divine bountifulness. In the NT the following aspects of benevolence have been clearly marked:

(3) εὐδοxia and εὐσεβία. — The former describes the gracious will, which is the source of the benevolent deed (Eph 1:5, Ro 10:1, Ph 1:29). The latter is applied to the act of kindness, which, viewed from without, might seem mechanical or compulsory. Even slaves may redeem their enforced labour from the taint of servility by performing it with goodwill to their masters as part of a Divine service (Eph 6).

(4) ϕιλανδρia. — Benevolence has for its object every sentient creature, and thus includes kindness to animals. Its proper object is, however, man, whose greatness, as a being made in the image of God, is combined with the frailties of the 'fleshly' side of his nature. Its function is described as 'philanthropy.' With singular felicity the NT speaks of the 'philanthropy of God' (Tit 3:4). Ordinarily, the term is applied to the love which man owes to his fellows (Ac 27:28). These references show that philanthropy has a less distinctively Christian note than goodness. It is exhibited by those who have not known the love of God in Christ. In this virtue Christianity has not made an absolutely new discovery. It has rather recovered and reinforced a native energy of human nature, which, amid terrible degradations of the Divine organism, is not lost all trace of its original and prototype.

(5) ἀδιανόητος. — It is not exactly liberty... it is the quality of a mind which has no arriere-pensée in what it does; when it gives, it does so because it sees and feels the need, and for no other reason; this is the sort of mind which is liberal, and God assigns a man the function of μεταβολεύω when He bestows this mind on him by His Spirit (Demey in Expos. Gr. Test. on Ro 12). Liberty describes benevolence in its absorption in the need which it relieves. It is an aspect of the 'fleshly' side of man. The corresponding virtue described by Aristotle (Nic. Eth. bk. iv. ch. i.) A parallel to our Lord's word, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive,' may, indeed, be found in Aristotle's sentence, 'It is more distinctive of virtue to do good to others than to have good done to you.' Yet there is a significant difference. In the one, liberality is a product of a Divine grace, and awakens a Divine goodness. In the other, it is an artistic achievement, and awakens a Divine liberality. Aristotle's whole account we do not find a word about benevolence, or love to others, as prompting acts of liberality. We find no other motive but the splendour (κάλως) of the acts themselves (Sir A. Grant, Aristotle's Ethics, ii. 60).

In the teaching of the Second Testament the benevolence is not discussed, but it is depicted with consummate skill in His parable of the Good Samaritan, in whose action kindness and goodness, goodwill, philanthropy, and liberality are essentially distinct. In the character of Jesus no aspect of benevolence is wanting. χριστότης is seen in His bearing towards those who were excluded from the respect of men. ἀγαθωσύνη is illustrated in the whole ministry of Him who 'went about doing good.' εὐδοxia characterizes His attitude towards all men, even those who rejected Him. His ϕιλανδρia breaks through all barriers of race or creed or artificial conventionality. His ἀδιανόητος pours forth endless benefits, physical and spiritual; He bestows not merely life, but abundance. This virtue, which Jesus thus portrayed and exemplified, is laid upon His human disciples as an obligation. There must be no limit to their liberality (Mt 10). Only by ceaseless benevolence can they realize the privilege of sonship toward God, for He is 'kind unto the unthankful and to the evil' (Mt 5:45, Lk 6).

2. Its place in the natural order of things. Benevolence is not an isolated ethical unit. It is an element in the organism of virtue, and gives tone and quality
to the complex of virtues which constitute the character as a whole. The value of an ethical system, like that of an individual character, may be estimated by the place which benevolence occupies in it. To trace the varying recognition of the moral in the law of God in history, he may write the moral history of man. A few steps in the great development may here be indicated.

(1) Greek ethic.—We have seen that benevolence does not appear in those systems which reflect the life of the aristocratic in and independent aristocratic free cities of the Hellenic world. The reason is that man as man has not yet arisen on the view of the Greek moralist. He is thinking of life within the limits of a Greek city. The intellectual and aesthetic interests prevail. There is room for patriotism. Self-interest must yield to the claims of the State. But goodwill to man, the obligation of helpfulness to all the children of need, and the ‘enthusiasm of humanity,’ have scarcely dawned on the Greek mind in its quest for ethical completeness. When the independent city falls, and the barrier of its walls is levelled, men are able to look abroad, and to discern more clearly the bonds that connect them with their fellows. The age of the great individualistic philosophies marks the entrance of benevolence into the circle of the virtues. Epicureanism (q.v.) indeed, might seem to be selfish and destitute of sympathy. It may be urged, however, that its primary impulse was humanitarian, and that its true purpose was to deliver men from the spiritual bondage in which their souls were ranked. Its gospel of ἀγάπη was proclaimed to a despairing world by men who, like Epicurus and Lucretius, were full of sympathy for their fellow-sufferers (see Masson, Lucretius, 307, 521). Yet it is in Stoicism (q.v.) that we find the first explicit recognition of benevolence to be a virtue. The ethical ranks of virtue have been universally recognized. Its description of humanity as an organism,—often in Seneca and Epictetus with striking verbal resemblance to the language of St. Paul,—its ample assertion of the value of man as man, its emphasis on the duty of boundless helpfulness, its benevolent influence on social reform and Roman jurisprudence, indicate a great advance in the moral history of man.

At the same time, the failure of Stoicism is as evident as its triumph. (a) Its ideal is empty and unpractical. Cosmopolitanism as a theory is better than a formal unity of men as beings possessed of reason.

What is meant by a φιλανθρωπία that is not fertile in special affection for particular human beings which适应 themselves to their special character and the special relations into which they are brought? And what is meant by an organic unity of mankind in a μαθεία τῶν ἀνθρώπων, if the reason that is to bind them together be taken merely as a common element in the nature of each, which connects them in spite of their differences in other respects? (Caird, Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers, ii. 126.)

(b) It failed to exemplify in the details of life the very virtue which it was the first to introduce into the ethical circle of virtue. It provided a universal bond and a world-wide sympathy. It too often exhibits a revolting hardness and inhumanity.

‘The framework or theory of benevolence might be there, but the animating spirit was absent. Men who taught that the husband or the father should look with perfect indifference on the death of his wife or his child, and that the philosopher, though he acknowledged the respect of pretended affection, in order to console his suffering friend, must suffer no real emotion to penetrate his breast, could never found a true or lasting religion of benevolence. From the unblazoned ceilings and walls of churches, from the carved pillars and porticoes of palaces and market-places, from the pages of poets like Dante and divines like Aquinas, the appeal for practical goodness went forth. These exhortations proceeded from indifference. Nothing could be more admirable than the Church of the 13th and 14th centuries had instilled the mind of Jesus into the peoples of Europe like the zeal with which they tried to do their duty by the poor, the sick, and the helpless’ (Lindsay, History of the Reformation, p. 411). It is true, however, to substitute lists of duties and virtues for the organization of virtue through one controlling principle. There was also the danger of

and grace of God, and of the supreme worth of morality as compared with ritual, were seed sown in the soil of humanity which could not fail of fruit. They found their glorious harvest in the ‘new commandment’ of love, set forth by Jesus as the law of God. In this He fulfilled the law and the prophets. Christianity is fundamentally the life of Christ. His character made one deep and ineluctable impression upon His followers. They felt that He loved men. They worshipped Him; and they believed that they could truly honour Him who poured forth on others the love of which they had been the recipients. Benevolence in the Christian religion is more than the precept of a teacher, more even than a lovely example. It is the very Spirit of Jesus, breathing upon those who adore Him, and quickening them to a life like His. (c) Christianity is the consciousness of redemption. God is in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. The Christian is a citizen in the Israel of God, which includes Gentile as well as Jew. He is a member of the household of which God is Father, and which therefore has room for all the children of men. To accept Jesus as Saviour and Lord is to recognize all men as the objects of the Divine benevolence, and to be pledged to its service in the interests of humanity. Instead of being abstract and unreal, Christianity is practical and concrete. Instead of being cold and hard, Christianity has sanctified the personal sacrifice of love. The failure of Stoic cosmopolitanism is met by the triumph of Christian benevolence. Instead of being abstract and unreal, Christianity is practical and concrete. Instead of being cold and hard, Christianity has sanctified the personal sacrifice of love. The failure of Stoic cosmopolitanism is met by the triumph of Christian benevolence. Instead of being abstract and unreal, Christianity is practical and concrete. Instead of being cold and hard, Christianity has sanctified the personal sacrifice of love. The failure of Stoic cosmopolitanism is met by the triumph of Christian benevolence.
over-emphasizing one isolated virtue, till it should become a curse rather than a blessing.

In this way benevolence drew upon itself an exaggerated devotion, which had the effect of filling Europe with mendicants and sturdy idlers.

The Reformation was a reaction from legalism. It was a return to primitive Christianity, which was not an ecclesiastical system, but a life in fellowship with Christ. Christianity made a new beginning in its Divine task of educating and regenerating humanity. It is not, however, in one crisis that mankind is brought to its goal. The principle of the Reformation—the spiritual fellowship of man with God—had to be applied in all the fields of human existence. The problems of the outer social and political process of centuries. The recognition of the fact that virtue, as a spiritual reality, cannot be dismissed and articulated into a code makes its practice far harder than under a legal system. This is specially true of such a virtue as benevolence, when it is no longer defined and limited by a series of outward actions, but has regained its place as an organic outcome of love, boundless in scope and infinitely varied in exercise.

The very success of the Reformation, moreover, in breaking down the artificialities of the Catholicism and emphasizing the narrower unities of family and society, as well as the sacredness of the individual, made the problem of benevolence the harder. To maintain it against the perennial self-seeking of man in the increasing complexities of modern civilization, remain on the tasks of the moralist and the social reformer.

(3) The ethic of the 18th century.—It was inevitable that the abandonment of the principle of outward authority should raise in the most acute form the question as to the sanctions of morality. If moral precepts do not rest on the authority of the Church, from what do they derive their obligatory character? Why, in particular, should men be required to surrender their individual preference to further the advantage of others? The moral problem, accordingly, for a hundred years of post-Reformation thought, during which individualism held the field in psychology and ethics, turned mainly upon the question of benevolence. Is it a radical instinct of human nature? If not, how has it come to be so widely and persistently assigned to? The controversy was waged, mainly, in England. Hobbes states the question. He finds man’s primary condition to be that of appetite and desire. All man’s natural tendencies are ‘self-regarding,’ but, in order that man hath to use his own power as he will himself for the preservation of his own nature’ (Leviathan, ed. 1839, ch. xiv.). A vivid picture is drawn of the evils to which the exercise of this natural right would expose humanity; and a strong appeal is made for the surrender of individual independence to the rule of the sovereign.

Such a cynical estimate of human nature could not but provoke reply. Shaftesbury distinguishes two classes of natural tendency, some being directed to the good of others, and some to that of self. Virtue lies in the due proportion of these two sets of natural instincts, a proportion discerned by the special faculty of the moral sense. Hutcheson even more forcibly vindicates the reality of benevolence, and resolves all virtue into it. Butler, in like manner, argues that nature prescribes no character or virtue, and regards it as ‘the sum of virtue.’ All these thinkers are under the control of individualism; and, from the point of view of 18th cent. individualism, the only possible question was: Is benevolence among the tendencies and impulses which are found in the individual human being? To this question, the answer could only be a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ When, however, individualism began to give way, and an organic view of society to take its place, a fresh study of human nature, and of the ‘good’ corresponding to it, had to be made. Sociology, psychology, faculties, instincts, etc., has been abandoned. Man is no longer viewed as a mass of tendencies, among which benevolence may be enumerated. He is a living being, a true organism, or ‘unity in difference.’ His moral nature has been formed by a long process of education and discipline. This historic development has disclosed the deepest fact regarding man’s moral nature, viz., that, when man is most ‘self-regarding,’ he is least himself; that he reaches his true being only when he abandons himself to his moral nature, and goes out to his fellows in self-forgetfulness, and so enriches his own personality through sharing their experience.

Benevolence, therefore, is not an instinct about which it may be disputed whether we do or do not possess it. It is the very energy of the soul, according to its highest excellence, in a perfect life. We come back, accordingly, by another path to the dictum of Hutcheson and Butler that benevolence is ‘the sum of virtue,’ or rather to the conclusion that ‘virtue is the very essence of the law.’ The 20th cent. has begun by accepting the organic principle, and has addressed itself with deep seriousness to the task of its practical application. Amid schemes of social amelioration, however, we need constantly to remember that benevolence cannot be made to order. It is forgotten of the sense of membership in a society, which cannot be constructed by any sociological machinery, however ingenious. The message of Christianity is that this society exists. It has descended out of heaven from God. It consists in the fellowship of those who have surrendered themselves to the Divine love in Christ, and are impelled and quickened by a debt whose magnitude grows the more loyally they discharge it. Benevolence, as a social energy, cannot live unless it be revived at the springs of the Divine philanthropy. As the inspiration of the individual life, it must be derived from, indeed it consists in, the constraint of the love of Christ.

II. AS A DIVINE ATTRIBUTE.—1. Its place in the character of God. —Operation of the moral attributes of God can be fruitful only if two principles are borne in mind. (a) The attributes are not ‘things’ or ‘forces.’ It is a profound mistake first to isolate them, and then to endeavour to reduce them to one another logically or mechanically. There exist, in the Divine character, and are partial manifestations of its inexhaustible wealth. (b) They are not to be viewed as given, in their truth and fullness, in man, and then applied to the Divine character as copies or reflections of what they are in human nature.

The moral attributes of God are to be learned, primarily, from the revelation which Christ has given, in His own person, of the Being whom He, alone among men, perfectly know. The God whom we know in Christ is love. This is the absolute truth of His nature, in the light of which every aspect of his character is to be viewed. His love is scarcely to be classed among His attributes. It is rather the central principle in which they all meet, the spiritual power from which each derives efficiency.

*Wisdom is its intelligence; might its productivity; the entire natural creation and the entire revelation of righteousness in history are the means by which it attains its theodological aim—M. Hartse, Divine Love (p. 59).*

In pursuing its theodological aim, which may be defined as the Kingdom of God, the Divine Love follows two great lines of action. In the first place, it requires the vindication of righteousness. The
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rights of every creature must be maintained; that is to say, every creature must be preserved in the fulfilment of its special vocation, and 
guarded in its realization of its own proper nature. These rights are 
sacred. The violation of them must be marked, in the administration of the universe, by a definite retribution.
The harmonious development of the vast and delicate order of the universe, by the sub-

jection of every part to the living Will which animates the whole, is an essential interest of the Divine love. In the second place, the love of God manifests itself as goodness, or benevolence. It is pledged to the task of furthering the good of every creature. God has brought the universe into being as the means of His self-revelation; and it is only by His revelation of Himself to it that it reaches its perfection. His love takes shape in ceaseless goodness, pouring forth benefits in proportion to need; and, in this constant communication, its own glory and blessedness are eternally increased. It is the nature of goodness to possess its own fulness only in communication, to have its own essence in being communicated; it is impossible for it to 

important thus to connect the Divine benevolence with the aim of the Divine love. The Divine benevolence is part of the operation of the Divine love, which, from the beginning of creation, has been progressive. As Adam, a fragment of the image of God, could fully 

reveal Himself. It signifies His good will toward all the creatures of His power, His determination to bless them according to their utmost capacity, and to bring them to the highest perfection of their nature. His love is not altered by the fact that man, the head of the lower creation, has rebelled against Him. Rather it has become stronger and deeper, in view of the unspeakable tragedy of human sin. The goodness, which is marked in all creation and providence, has become the mercy which crowning manifestation is the Cross of Christ.
The Biblical usage confirms this view of the relation between the benevolence of God and the highest aim of His love. The OT believers are profoundly convinced of the goodness of Jahweh. But they do not mean by the Divine goodness such a sentiment as a pantheistic aestheticism might attribute to God. By goodness they mean a quality of the Divine character which comes into operation as God pursues His great aim of redeeming and 

bleeding Christ. The Word of God can enter that character as evidence of the Divine goodness, it is viewed as the sphere wherein God carries on His redemptive work; and the goodness of God manifest therein is an argument for confiding in His faithfulness to His saving purpose and in His ability to carry it to completion. More commonly, the goodness of God is manifest in the lives of those whom He is preparing for Himself. Often the Divine goodness has high spiritual qualities, and is expressly referred to as an element in redeeming grace (e.g. Ps. 22:26 57:9). Verbal references to the goodness of God are much less frequent in the NT. Its main theme is the love manifest in Christ. The goodness of God is an aspect of that gracious working whereby He leads men to the knowledge of His Son (1 John 2:14)

2. Its operation in creation and providence.

Christian apologetics is not bound to construct a complete theodicy. It must make the love of God, proved in Christ, its presupposition and its starting-point. Then it must refer man to the life of God within man and of man, and seek to exhibit the evidence it finds therein of God's wise and benevolent working. If it can show that, in creation and providence, God's goodness has been operative, preparing the way for the triumph of His good purposes, it has sufficiently answered, even though it cannot produce an intellectual solution of every mystery in the Divine dealing with men. The evidences of the Divine goodness are such as these:

(1) The adoption of the physical universe to the development of man.—By its resistance to human effort, quite as much as by its fertility, it furthers the physical, intellectual, and moral development of man. By its beauty and its wonder, as well as by its pathos and decay, it quickens man's sense of the unseen, deepens his capacity for worship, and gives him intimations of its immortality.

(2) The competence of human nature for a Divine devotion.—The powers which man possesses fit him for the service of God, and the blessedness of fellowship with Him. While being, in one aspect, himself a part of physical nature, man is able to live above natural conditions, to penetrate to the signi-

ficance of the world, and make it the home and the instrument of his spirit. His dependence upon his fellows prepares him for a social good, wider and richer than could be attained by any merely individual achievement. There are traces, growing ever clearer with the progress of humanity, that man is capable of a higher fellowship and a nobler blessedness than that which can be obtained in the most cultured human society.

(3) The organization of human life for ideal needs.—The history of the growth of the various human institutions, from the most simple to the most complex, shows a development reflecting the growth of the human spirit and destiny of man. In the Family, he learns to be human, and finds in love, trust, reverence, and self-denial the very glory of humanity. In the State, he is called and enabled to serve his fellow-men, and to save his life by losing it. In the Church, he breathes the atmosphere of the love of God, and enters upon the blessedness of a Divine Sonship.

(4) The direction of human history towards the goal of the Kingdom of God.—The goodness of God is seen in His education of the race by the long series of teaching of nature and by the sacred discipline of ages. The slowness of the process may not be wholly explicable; but, at least, it is not inconsis-
tent with the goodness of God, who is not slack, as some men count slackness. The cosmic movement of the great Divine design must, in any case, be slow.

(5) The training of individual character.—The necessity of connecting the idea of the Divine benevo-

lence with that of the saving purpose of the Divine love is specially urgent here. The organization of God is seen in His saving purpose, not in a promissory bestowal of good things, but in the steadfast pursuit of His gracious purpose, which seeks, by common beneficences of every day, and by significant dealings in judgment and mercy, to bring men into the Kingdom.

Christian experience has learned, in communion with Christ, that God is love. Under the illumina-
tion of this thought, it surveys the whole field of nature and of human history, and discovers therein unfailling tokens of the presence and operation of the Divine goodness.

3. Its vindication in view of objections.—Three great facts traverse the argument for the goodness of God: pain and death and sin. Many who do not doubt the Being of God are brought by these terrible realities into grave perplexity and profound spiritual distress. It ought to be admitted that a complete intellectual solution of the problems thus raised is impossible under the conditions of our present experience. In view of them, we ought to occupy the true ground of Christian theology, as that is given in the Word of God, which is God's direct experience. Deeper than the deepest analysis of pessimism, Christian faith pierces to the need of man, and finds that need met in Christ. God is love because, in Christ, He saves and perfects men. Here is a fact of the deepest experience, the fundamental experience to impugn the goodness of God. Living in this experience, the mind is able to maintain its con-
fidence in God, even under the strain of ignorance and doubt. Pain and death and sin come within the scope of the Divine purpose, and we have warrant to believe, though no human calculus can adjust every detail, that they subserve the Divine end.

Pain is a terrible reality. It has, however, such noble uses that we can well understand how a good God might include it in the scope of His working. When, moreover, it is not merely borne as an infliction, but taken up as a ministry, the last shadow of inconsistency with the Divine goodwill is removed. 'It not only passes into the category of good things, but it becomes emphatically the good' (Hilton, The Mystery of Pain, II. f.)

Death fills the world with sorrow. Yet two facts counterbalance its desolation. In the first place, the ultimate source of its terror, viz., the separation from God, of which, to the sinner, it is the sign and seal, has been removed. For those who have accepted the reconciliation the terror of death no longer exists. In the second place, death, like pain, becomes no longer in any sense an evil, when it is accepted as a service. Interpreted by the death of Christ, death becomes the crowning service of the living, for the deepening and expansion of the life of others. The principle of vicarious suffering runs through the whole universe, and reaches its highest application in the life of man.

Such considerations are not available to heal entirely the hurt of the human heart. Enough of mystery remains to foster a deep humility and a tender and catholic sympathy. In thus binding human beings in the bonds of mutual compassion, Death fulfils one of its most precious functions.

Sin is the most awful fact, the most terrible mystery of the world. To the question, how a loving, forgiving, Supreme Being could permit the entrance of Sin into His world, there can be given no complete answer. The fact of sin can be met only by the fact of redemption. Christianity does not solve the speculative question, but it meets the spiritual need with the message that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself. To enter into the experience of reconciliation is not to be put in possession of a theoretic proof of the consistency of the existence of sin with the Divine benevolence. It is, however, to enter into the realm where the word 'sin' is made synonymous with the existence of goodness in the God, the foundest testimony to the presence and supremacy of love in the Divine character. Without sin, we could not have known the depth of our need, and the utter wretchedness of our sin. Without sin, we could not have known the exceeding greatness of His love, and the uttermost of His cajacity for sacrifice. Without sin, as a fact, in the experience of men, we could not come so close to them in sympathy, and could not become partakers of Christ's sufferings.

From all survey of the operations of the Divine goodness, we return to the experience of redemption. The Being who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, is good, of unerring wisdom and untainted holiness. From the character of God, as it is known in Christ, we pass to a judgment upon the whole universe, and declare, with unclouded assurance, that it confirms the verification of faith that is good.

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BENGAL.—1. General description.—The Province of Bengal, or, as it is sometimes designated, Lower Bengal, is that portion of the Indian Empire comprising the lower valleys of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. In its original form the Province occupied the region lying between 20° 18' and 28° 15' north latitude, and between 82° 13' and 97° east longitude. Since the British occupation the boundaries have been several times re-arranged. In 1874 Assam (wh. see) was constituted a separate administration; in 1905 the boundaries of Bengal, Assam, and the Central Provinces were re-constructed, the eastern portion of the old province of Bengal, containing the Dacca and Chittagong divisions with the Districts of Rājāshāhī, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Bogra, Pālāna, and Mālāda being, with Assam, constituted a new province under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The western part of Bengal proper is bounded on the north by Nepal and Sikkim; on the west by the United and Central Provinces; on the south by the Bay of Bengal and portions of the Madras Presidency; on the east by the new Eastern Bengal-Assam province, from which it is divided by the rivers Ganges and Madhumati; on the east by Burma and hilly country occupied by independent tribes; on the south by the Bay of Bengal.

The following table shows the area and population of the new provinces as at present constituted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>Area in British Miles</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal Proper</td>
<td>110,004</td>
<td>56,729,318</td>
<td>39,267,301</td>
<td>9,607,069</td>
<td>7,289,986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Bengal with Assam</td>
<td>191,147</td>
<td>23,789,154</td>
<td>11,591,574</td>
<td>17,627,129</td>
<td>1,445,471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This rearrangement of boundaries came into effect after the completion of the Census of 1901; and as it is now impossible to rearrange the data contained in the Census of 1901 with the present position, it is more convenient to treat the province as it was constituted prior to the partition in 1905. The physical conditions of the region are much diversified. It consists of the alluvial plains forming the valleys of the two great rivers; of the crystalline plateau of Chotā Nagpur, and the hills extending from the south-east to the Ganges at Rājāshāhī; the narrow strip of alluvium forming the connexion of Orissa; and, lastly, a portion of sub-Himalayan region including the sandur of Dājil, the hilly country on the Burma frontier.

2. Name and historical geography.—The name of Bengal, derived from the Skt. 'Bāγ, does not appear in Muhammedan or Western literature before the latter part of the 13th. cent., when it took the place of the earlier title, Lakhānī (Yule, Anglo-Indian Gloss, s. v.). The name Vanga was in early times still more extended to applied to the whole region including south-east from Bhāgālapur to the sea, in other words, to the delta formed by the lower reaches of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The Province is usually divided into four sub-provinces—(a) Bihar to the west, including the ancient kingdom of Magadha, which is now represented by the Districts of Patna, Gayā, and Śūhābād, with its capital at Rājāgrah, some thirty miles north-east of the present city of Gayā. North of the Ganges was Vidēla or Mithilā, now included in the Districts of Dājil, Shāhābād, and North Mazāfāpur. The southern portion of the last-named District constituted the small kingdom of Vaiśāuli. To the east lay Aṅgā, including the modern Districts of Monghyr, Bhāgālapur, and Purānī (Purnea). From the religious point of view the Divinity of the God of the Brahmin and Jaina faith is still maintained, and is thus true of both the Buddhist and the Jain faith. (b) Bengal Proper, which occupies the deltaic region. In the time of the Mahābhārata, North and East Bengal, with Assam, formed the kingdom of Prājyottīṣa, or, as it was called in the Buddhist, Kīlpak, or Properly Vanga, which gave its name to the province, its population living principally in boats, and represented by the modern Chandals. (c)
BENGAL

Orissa, the old name of which was Kaligna, stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Krishna. In later times the name Kaligna was applied only to the Delta of the Godavari, while that of the Mahānādi became known as Utka. Utka is the name of the sub-province of which the Mahānādi is the head. The area which, after forming its way through a break in the Himalayan chain, flows through Assam and the eastern portion of the Province. These alluvial tracts are flanked by a series of highlands—to the north the outlying lower range of the Himalaya, to the west and south the range belonging to the Chotā Nagpur and Orissa; to the east the hilly tract of Tippera, which is the boundary between the Province and Burma.

4. The plain country.—The Province thus displayed is a flat, hot, arid, and unhealthy, which has affected the ethnology, social character, and beliefs of the people. Beginning from the west, where the Province marches with the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, we have the sub-province of Bihār, divided into two portions by the Ganges. To the extreme north is the submontane strip, part of which constitutes the Tarāi, or region of fen and forest beneath the lower slopes of the Himalaya; south of this is the Gangetic zone, a country with an ancient civilization, large towns, and a well-distributed population. This is the finest and most healthy part of the Province, a country producing wheat, sugar, and the other staples characteristic of the upper valley of the Ganges, and supporting a number of indigo factories managed by Europeans, whose industry has in recent years suffered grievously through the competition with the artificial dye prepared in Germany. The people here are a fine, manly, sturdy race, many of whom used to enlist in the old sepoys army, but now find occupation as porters and coolies, and their language has become sufficiently independent of the Aryan civilization. The physical appearance and beliefs of the people indicate mixture with the non-Aryan races occupying the adjoining plateau of Chotā Nagpur. Passing eastward along the valley of the Ganges, we gradually reach the dank steamy Delta, the product of the great rivers which here enter the sea. The compact mud villages of Bihār here give place to little thatched huts, each thatched within a plantain clump or grove of shady trees. Rice is the staple crop and the universal food, instead of the wheat, barley, and millet which support the peasant of Bihār. The people, though their intelligence is sharpened by the loss of the luscious growth of Orissa, the Delta farther south is the work of three rivers, the Mahānādi, Brāhmani, and Baitarani (which see). These rivers, as they approach the sea, deposit masses of silt which raise their beds above the level of the surrounding country, with the result that it becomes a water-logged swamp, a network of creeks and muddy channels, forming a district peculiar to the Ganges Delta, of which the sub-province of Bihār is a branch.

5. The hill tracts.—To the student of ethnology and primitive religion the most interesting portions of the Province are the plateau of Chotā Nagpur, the hill tracts which rise above the Orissa Delta, and the tangled region of hills which separates the Province from Burma. Chotā or Chotia Nagpur consists of a confused mass of hills, plateaux, and ravines interspersed with jungle, which forms the most easterly extension of the hill country of Central India and of the Central Provinces abutting on the Gangetic valley near Bāghalpur. This and the hill tracts of Orissa to the south-west form the last refuge of the Dravidian and Munda races, and are occupied by non-Aryan tribes like the Santalīs, Hos, Ortons, and Kandois, who still preserve their original languages and beliefs comparatively unaffected by the Aryan immigrants from the west who colonized the plain country beneath them. Similarly, the Chittagong hill tracts on the eastern frontier are inhabited by Mags, Chak-más, Tipārs, Aiyan Kikis, and stock, who build their houses on bamboo platforms raised ten feet from the ground, and cultivate on the jhum system; that is to say, they make clearances in the jungle, and, when the trees and undergrowth which they have cut down become sufficiently dry, they burn them; then, after the ground has been softened by rain, they diggle in seeds of rice, cotton, maize, melons, and yams, all mixed together (Gait, Census Rep. 1901, i. 81). In the Tarāi at the base of the lower Himalaya, which is largely inundated, is the finest and most healthy part of the Province, a country producing wheat, sugar, and the other staples characteristic of the upper valley of the Ganges, and supporting a number of indigo factories managed by Europeans, whose industry has in recent years suffered grievously through the competition with the artificial dye prepared in Germany. The people here are a fine, manly, sturdy race, many of whom used to enlist in the old sepoys army, but now find occupation as porters and coolies, and their language has become sufficiently independent of the Aryan civilization. The physical appearance and beliefs of the people indicate mixture with the non-Aryan races occupying the adjoining plateau of Chotā Nagpur. Passing eastward along the valley of the Ganges, we gradually reach the dank steamy Delta, the product of the great rivers which here enter the sea. The compact mud villages of Bihār here give place to little thatched huts, each thatched within a plantain clump or grove of shady trees. Rice is the staple crop and the universal food, instead of the wheat, barley, and millet which support the peasant of Bihār. The people, though their intelligence is sharpened by the loss of the luscious growth of Orissa, the Delta farther south is the work of three rivers, the Mahānādi, Brāhmani, and Baitarani (which see). These rivers, as they approach the sea, deposit masses of silt which raise their beds above the level of the surrounding country, with the result that it becomes a water-logged swamp, a network of creeks and muddy channels, forming a district peculiar to the Ganges Delta, of which the sub-province of Bihār is a branch.

6. Ethnological character of the people and their languages.—The races inhabiting the Delta of the Ganges and its tributaries from the confluences of Bihār to the Bay of Bengal have been included by Risley in the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengālī division, one of the most distinctive types in India, characterized as regards its Mongoloid element by a high cephalic index, in other words, a brachycephalic class, while the breadth of the nose suggests an infusion of Dravidian blood. In Western Bengal the Dravidian element, as might be expected from the fact of this part of the Province abutting on the Dravidian stronghold on the Chotā Nagpur plateau, is predominant; while to the east the form is modified owing to closer contact with the Mongoloid race which probably entered Bengal down the valley of the Brahmaputra. To the west, again, in Bihār, the type assimilates to that of the Aryo-Dravidian prevailing in the upper Gangetic valley. This is characterized by a longer form of head and a narrower and finer moulded nose. In the hill tracts to the south the Dravidian type is predominant, that of a race distinguished by short stature, long form of head, plentiful hair, with the nose very broad and depressed at the root. From the point of view of ethnology, therefore, the population is of very mixed origin. The Dravidian type, which was the earliest inhabitants of the country, has been overlaid and modified in various degrees by the Aryan type, which worked its way from the west down the valley of the Ganges, and by the Mongoloid races who advanced down the Ganges. Throughout the ethnical frontier, such as impassable rivers or mountain ranges, serving to control the movement of the population
from one end of the Province to another. The Ganges, and in a lesser degree the Karatoya, the only large river divided Bighas of Bengal, did in some degree effect this purpose (O’Donnell, Census Report, 1891, i. 38); but the divisions thus formed did not remain permanently distinct. The same may be said of the languages, one dialect merging gradually and almost imperceptibly into the next. The vast majority of the people (94 per cent.) now speak one or other of the tongues of the Aryan family, of which the most important are Bengâll to the east, Hindi to the west, and the Oriya of Orissa to the south. The second group of tongues is that known as the Dravidian, which is the natural language of the native tribes. These represent only 3:54 of the total population. Still less numerically important are the languages of the Dravidian group, of which the most numerous speakers belong to the Orions (wh. see) and allied tribes; and the small Tibetoburman element used by tribes on the northern frontier towards Nepal or eastward in the direction of Burma.

7. Statistics of religion. — The diverse ethnical characteristics of the people are reflected in the varied forms of religion and the myriad of superstitions of which the population recorded at the last Census is distributed among the chief religious denominations as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>49,687,362</td>
<td>63:3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadans</td>
<td>25,841,976</td>
<td>32:6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>278,366</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animists</td>
<td>2,789,468</td>
<td>3:5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>237,893</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>13,905</td>
<td>0:2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Animism. — It will be convenient to deal first with Animism, the most primitive form of the religion of Bengal, and the basis of the beliefs which are held by the majority of the people. But, as it appears in the Census returns, the term is used in a sense different from that usually accepted by writers on primitive religions. This form of belief is founded on the conception adopted by primitive man, ‘that every object which had activity enough to affect him in any way was animated by a life and will like his own.’ It was, however, found impossible to obtain correct returns as to the religious tribes belonging to the Animistic belief, for those who hold it have no special name, and which merges so directly into Hinduism and into Islam in its most debased form that the line dividing it from either of these faiths is uncertain. Hence, in the returns of those who are Animists, the term has been extended to include all those persons who were included who followed a tribal religion, or worshipped tribal gods quite distinct from those of the orthodox Hindu pantheon. On the other hand, the great majority of the lower classes, whose religion is to a great extent of an animistic type, and even those members of the purely animistic tribes who lived at a distance from their tribal headquarters, were recorded as Hindus. Hence the Animists of the Census really represent only the well-organized non-Aryan or Dravidian tribe of Bengal from the rest of Mulas, or Orâons who inhabit the hilly tracts to the south-east or east of the Province; and the lower castes of the plain country, whose beliefs are of an analogous type, appear in the Census returns as Muhammadans or Christians. As thus defined, to be most numerous in the Districts of Râchê and Singbhûm, where they represent nearly half the total population, and in a smaller proportion in the Santal Parganas and the hilly tracts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa.

The characteristics of Animism in Bengal, which does not differ to any important extent from that found in other parts of Northern India (see Dravildans), have been thus summarized by Gait (Census Report, 1901, i. 152):—

‘There is a vague but very general belief in some one omnipotent being, who is ever disposed to do good to mankind; therefore, it is unnecessary to propitiate. Then come a number of evil spirits, who are ill-disposed towards human beings, and whose malevolence is inflicted upon those who do not affect mankind. To them, therefore, sacrifices must be offered. These malevolent spirits are avalor deities, spirits of the trees, the rocks, and the streams; and seem to be the spirits of the ancestors. There is no regular priesthood, but some persons are supposed to have a greater confidence with the powers of divination than others. When a calamity occurs, there are diviners, shamans, or soothsayers, who are called on to ascertain the particular cause of the ill-fortune; and the offended spirit is pacified by a sacrifice. This is done, either by devil-dancing, when the diviner works himself into a paroxysm of drunkenness and excitement; or by holding corn or other offerings around the person’s head, or by the examination of omens—eggs, grains of rice, or the entrails of a fowl. There is a profound belief in omens of all sorts; no journey is undertaken unless it is ascertained that the fates are propitious, while persons who have started on a journey will turn back should adverse omens be met with on the way.’

It would perhaps be impossible to find in Bengal a single tribe which is in the purely animistic stage. Most of the people have come more or less under the influence of Hindu missionaries, who have introduced among them the nominal worship of the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Of the total population recorded in the last Census, the percentage of Hindus, whether in the correct sense of the word, or in the sense of a mere nominal belief, is at the same time the basis of their beliefs is some form of Animism. Thus, in the case of the Tipâras (Gait, op. cit. i. 186), we have an instance of a secluded jungle tribe, some of whose deities are of a distinctly animistic type, the nimânas of the forest, which would naturally be regarded as objects of dread by people exposed to the myriad accidents and diseases which accompany the work of clearing the jungle. Thus, Burâsa is their forest-god, who is old, carries a mace, and has his home in the woods. But even here we see some signs of Hindu influence when we find that his son, the god of death, is coming to be identified with the Hindu Yama. Again, among the same tribe we find Mâmmungâ, the goddess of paddy-fields, who, like many of these agricultural deities, has a male consort, Thumâl, and Khulungmâ, the goddess of cotton. Deities like these represent a much higher stage of culture, when the community has cleared the forest and settled down to a life of agriculture. In another class of animistic deities such as the Tipâras, we have the Tâpiâ-âra, the tree spirit of Nature—Tuîmâ, a river-goddess, who is now coming to be identified with the Gangâ, or Ganges, of the dwellers in the plains; and Lâmpâ or Khabdî, who rules sky and ocean; and Sîngrâma, the deity who presides over the Himdâlaya. Again, there is a natural development, when only those goddesses, who are primarily regarded as beneficent, develop on their chthonic or malignant side into seven goddesses who preside over witchcraft.

But this assignment of special functions to a number of distinct deities is not the most primitive form of belief. The earlier conception is rather the belief in a host of ill-defined spirits, mostly malevolent, to whom no departments in the control of human affairs have been assigned. Such is practically the religion of the Mulas and Orâons of the Munsters, and the Gulgulis of the powers of Nature—Tuîmâ, a river-goddess, who is now coming to be identified with the Gangâ, or Ganges, of the dwellers in the plains; and Lâmpâ or Khabdî, who rules sky and ocean; and Sîngrâma, the deity who presides over the Himdâlaya. Again, there is a natural development, when only those goddesses, who are primarily regarded as beneficent, develop on their chthonic or malignant side into seven goddesses who preside over witchcraft.

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to whom the average Kurni looks for the ordering of his moral and physical welfare (ib. i. 115, 534).

9. Worship of forest-spirits and tree-spirits.—Beginning, then, from what is probably the earliest stage of human thought, the worship of the vague spirits which people the jungle, we find among the Juangs, a very primitive tribe, who have only quite recently abandoned the wearing of a dress of leaves, that Baraim, a forest-deity, stands at the head of their system and is regarded with great veneration, while, just as might have been expected, in subordination to him are Thān-pati, the patron of the village, and Basumati, Mother Earth, whose worship marks the adoption of a settled village and agricultural life. At this stage we also naturally find the worship of trees, or rather of the spirits immanent in them, which prevails widely among the non-Aryan tribes, and is well established in the lower grades of Hinduism. Thus, the Cherios and Kharwārs sacrifice every three years a buffalo and other animals in the sacred grove; in each village of the Kısans has two or more Śā, or sacred groves; the Bhuiyās preserve Deotā Sarā, or sacred groves, which are dedicated to four deities; in the sacred grove of the Mundās, ‘if a tree be destroyed, the god of that grove goes with it’, the belief in the beneficial rain; and ‘every village has in its vicinity a grove reputed to be the remains of the primitive forest left intact for the local gods when the clearing was made’ (Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology i. 129 f., 132, 156, 158, 188).

Besides the fear that the total destruction of the jungle may rouse the anger of the tree-gods in case a suitable asylum is not provided for them, there is the general belief that all tree-cutting is offensive to them. Of the Magus of Eastern Bengal we learn that ‘nothing but fear and tremor and the threat of Europeans would induce them to trespass on our grasslands, which were inhabited, they said, by these demons. With the Europeans, however, they would advance fearlessly, and did not hesitate to fell the trees, the blame of such sacrilege being laid upon their visitors. On telling any very large tree one of the party at work upon it was always readly prepared with a green twig, which he ran and placed in the centre of the stump; the instant the tree fell, as a propitiation to the spirit which had been displaced so roughly, pleading at the same time the orders of the strangers for the work. In clearing one spot an order in writing (fellaking: settle among the trees) was given by the first tree to itself that before a Magh would make a stroke, and was considered to have all the odium of the work with the dispossessed spirits, till the arrival of the Europeans relieved him of his burden’ (Caldwell’s Bengal, xxvi. 512).

It may, in correspondence with this superstition the early Brahmanical rule, based on primitive animistic belief, according to which, when the priest cuts a tree for the preparation of the sacrificial post, he places a blade of the sacred darbba grass between the axe and the tree, and says, ‘O plant, shield it! O axe, hurt it not!’ (Satapatha Brahmana, tr. Egegeling, SBE xxvi. 164). The woodcutters in the Sandarbas never enter the jungle without sending their façir in advance, who takes upon himself the wrath of the woodland spirits (Wright, Obit. J. As. i. 97, 137) that ‘it is a curious fact that one of the latest outgrowths of the corrupt Vaiśnavism is the veneration of trees. The Dervish façir will not permit a leaf or twig to be plucked from the trees growing within the akhāra (‘convents’), although flowers, if there any, are the ordinary offering at the tomb of a mehant (‘abbot’).’

The non-Aryan tribes have special tree-feasts of their own. Such is the Sarhul feast of the Orans (wh. see), when flowers of the Sāi (shorea robusta) are placed by the tribe or colonists, from the remnant of the old forest, which is the home of Sārnā Būrhi, the ‘old woman of the grove’, who corresponds to the Jāhār Erā and Desauli of the Mundās (Dalton, op. cit. 261). The Orangs have a similar feast, the Karamī, in which a branch of this sacred tree is cut, and planted in the village assembly-ground, and the youth of both sexes dance round it (ib. 259). The same dance and feast in connexion with this tree prevail among the Kharwārs, Manjhis, and other allied non-Aryan tribes, the Vedāyā and Kaimū ranges (Croxall, PI ii. 94.)

Besides this there is the cult of special trees, which marks an advance in the development of popular belief. In some cases it is associated with totemism, the tree being specially worshipped by the tribe or clan, in which case it is the name of its possession. The Pipal (Fiicus religiosa) is held particularly sacred. Its trunk is the habitation of Brahmā, its twigs of Vishnū, its leaves of the other gods. The tree is defied under the name of Vasudev, and water is poured on its roots by people after the morning bath, especially in the month of Baisakh (April–May), and when people are in trouble; the Bel (Eugle marina) is sacred to Siva, its leaves are used in his worship and in that of the Saktis, or female powers, and as it is the abode of Siva none except Brahmans may use its wood for fuel; but pious Hindus of the Vaishāvaya sect will not so much as mention its name. The Tulasi (Ocimum sanctum) stands in the same relation to Vishnū as the Bel does to Siva, and the plant is used in the temple kitchen and by all who specially make him their object of worship.

‘It is watered after the daily bath, and in Baisakā a pot filled with water is placed throughout the day, and is considered to be suspended over the plant. In the evening a lamp is lit at its foot. Hari [Vishnū] is believed to be present in it. Its leaves are essential for the preparation of the offering, and it is believed to have a certain medicinal effect in the case of malarial affections, and are much used by native practitioners’ (Galit, op. cit. i. 191).

The non-Aryan emigrants to Bogra pay similar veneration to the plantain tree after reaping the rice crop. Goats and pigs are sacrificed to it; it is worshipped before weddings, and after the ceremony the bridal garland is thrown into a bamboo cumb. The practice of making little altars to trees before the regular service is performed is common. It appears to be done either with the intention of transferring to the tree any possible dangers which may result from the marriage; or it is a form of sympathetic, mimetic, or homocopyic magic by which the aid of fertility is implored, which animates the tree and revives it after its winter rest are communicated to the girl (PI ii. 115 f.).

10. Mountain-worship.—The worship of the mountain ranges from conceptions analogous to those which suggest the cult of trees. The hill, with its thick jungle, its mysterious caves which seem to be entrances to the lower world, the danger of accident from a fall from a precipice, an avalanche or a falling wall, the risk of attack from wild animals which shelter themselves in its recesses—all promote the idea that it is infested by malignant spirits. Again, as we might expect, hills are favourite sites for the worship of the sun or other heavenly objects. Thus, in the case of the Great Nāggr, the hill-side to which the sun have now been taken over by his successor, St. Elias (Frazer, Pansmatias, iii. 364). Mountain-worship is naturally uncommon in the plains, except in those places from which a view of the mighty chain of the Himalayas can be obtained. But it prevails widely among the non-Aryan hill tribes, like the Mundās, Santāls, and other races occupying the plateau of Chotā Nāggr, who worship a mountain-god known as Marag Būr or Bār Phalār, the great mountain-god, with whom the tribal priests offers a sacrifice of buffaloes or other animals (Dalton, op. cit. 135, 187 f., 199, 210, 214, 220 f., 257, 321). In the same way the Kisans recognize various sacred heights (pāt) as devoted to their gods (ib. 132). Of the same type is Sārā Penā, the mountain-god of the Kunaths.


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He is a jealous god, and does not like people to trespass on his domain, and the chief object of the worship which is performed in his honour is to appease his ire and to secure protection from the attacks of wild animals whose business it takes them among the plantains and the bushy estuaries. Temples also are a source of yield of the jungle products which the Kandhas, like most similar tribes, use so largely for food. The plantains, called dákka, and the appropriate offerings are a goat and a fowl with rice and strong drink. (Bisley, op. cit., p. 402.)

16. Worship of water-spirits.—The agency which causes water to flow is regarded as that of an indwelling spirit. Hence comes the worship of rivers, rapid streams, cataracts, wells, and springs. Chief of all, among the people of the plains, is Gangā Mā, or Mother Ganges, who is a beneficent deity. The Brahmanic name of the water-god, or spirit of water, is now recognized by many Hindus as the wife of Siva.

Low caste hindus," writes Galt (op. cit. 190), "threw offerings of fruits and sweets into the river, into the bathing, and its water is believed to be sacred that to touch it will purify any one. It has special virtue on the occurrence of certain pests, or auspicious conjunctions. It is also not unfrequent, when large crowds assemble on its banks in order to wash and be clean. Goats are sacrificed on these occasions, and in some parts they are thrown alive into the water, whence they are taken and eaten by the Mahārs. Other offerings are the perquisites of a special class of degraded Brahman known as Gancaputra. Sometimes cows and oxen, which are represented by the most eras filled with water and surrounded by a mango twig, and sometimes as a female figure with four hands, decorated as a river goddess, are offered as offerings. In this form she is worshipped by the fishing castes of Bengal Proper, who sacrifice with great cheer and rejoicing, and among them to fishing boats, and on some special occasion, the date of which varies. Pilgrims at Gāyā offer their first plīṇa (rice-cake) to her in the name of the god, and deposit the cakes in the river as oblations. In the South West coast there is a water-goddess who worships her on the sixth and twelfth days after giving birth to a child. She goes to a river or pond and pours out all a slab of stone which she then draws five perpendicular lines, and prays for entire restoration to health. Certain ascetics perform a special penance in the river called saliō, which consists in spending every night in the month of Magh (January-February) seated stark naked on a small platform erected over the river, and after having had nothing to eat or drink from the cold will allow. The town of Trinbūlg in Hooghly is held to be specially holy because there three sacred stream,—the Ganges, Hīndu, and the Yamuna, which are set apart for sacred purposes, are all in one river. Here once more separate from each other."

In Eastern Bengal the observances are of a similar character (Wise, op. cit. 138 f.). The plastic god, or son of Brahma, is less sacred, having only a single feast-day on which people assemble to bathe on its banks.

This form of worship seems to have been independently adopted by the non-Aryan tribes, who have sacred rivers of their own, the name of which is lost in the Hindu influence. Thus the Khiārās of Singhbhum reverence the river Koli, and the Santál depends on the piety of his descendants that his ashes will be finally committed to the sacred river, the Damūdā, "to be borne on its swift current and become, as the occasion may require, whence the race first had its being, and where, returning, it fittingly seeks its final rest." (Dalton, op. cit. 159; Bradley-Birt, Story of an Indian Up-land, 265.) In these cases the river is little more than a vague personality, but in many cases this spirit is personalized, and we thus arrive at the host of water-gods who are specially revered among the large fishing and boating population of the Delta. Thus the deity of the river Tisba is supposed to be an old woman, Bājī Thakurāī, "the Lady of the Ponds, Ruler of the planets, one of the common objects of worship (grāmdevata) among the simple pagans of the vicinity" (Buchanan, in Martin, Eastern India, iii. 301).

Not satisfied, writes Wise (op. cit. 129), "with attributing a divine name to the rivers of their native land, the Hindis have peopled the waters themselves with animistic beings, who perform supernatural functions."

Such is Zindah Ghāzi, "the living destroyer of the infield," now a Muhammadan saint, but evidently a promoted animistic spirit (ib. 13 f.). Like him is Pī Bhārī, whose home is at Chittagong. According to a legend by him is told, the Portuguese sailor who long ago reached the shore by clinging to a fragment of a wreck. His dārāgh, or ceno-

taph, is regarded as the paddladium of the city; here lamps are ﬂighted at night, and pilgrims from all parts of Bengal resort to his shrine in obedience to a vow, or to obtain his intercession for the saint; while Hindu fishermen regard him with as much awe as do the Muhammadans (ib. 14 f.).

The Mahā Mahātman worship a water-god, Kollā Bābā, "Father Charcoal," as described an old grey-bearded personage, who as the "navvy of the rivers," or "Ganges Bābā," is regarded as controlling all the waters and swallows up whatever opposes the sacred stream.

"Before casting a new net, or starting on a commercial venture, offers of molasses and seven kinds of grain kneaded into balls, and to the river: and cast in the cast in one of the balls is placed on the edge of the water, another on the bow of the boat" (ib. 317).

The Pāīs, however, never enter on the work of a ferry without sacrificing a white goat to the river-goddess, Gangājī (ib. 358). Another water-goddess is Khālā Kumārī, the "Creek Maiden," to whom fishermen offer the first-fruits of their labour (ib. 358).

The most mysterious of these water-deities of Bengal is Khvāraj Khiz, who by one legend is identified with Zu'le-garnān, "he of the two horns," or Alexander the Great, as described in the Qurān, Sārā xviii. Others connect him with the prophet Elias or Eljah. Whatever may be the real origin of his cult, at Kalā Kandhār, the Shāhī Dagār, a large river, which flows among the Indian rivers and seas, protecting mariners from shipwreck, and visible only to those who perform a forty days' vigil on the river bank. In his honour a raft (bejrīt) made of paper, ornamented with tinsel, the paw resembling a feline face, with the crest and breath of a peacock, is set adrift at sunset on a support made of plantain stems, when its flickering lights give a picturesque aspect to the dark, flooded stream. The person launching the raft deposits on the bank some ginger, rice, betel-nut, and plantains, or provisions by some wretched beggar (ib. 125 f.).

The basis of the rite, of which Frazer (GB2 iii. 87) has collected numerous examples, is possibly the expulsion of the spirits of evil by launching a raft or boat in a river or in the sea.

Worship of the powers of nature.—The personification and adoration of the powers of nature are probably later in origin than the animistic beliefs which have up to this point been considered. The most primitive objects of worship seem to be the natural objects of the hill or rock, of the animals which attack the woodcutter, of spring and stream, of all connected with man's immediate wants or occupation. It is only at a later stage that he seems to be able to generalize and direct his attention to more distant powers and energies like those of the planetary bodies.

(a) Sun-worship.—Among the orthodox Hindus the sun (Sūrya or Grúlahārā, "King of the planets") has fallen from the high estate which he secured in Vedic times, and has now become a mere godling or minor god. He is, however, still worshipped, especially in Bihār and among the non-Aryan tribes of the southern hills. Temples have been erected in his honour, the most important of which are those at Kanakārī, near Puri in Orissa, and at Gāyā.

The Gāyātī, or sacred verse, which each Brahmā must recite daily, is dedicated to him. Sunday is sacred to him, and on that day many abstain from eating fish or flesh; in some districts fish is also abstained from. The Sunyās in the month of Kārtik (October-November) are especially devoted to worship in the most important temples of Bengal. The great festival in his honour, known as the Cāhāl Pūja, is held on the 6th day of the right half of Kārtik, when the people gather together and offer libations to the setting sun, and repeat the ceremony on the following morning. They also make offerings of white flowers, sandal paste, and a gourd of betel-nut, rice, or sweetmeats. Brahmā priests are not employed, but an elderly member of the family, usually a female, conducts the ceremony. (Wise, op. cit. 155). The Muhammadans also join in these ceremonies.

Sun-worship prevails widely among the non-
Aryan tribes. The Orions (wh. see) identify him with Dharman, their supreme deity, as do the Mundas and the Kharjatis. In making of wools and spirits, and swear by his name. The Haris of Birbhuma sacrifice a goat to him on some Sunday in spring, and, strictly in accordance with the animistic conception, he is, in Rājputāū, provided with a female consort, Chhēt-

 reasonably general than that of the sun. Soma in Bengal is represented by a figure of a white man sitting on a water-lily and drawn by ten horses. With his right hand he gives a blessing, and in the other he holds a club (Ward, Hindoes, ii. 72). His cult is common among the non-Aryan tribes. For instance, the Khariās offer to him a black cock under the name of Jyolo Dubo; the Binjhiās worship him as Nind Bhāgh; the Mundus as Chando Onal. The Minālī legend tells how on one occasion the moon, then waxing, got.hair and in his anger he cut her in two; but he afterwards repented of his wrath, and allows her at times to shine forth in full beauty amidst her daughters, the stars (Riley, op. cit. i. 408, 130; Dalton, op. cit. 180). The curing of evil by fire is symbolized by brick bats at the house of the person afflicted by it is in Bhārī connected with moon-worship. But it is probable that this is merely a suggestion of periodicity in the observance, and it is rather to be compared with the number of occasions when ritual bathings are held among men, women, and mong fights, especially in connexion with spring customs, are regarded as modes of promoting the fertility of the crops by the expulsion of the influence which cause injury to them (Frazier, Pausanias, ii. 296 f.). As in many other places, the moon is regarded as the deity who presides over crops, heals wounds; and cures diseases, especially those of the eye (Galt, op. cit. i. 189; Frazier, GB 2 ii. 134 ff.). It is a favourite object of worship with women, but in Bengal the fixed dates are appointed for these observances.

c. Planet-worship.—Of the planets the most regarded is Sani, or Saturn.

He is much revered and is carefully propitiated, either on Saturdays or on other occasions when astrological calculations indicate that a visitation from him is to be specially feared. He is represented in image by an earthy pot filled with water. A seat is placed in front of it, and on it are laid five fires and three flowers. A Brahman priest officiates at the ceremony, and the pratiṣed, or offering, which consists of a sort of pudding made of flour, plithains, sugar, and milk, must be eaten on the spot by the devotees, who must wash their mouths carefully before leaving. If any invalid visitor should arrive while the ceremony is in progress, he must wash till it is concluded, and eat a share of the pratiṣed, otherwise he will incur the godhead's displeasure' (Galt, op. cit. i. 1814).

The rule that the sacrifice is to be consumed at once in the presence, as it were, of the deity, is probably based on the fear that the sacred food might be profaned if it were carried outside the sanctuary (W. R. Smith, 282; Frazier, Pausanias, iii. 240). Every one present is required to share in consuming the offering. In other words, he must seek communion with the deity by eating part of the offering.

Rāhū, the looser, or the seizer, is the demon who causes eclipses by devouring the moon for a time. He must be scared by music or noise, or by bathing at a holy place during the eclipse. Rāhū has now become the special deity of the tribal god the Dieghars, who worship him by walking through a pit filled with hot cinders. One of the tribal priests, becoming possessed by the god walks through the fire, and it is said, escapes injury. Connected with this is another function, in which a ladder is made of reeds, and things shaped in the form of a sword-blade, up which the priest consecrated and decapitate a white cock tied to the summit of the ladder. A fowl of this colour is the appropriate offering to the sun-god. The object of the rite appears to be, by a form of symbolic or sympathetic magic, to propagate the deity who control the rain and the harvests (P. R. 19 f.).

13. Earth-worship. The earth-deity, impersonated as a goddess, has a twofold aspect—on the one hand beneignant, on the other hand destructive. This side is regarded as the mother of all living things and the giver of food. In this province she is known as Bhādevi, 'earth-goddess'; Dharti Māi, 'Mother Earth'; or Basundhārā, 'wealth-bearing'; Amba-bāchi, and Basunmati Thākarātī. Pious Hindus say a prayer to her in waking in the early morning; the dying man and the mother in parturition are laid upon her breast; when a calf is born the herdsmen let the first drop of milk from the cow's udder fall on the ground.

On the first day of the month Asār (June-July) she is supposed to menstruate, and there is an entire cessation of all ploughing, sowing, and other agricultural operations, and widows refrain from walking. A Sacred fire is lighted and the bathing ceremony is performed, in accordance with the Hindu idea that a woman menstruates in the first month of her life on the fourth day. A stone, taken to represent the goddess, is placed erect on the ground, and the top of it is painted with vermilion. The domestic fires is lit with turmeric, and the betel-nut is placed on a piece of wood close by. The stone is then beheaded with flowers, and offerings of milk, plithains, etc., are made (Galt, cit. i. 189). The smearing of the stone with vermilion indicates a reminiscence of an older rite of blood-sacrifice.

As will be shown in connexion with the Dravidian religion, the popular idea regarding the Dravidian religion is that her fertility periodically diminishes, and must be restored by various methods, the most common of which is blood-sacrifice. Among the Kandhs (wh. see) the victim was a human being, and fragments of the flesh of the victim were scattered or buried in the fields to renew the strength of the earth-spirit. In other places it is supposed that the same result will be attained by the annual symbolic marriage of the earth-goddess, and she is accordingly provided with a male consort, who is often the head of the grāmā-devata, or guardian gods of the village. In Western Bengal this god is usually known as Khetradī, 'earth-goddess', or Bhūmīā, 'earth-deity' (see Dravidian).

b. The earth-goddess in her malignant form. But though the earth-goddess is usually regarded as benevolent, she has a chthonic or malignant side to her character. While she is regarded as the village guardian, and protects the folk and their cattle from disease, yet, with the curious inconsistency which characterizes cults of this amorphous kind, she is believed to be the cause of epidemics, especially those of a sudden, unexpected, or unaccountable kind, such as cholera or small-pox. In this monstrous manifestation of the normal earth-mother is the prototype, and probably the primitive form of the destructive goddess in her manifold forms—Kāli, Devi, Durgā, and numberless others of the same kind. Her functions, again, as the causer and at the same time the avenger of disease, have become so mixed up with departmen
tal, and special maladies have been placed in charge of one or other of her various manifestations. We thus reach the beginnings of a pantheon, when each department of human activity is super-
tended by a separate deity. This process seems to have reached in Bengal by one or two ways; either the local earth-goddess of a particular locality gains a reputation by remarkable cures being worked at her shrine, and she is accordingly en-
trusted with the healing of a special class of maladies; or it may be that the aggregation of several castes form a tribe, where, for the sake of convenience, the functions of the deities, once separate but now revered in common, are discriminated.

(c) The small-pox goddess.—The small-pox deity, Śitala, is sometimes said that loves coolness, so called euphemistically in relation to the fever which accompanies the malady, is also known as Basanti Bārhi ("the old lady of spring"), or Basanti Chandī ("the cruel spring-goddess"), probably because epidemics are most usual at this season. She, by a variety of lineages, as below, is one of seven sisters, the enumeration of whom differs in various parts of the Province. Of those usually named, Kankar Māttā is the most dreaded, but happily her attacks are rare; Phumlātā and Fānsālī Māttā attack children under the age of seven, Bādi Māttā those between seven and fifteen, Gulsāli Māttā those of any age. Sītalā and her six sisters are often represented by seven balls of clay placed in a line in a shed erected outside the village site, where sweetmeats and flowers are offered, and the specific disease, by the sacrifice goats or pigeons, and the menials pigs. In cases of severe epidemics even the higher castes offer swine to the seven sisters; but the worshipping, who are usually women, employ men of low castes to perform the actual sacrifice. The whole of the sisters is usually subordinated to that of Sītalā, their leader, who is often represented as a naked woman, painted red and mounted on an ass, with a bundle of broomsticks in one hand with which she sweeps away the disease, an earthen pot under her left arm, and a winnowing fan upon her head. But her image sometimes assumes more grotesque forms.

Sometimes the image is a piece of wood or stone with a human face carved on it, besmeared with oil and vermilion and studied with spots or marks of gold, silver, or brass, in imitation of the postures of the disease. In Jessore and Noakhālī she is offered the form designed to her in the Purāṇas of a white figure in a state of perfect nudity, while in Orissa and Champānā she is represented by an earthen pot. In Khulnā she is regarded by the Peas, not merely as the goddess of small-pox, but as their main deity; and if a person is carried off by a tiger, or his crops are destroyed by wild animals, it is thought it is because he has injured the image of the goddess. In Kajbāns below, § 28, and how far it is merely a development of Animism. Here it is practically identical with the cult as it prevails throughout Northern India.

Worship of the cow.—In Eastern Bengal the cow receives divine honours at least twice a year, on the first day of Baisakh (April–May), and on the second day of the moon in Jyesthā (May–June). The custom is similar to that of the Baisakh Bīhu, or cattle-feast of Assam, in which on the first day the cattle are rubbed with oil and turmeric, and bathed in rivers and tanks; on the second day the owners prepare a feast, invite their neighbours and friends, and wear new clothes. The remaining five days of the festival, which since the Vaishnavite reformation has become associated with the cult of Kṛṣṇa, are spent by men and women in dancing, beating of drums, and the singing of amorous and wanton songs (Calcuttā Review, xxvi. 413). The animal, of course, is everywhere protected by a most efficient taboo; and in various parts, as in the case of the Gongs from the ocean as far as Hardwar, where the river leaves the hills, and returning eastward along the opposite bank, is imposed on any one who slays the sacred beast even by misadventure. But this respect for cows does not prevent wanton cruelty. Among Aryans the regard for the cow is comparatively modern. In the Vedas we find instances of cow-sacrifice and beef-eating (Rajendralal Mitra, Indo-Aryan, i. 354 ff.). It does not extend to the non-Aryan tribes, and it seems to have arisen at a stage of culture higher than that to which most of them have attained, when permanent cultivation finally takes the place of the rude methods of periodically burning down patches of jungle, and sowing the seeds, which is the habit still prevalent now. It is also a wanton cruelty. Among Hindūs and the sacrifice of a cow is part of the funeral rites, being probably connected with the death-feast which the departed soul is believed to share with the survivors. After the cremation of the corpse the ashes are buried covered with a large slab of stone, and the tail of the victim is attached to this as a sign that the obsequies of the deceased have been decently performed. The prejudice against the use of milk, which is regarded as a foul secretion, is characteristic of Chinese races; and it is also found among the Kols and the Kandhs of Ganjam (Dalton, op. cit. 283; Maltby-Leman, Manual of Ganjam, 69).

(b) Other sacred animals.—The monkey is a
sacred beast, particularly that variety known as the Langur (Semnopithecus entellus), which is identified with the monkey-god, Hanumān. The common Hindu theory that the beast is worshipped as the representative of the demigod or hero who asociated with the Aryan as well as with the non-Aryan races. Among the latter the aboriginal Savarnas of Shahābād make images of him which differ from the orthodox Hindu type; and the Bhuiyās of Koonjhar revere him under the title of Bir, that is, Vīra or Mahāvīra, 'great hero' (Buchanan, op. cit. 146; Dalton, op. cit. 140, 147). In Western Bengal the first duty of the founder of a hamlet is to erect an image of Hanumān, which is kept duly decorated with dabs of vermilion. He is regarded as typifying the virile element, and thus, as the protector of crops and cattle, is conceived to stand to the Earth-Mother in the relation of consort. Even the Macaque, the common monkey, is protected though he is exceedingly mischievous. It is believed that no one can live where a monkey has met his death, and his bones are so unlucky that a spouse classed as unlucky in occupation in ascertaining that such bones do not pollute the ground on which a new house is about to be erected (Buchanan, op. cit. ii. 141 f.). According to one tradition, the monkey is known as Pavanādātī, 'son of the wind,' a belief accepted by the Bhuiyās of Singhbhum, who revere him and call themselves Pavanbanas, 'the wind children,' to the present day. The same belief prevails among the fisher castes of Eastern Bengal, who invoke him in a calm, instead of whistling as the British tar does (Wise, op. cit. 137).

The tiger among the forest tribes is naturally supposed to represent the evil spirit of the woods, and the fear which he causes leads to reverence and propitiation. As Banṛṣṭa, 'lord of the jungle,' he is the chief object of worship among the Kisans and Santāls. The former will not kill him, and believe that in return for their devotion he will spare a tribesman (Dalton, op. cit. 122). The Santāls, especially those who have suffered loss from his attacks, adore him. When a Santāl is carrying a bundle of wood by the handle, the bundle of fame because it deems it necessary to propitiate the Bāgh Bhūrat, or 'tiger devil.' Samuels gives a curious account of a shamanistic rite among the Gonds, in which two men possessed of the spirit of Bāghēśvar, 'the tiger god,' sacrifice a fatted bullock, and mix the blood with milk in a gourd, which they hang up among the trees until it is taken down by the tiger (op. cit. 280). The paghaut, or shrine erected on the spot where a tiger has killed a man, is regarded as a place where offerings of propitiation should be made. Every passer-by adds a stone to the cairn, and at night sets a lighted lamp or makes an oblation, to appease the angry bhūrat, or spirit of the man who was slain.

15. The patron deities of the village.—The deities who have been enumerated are those connected with the clearing of the forest and the beginnings of an agricultural life. When the village has been founded and farming becomes well established, another form of worship to a large extent replaces beliefs of this kind. This is the worship of the village deities, or the tutelary deities of the village, who preside over the welfare of the community. These deities differ from the jungle gods inasmuch as, for the most part, they are purely local and attached to a single village. Those whose range is wider than that of the village seem usually akin to the jungle spirits. Thus, one of this class, Dholā Chand, inhabits a sacred grove where rags are tied to the branches to secure the birth of children, and people make obeisance whenever they pass her abode. Another, Banā Durgā, in Mymensingh, is worshipped on behalf of children; sacrifices of flesh and fowl are made on a primitive altars, sacred to a small tree, which is eaten by people of low caste (Gait, op. cit. i. 200). Again, it sometimes happens that one of these village-deities acquires a reputation for curing disease or procuring other benefits for its worshippers. He thus becomes known beyond its own special area; a cult is started; a temple is built; and, finally, the place becomes the resort of pilgrims. This was probably the origin of famous shrines, like that of Kāli at Kālighāṭ, near Calcutta,—the Kulkattēṇṭāl Kāli, as she is called,—a well-known deity throughout Northern India; or, again, the village may develop into a town or city, and the Grāma-devatā becomes its guardian, as has been the case with Patanadevi or Patanikārī, the protecting goddess of the city of Patna. The Bhāţmans who have taken up her cult no longer recognize her as a Grāma-devatā, and assert that she is one form of the spouse of Siva (Buchanan, op. cit. i. 191).

16. The village shrine.—The shrine of these village-gods is formed of more or less stones that are set up under the village tree, which is often one of the species regarded as sacred. Sometimes there is no visible representation of the deity beyond a stone or mound. Occasionally a bell is provided which the worshipper rings to announce his presence to the god, who may be sleeping or on a journey. In Hooghly an earthen pot filled with water, with a mango twig placed on the top, the whole covered with a piece of white cloth, represents the deity. In some cases the common woodsman will or it Or is offered by the headman; sometimes the priest is drawn from one of the lowest castes; and, even in those villages in which persons of high caste reside, the business of controlling and propitiating the local spirits is left in charge of a hedge priest, because he, being regarded as one of the aboriginal inhabitants, is supposed to understand the ways of the village-gods better than any newcomer. For the same reason, the uncanny duty of watching the fields at night is entrusted to the menial castes, who are supposed to understand how to consult the spirits which walk in the darkness. The offerings at the village shrine consist usually of the fruits of the earth, milk or spiritsuous liquor, food cooked or uncooked; but in cases of special emergency, goats or pigeons or pigs are sacrificed. The offerings are generally taken and consumed by the worshipper and his family, except the head, which was probably the god's share, and is appropriated by the officiant after he has let a few drops of blood from it fall upon the altar.

17. Titles of the Grāma-devatās.—Among the jungle tribes, where the cult is in its most primitive phase, the term Grāma-devatā has, as we might expect, an uncertain connotation. It is not limited to the actual village-deities, but is extended to the tribal gods of forest or mountain, like Marang, Burā of the Santāls, Thānpatī of the Savaras, Juṅgang, Bauris, and Bāḍgās, Sārā Būrī of the Orīons, and Duār Pālār or Duār of the Cheros (Gait, op. cit. i. 200). As settled life progresses, these deities gradually merge into the local pantheon. The titles of the Grāma-devatās are legion. Buchanan (op. cit. ii. 131) gives a long list of those worshipped in the District of Bhāĝulpur; but he illustrates the uncertain character of the cult by classing Siva and Kāli as Grāma-devatās. This suggests the primitive conception; but those have now become national gods, of much higher rank than the
local village-godlings. In Bhagalpur, Buchanan states, one of the most common of these deities is Beshahari, who controls snakes; and Bhabheshwar, Chandi, and Mahamayya are not very common, while he saw no shrine in honour of Sitala. He mentions also that a very common village-god was Dabbehlayaran, the ghost of a Brahman who, to revenge a wrong which he had sustained, committed suicide (op. cit. 133 ff.), among the most popular of the Grama-devata worshipped in Eastern Bengal, names Bahrā-Bāhrī, the androgynous form of the Earth-deity; Panchanandī, who preserves children from sickness; Aranyak or Janāk Samuṣṭi, the favourite goddess of Brahman, who enforces the health of children, and cures barrenness; Siddheśwari and Vrdhēśwari, who are now regarded by Brāhmans as 'parts' (vāniki) of Durgā; in other words, these have now taken their place among the greater gods.

18. Promotion of the Grāma-devatā to higher rank.—The mode by which these deities are promoted will be considered in connexion with the Dravidians (wh. see). But a few instances of the fact may be given from Bengal. Thakur Pani, of Parganas (op. cit. 140), a very blood-thirsty goddess' of the Bhūyāya, has now become a form of Durgā or Kālī, and in Singhbhum and Lohārdagā, is served by a Bhūtyā priest with sacrifices of goats and sheep, the flesh of which he shares with the performers (Ist. India, II. 600). The Mithuna, a piece of wood which they worship Mahāmaya, who is supposed to be the daughter of the Hindu Devi; and a trident painted red is worshipped as the monkey-god, Hanumān, who is believed to be an officer of Devi (ib. 220). The Kādārs of Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas worship animistic gods, but, if 'questioned about their religion, will reply that they are Hindus, and will talk vaguely about Paramēśvar, Mahadeo, and Vishnup, as if they lived in the very heart of orthodoxy instead of being, as in fact they are, wholly outside of the Brahmanical system. To talk about the Hindu gods is usually the first step towards an insensible adoption of the externals of Hinduism which takes the place of the formal and open conversion which sterners and less adaptive creeds demand. The next thing is to set up Brāhmans whose influence, furthered by a variety of social forces, gradually deposes the tribal gods, transforms them into Brāhman shastra, and forces place the regular Pantheon as local manifestations of this or that well-known principle, or relegates them to a remote and insensible obscurity as household or tribal gods. Last of all the tribe has a deified influential one, and its leading men hold land, they give them selves brevet rank as Rājpūts' (Risley, op. cit. i. 269).

19. Development of Animism into Hinduism.—In many parts of Northern India, it is possible to trace the stages by which people in the animistic stage of belief are promoted, if this phrase accurately expresses the fact, into Hinduism. It is very difficult, as we have seen, to find a purely animistic tribe in the plains. The degraded Sūdras of Orissa seem to recognize none of the regular Hindu gods. They worship an animistic goddess of their own, Paichi-khāna, 'she of the five swords,' with offerings of he-goats, fowls, and rice, which are consecrated by those who control them. The headman officiates at all acts of public worship; they have no Brāhmans, and perform no śvihāra, or mind-rite, for the dead (Risley, op. cit. ii. 267 f.). But even the Doms (wh. see), the lowest warchiefs of the tribes, at least in name, generally worship instead of the sacred order of the Brahma, a goddess, Bābār, and Nārâyāna (ib. i. 246), the explanation being that they have been for ages helots in the service of Hindu masters, whose religion they naturally imitate. Sometimes, again, it is found that, while one part of a tribe has adopted Brahmanism, they also adopt the Hindu religion, another division remains animistic. Among the Bhāmij, while the well-to-do tenants employ Brāhmans as their family priests and worship the Mother-goddess under the forms of Kālī or Mahāmāyā, the mass of the tribe, that is, those of the Dharama, and worship a host of minor gods of the animistic class (Risley, op. cit. i. 124). The same is the case with the Bijnīhās, Birhors, and Cheros (ib. i. 136, 138, 202). The Koīri and Kurmī tribes furnish examples of people whose religion obviously depends upon their environment. A portion of these tribes which still occupies the animistic area of Chotā Nagpur continues the worship of the non-Aryan deities, while those who have migrated to the plains in Bihar have come almost completely under Hindu influence (ib. i. 503, 534).

20. Development of the tribal priesthood.—This process of evolution is clearly shown by the character of the priesthood. The Korwás, according to Dalton (op. cit. 229), have no priests, because, as he asserts, they have no gods, their worship being entirely confined to that of the manes of their ancestors—a rite which must necessarily be performed by the head of the family. Elsewhere, however, they employ bājūrās, or tribal priests. The same is true in Western Bengal, among whom the head of the household performs all religious and ceremonial observances. These people, however, on the road to promotion, because they hold Brāhmans in some degree of honour, and presents are given to them on festivals, etc. The Brāhmans of Western Bengal as priests men of their own caste, termed lavā or degharā, some of whom hold patches of land rent-free or at a nominal rent as remuneration for their services; but the tribe in Eastern Bengal employs a low class of Brāhmans (ib. i. 81). One section of the Doms appoints the son of the dead man's sister or of his female cousin to perform the obsequial rites, and to recite the appropriate sacred verses (maṇtra) at the funeral. For these services he receives a fee when the inheritance comes to be divided. This has been supposed to be a survival of the primitive rite by which kinship is traced through the female. No other indications of an extinct custom of female kinship are now traceable among these people, and the fact that in Western Bengal the eldest son on the division of the inheritance gets an extra share seems to show that kinship through males must have been in force for a long period (ib. i. 248). This custom, however, seems to have been at one time widely spread among the lower tribes of India. For instance the Garo of Assam still trace succession through the female; so do the Hāris, Pāisā, and Čantis of Bihār; forest tribes in the United Provinces, like the Bhūyāyas and the Kols, and even, according to Wise, the Mithilās and Sarvarī groups of Brāhmans, who recognize the sister's son as family priest (Risley, Census of India Rep. 1901, i. 448; Wise, op. cit. 127; Cooke, Tribes and Castes, ii. 93, iii. 309; Dalton, op. cit. 63).

The next stage is reached among those tribes which employ Brāhmans only for special functions, and perform their ordinary religious rites through the agency of their own kinmen. The Bhandārī, or barber caste of Orissa, perform the service of the orthodox gods through Brāhmans, who are received on equal terms with the Wérie of the village goddess, Grām-devatā, is done by the head of the household (Risley, Tribes, i. 93 f.). In the same way the Binds and Cheros of Bihār, who have copied with more or less accuracy the that of the external observances of Brāhmanship, employ Brāhmans in the worship of the higher gods, while the household worship of the local deities is done by the men of the family, or by a bājūra, or hedge priest.
drawn from one of the non-Aryan tribes (ib. i. 132, 202). Even a caste like the Kandia, or grain-parchers of Bihār and Bengal, who pretend to a high standard of orthodoxy, worship the godling Goraiyā in a fashion which is hardly in keeping with their high social position.

A Brahman who marries a non-Aryan daughter has to build a new house to the house of the deity, a Doṣadāth (wh. see) officiates as priest, and the victim is a pair of pigeons, a price from the Kandia, slain by him at the instance of the Kandia worshippers, and then eaten by the family of the priest (ib. i. 416).

Finally, some tribes who do employ Brahmins for all religious services and family ceremonies are unable to secure the services of the highest groups of the priestly order, and are forced to content themselves with those of lower rank. Sometimes, as in the case of the Bhakt Ortons,—a branch of the great non-Aryan tribe which is now gradually adopting the Hindu religion and its rites,—Brahmans deign to offer their services as gurus, or spiritual guides, but refuse to officiate as their priests. The sacrifice is accordingly done by any influential member of the tribe who happens to be acquainted with the ritual, or who tries to imitate the Hindu ceremony; the priest, however, is not a Brahman, but a tribesman (ib. i. 91).

The Koiris, a cultivating tribe of Bihār and Chotā Nagpur, profess to be orthodox Hindus; but their orthodoxy, as we have already seen (above, § 10), is only a shade above vaishnavism, and may be estimated by the degree of consideration accorded to their Brahmins and by the nature of their local gods. In Chotā Nagpur those Brahmins who serve them as priests are not received on equal terms by other Brahmins; and among their minor gods we find non-Aryan deities, like Marang Barū and Bar Pahārī, side by side with Hindu gods, or rather perhaps aboriginal gods invested with Hindu titles, like Parameśvarī and Hammann. Mounds of dried clay representing these are found in every house, and there is often a larger mound under a sacred tree which is dedicated to the entire group of deities (Dalton, op. cit. 321; Risley, op. cit. i. 903).

21. Bhūta-worship.—Another form of worship which illustrates the transition from Animism to Brāhmanism is that of Bhūtas, which prevails more or less among all classes of the population of Bengal, from the non-Aryan tribes up to those who have accepted the beliefs of Hinduism. The term bhūta, or bhāta, meaning in Sanskrit 'formed', is, in the Veda, and in later sacred literature applied to the powers of Nature, and even to deities. Siva himself is called Bhūtavārā, or 'Lord of spirits.' But the name is now popularly applied to a malignant evil spirit, properly the ghost of a man who has died a violent death, either by accident, suicide, or capital punishment. The malignity of such a spirit is increased if he has been denied proper funeral rites. In Bengal, according to Wisse (op. cit. 131 f.), such spirits are most numerous in forest tracts, and in their marriage, or possession of the sombre valleys of hilly districts, where the original clearers of the jungle were exposed to many forms of violent death. Some, again, dwell in ancient trees, others in cities, in ruined temples, graveyards, cremation grounds, or dry wells.

They are met with on the arid treeless plain, the flooded river, and the lonely forest glade. The timid recognize their coming by the jackal, or jackal-like yelp of the village cur, and the whistle of the plover. One kind of demon, sedentary in its habits, attaches itself to a village or to a group of huts; others, with a blight the opening bud, or convulse the newborn babe. The Brahman, in the absence of the women, while the sexual appetites of the male are gratified, and his longing desire is to obtain some means of counteracting their influence. The women are naturally the chief adherents of this cult, and one of the prime object of this cult is the protection of the paddy fields, or murain among the herds, if hail strikes the green crops, or the weevil spoils the mangoes—all these are the work of these malignant spirits. Many means are adopted to overcome their dangerous influence. Some Brāhmans, not those of the highest class, supply mangoes, etc. to the male bhūtas, and the teachers prepare copper anules, each containing a sentence from the Quran; the wandering Bairagī furnishes charms, such as a bone, tooth, or scale of a fish, a seed, or a fragment of wood.

22. The evil eye.—Classically allowed of belief in this class is the evil eye superstition. To avert this danger the field or garden is protected by a black pot painted with a white cross or the mystic symbol, the swastika. See Evil Eye.

23. Disease exorcism.—Disease, in particular, is seldom supposed to be the result of natural causes; it is almost invariably ascribed to bhūtas, or evil spirits.

Even an educated gentleman, acting under female dictation, calls in the aid of magicians to cast out the devil haunting his house, or tormenting his child. Infants and pregnant women are especially subject to these influences in India. Often the illness is merely convulsive—headache, delirium of fever, and raving madness, are referred to possession by an evil spirit' (Wisse, op. cit. 123).

In such cases, the ojha, or exorcist, takes the place of the kābīraj, or physician, and magic the place of medicine. Beliefs of this kind are common throughout the Dravidian area. One form of this belief to which there is no exact parallel in other parts of India—the propitiation of Ghunthi, the spirit which presides over itch—may be given as an example. A broken earthenware pot, its bottom blackened by constant use in cooking, daubed white with lime interspersed with a few streaks of turmeric, a branch of the rāga plant (Cedrus deodara) or a sprig of the unfortunatum used as a febrifuge and anthelminthie, and, last though not least, a broomstick of palmyra or coco-nut tree, represent the evil spirit. The mistress of the family in whose house the malady appears keeps up the rites as long as the pot is broken into fragments, and these are collected by the children, who sing songs about the itch-god. This rite is believed to be effective in removing the disease (Calcutta Review, xvii. 68).

24. Shamans.—Rites like these in which the object of exorcising disease or other evils caused by malignant spirits, are often accompanied by a form of shamanism, in which the officiant becomes possessed by the deity which he has invoked, and, letting his hair loose, falls into a state of religious excitement, the course of which he pours forth incoherent cries which are believed to be oracular. This form of frenzy often appears among non-Aryan races like the Santsāls. Their baika, or priest, assembles the people to assist him in the invocation.

Animal instruments are produced, dancing commences, and the invocation to the spirits is chanted until one or more of the performance is a symbol of the eyes and involuntary spasmic action of the muscles. The affection appears contagious, and old women and others who have not been possessed become influenced by those who is that horrible to contemplate. Captain Samuel, who frequently witnessed the incubation, is confident that no deception whatever has been practised. 'The affection,' says Captain Samuel, 'comes on like a fit of ague, lasting sometimes for a quarter of an hour, the patient or possessed person writhing and convulsing with intense violence, especially at the commencement of the paroxysm. Then he is seen springing from the ground, or into the air, and all executed as though he were shot at by unseen agency. During this stage of the seizure he is supposed to be quite unconscious. But when the symptoms are over, the head of the dancer is seen among the feet of the dancers, without sustaining injury from the heat or the pressure. This lasts for a few minutes and is followed by the spasmic attack, the face and knees on the ground and hair loosened, the body is convulsed, and the head shaken and rolled in an extraordinary manner, with gurgling noises. The patient next evincing an inclination to stand on his legs, the bystanders assist him and place a stick in his hands, with the aid of which he hopes about the spes-
modic action of the body still continuing, and the head permitting itself to be thrust through the circuiting rings of the cord." The Brahma \(\text{\textquoteleft}\) is then supposed to identify the spirit which has possessed the patient. He implores it to desist, and by degrees, after further prayer, the spirit will calm itself and become conscious, and when restored to his normal state is said to feel no fatigue or other ill effects from the attack (Dalton, op. cit. 199).

In Eastern Bengal the shaman prepares for the performance by fasting \(\text{\textquoteleft}\) for a whole day, drinking or smoking intoxicating preparations of the hemp-plant, and quaffing the freshly-drawn blood of a goat or other animal sacrificed on the occasion. Practices such as these are found among both Hindus and Muhammadans in that part of the Province (Wise, op. cit. 128).

25. Worship of individual biutas. Besides the general worship of evil spirits, the members of this class are worshipped, or rather propitiated, because they are specially feared. Such spirits are usually malignant on account of the tragical circumstances of their death.

(a) Deified Brâhmanas.—Many of this kind of evil spirits are deified Brâhmanas. Such is Harâ Pârâ, or Harâ Bâla, the local godling of Chayanpur, near Sarsârîm, in the Shâhâbâd district. He is of the class known as Brahâ, Barhâm, or Brâhman ghosts. He was, according to the current legend, one of the Kunnâjju divinities of the district of Sasariim, but he was expelled from his original abode, and has since wandered about the environs of the town. He is the Sâhâbâd, the ruler of that country. The Râni disliked the Brahman, and induced her husband to believe that the priest was conspiring to deprive him of his kingdom. Accordingly the Râni caused the house of the Brahman to be demolished, and the Brahman himself assumed the lands which he had previously conferred upon him. The enraged Brahman did dhâryâ, in other words, fasted till he died of starvation at the gate of the palace. So he became a Brahman, and is now worshipped with the frenzied devotion of the Brahmans by the inhabitants of the town. If any one obtains his desire through Harâ’s interference, he makes an offering of a golden cord, and feeds Brahman in his honour. Harâ’s speciality is, if rightly approached, to cure disease by expelling the evil spirits to which it is due. His worship is rapidly spreading beyond Bengal westward into the adjoining districts of the United Provinces (PR i. 191 f). Deified spirits of this class are very common. They are sometimes represented by a headless trunk, or by an inverted banyan or banyan-like tree. They have a branch which he is supposed to have kept by the banyan tree in which the Brahman has taken up his abode, or who has been in any way responsible for his death.

\(\text{\textquoteleft} He can escape the evil consequences only by making the Brahman his holy deity, and worshipping him regularly. In Bihar he often becomes the dhihrâ, or tutelary deity of the whole village. The worship is usually performed under the tree, especially on Sundays, on which he is supposed to be frequently found. The trunk is painted vermillion, and a mound of earth is erected, on which are placed clay figures of horses or elephants, and offerings are made of flowers, bâ-eiituts, and the like. The worship is conducted by a special priest called the bhâkâti, who is not necessarily a Brahman, and occasionally he is inspired by the spirit and uttereth prophecies, which are implicitly believed in by the devotees (Gait, op. cit. i. 1981).

The same writer gives a catalogue of numerous deified Brahman. In many cases they are ghosts of members of the priestly order who have committed suicide on account of some insult or the deprivation of some privilege (PR i. 191 f).

(b) Low-caste biutas.—The lower castes have many deified spirits of this kind. The malignant ghost of a sweeper is specially feared, and in many places the higher castes insist that a member of that caste shall be buried face downwards, or that the grave shall be filled with thorns, to prevent the ghost from ‘walking.’

26. The Churel. Another class of evil spirit widely feared is the Churel, or Kichin, the spirit of a woman who dies in childbirth or in a state of ceremonial impurity. She is regarded as specially malignant, because fate has snatched her from this world just at the time when she was about to attain the happiness of becoming a mother, or in a state of impurity which would cleag to her in the other world.

This belief is widely spread. We find it in China (PL i. 361), in Japan, and among the Burmese. The Bengal Brahmanical rites of Sâhâbâd, and on p. 107, 211, 276, 374 (ib.); Tâlava, op. cit. 111; and in Central America the spirits of women who died in their first childbirth were supposed to dwell with the dead warriors in the home of the Sun. At certain times the inhabitants, wandering through the pueblos and bringing deadly disease to those women and children who crossed their path (Payne, History of New World, ii. 334). If the child lives it is generally believed that the mother returns to seek it. Hence in West Africa when a woman dies in childbirth her child is buried with her (Gait, Tai-speaking Peoples, 234). In Melanesia it is supposed that a woman who has died in childbirth cannot go to Pani, or Deadland, if her child lives, because she cannot leave it behind. They therefore receive her ghost by packing up a piece of banyan trunk in leaves, and laying it on her breast when she is buried. Then, after a time, she imagines that she is carrying her child with her (Codrington, Melanesians, 256). For other instances of the belief in India, see J.R.K. 209 ff. It prevails in Burma (Report 9th Oriental Congress, i. 183), in Manipur (J.A.I. 185), among the Nias (ib. xxvi, 230), and among the Vellalas of Madras Pres. (Thurston, Bulletin Madras Museum, ii. 165).

The Churel usually appears as a woman who has no mouth, who haunts filthy places, and whose feet are turned backwards. This last is a characteristic of demonism in many parts of India (Tylor, i. 307). Again, she often assumes the form of a beautiful young woman, and at night seduces youths, especially those who are good-looking. She carries them off to a kingdom of her own, where she kills their heads, and places them, all with the same face, in the same room, with the same voice. This keeps them until they lose all their manly vigour, and then sends them back to the world in the shape of grey-haired old men, who find all their friends long dead. The Churel superstition is probably derived from the demonology of the non-Aryan races. It is found fully developed among the Orâns, who imagine the Churel to be a woman clad in robes of white, her face fair and lovely, her back black as charcoal, and her feet inverted (FL xvii. 131 f). She hovers over grave stones, lays hold of passers-by, wrestles with the (or) she aren’t them, and he who is thus caught is lucky if he escapes injury. Often he is found next morning senseless, with his neck twisted, and the services of a sorcerer or medicine-man are necessary to set him right again (Dalton, op. cit. 258). The methods of getting rid of such a spirit are two-fold,—either by propitiation or by exorcism. The Bhumis of Koönjhar, if a woman should die before delivery, extract the embryo from the corpse and burn the bodies at opposite sides of a hill stream. As no spirit can enter the body of a dead woman, she becomes a weapon unless united to her child, this precaution is believed to render her harmless (Gait, op. cit. i. 199).
Animism. —The basis of modern Hinduism.—The Hinduism, and much of the Buddhism, of modern Bengal is thus in a large measure the result of the fusion of the various non-Aryan animistic beliefs with the foreign faiths. The Buddhistation of North-Western India, which gradually worked away the Holy Land of the Hindus in the eastern parts of the Ganges; and second, Islam, which advanced by the same route, made a great many. Animistic beliefs are to such a large extent the foundation of modern Hinduism in Bengal that it is impossible to draw a line of demarcation between the two, or to say where one ends and the other begins. Hinduism, in fact, is such a vague term as not to admit of definition.

The term in its modern acceptance denotes neither a creed nor a race, neither a church nor a people, but is a general denunciation devoid of precision, and embracing alike the most percipient disciplines of pure Vedantism, the Aryan youth who is the product of Western education, and the semi-barbarous hillman, who eats without scruple anything that he can procure, and is as ignorant of the Hindu theology as the stone which his worshippers in times of danger or sickness" (Doulaidon, Census Rep. Bengal, 1831, 1.71).

28. Totemism.—Totemism, which in other countries seems to have produced important results in moulding the national faith, appears in Bengal rather in a sort of the same way as we find it chiefly in connexion with the exogamous sects of the non-Aryan tribes, each of which bears the name of some animal, tree, plant, or material object, natural or artificial, which members of that sect are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, etc. Thus, among the Orans, we find sepals designated by names meaning 'young mice,' 'tortoise,' 'hyena,' 'cat,' 'squirrel,' 'rat'; and among the Santals, 'wild goose,' 'hawk,' 'betal-palm,' 'conch-shell,' etc. The name of a current Oraon totem is that they are not whole animals, but parts of animals, as the head of a tortoise, the stomach of a pig, which special parts the tribesmen are forbidden to eat (Risley, op. cit. 1., Intro. 43; Dalton, op. cit. 180, 264).

The respect for the totem is shown in various ways. The Bori totem is the heron, and they are forbidden to eat its flesh (Dalton, op. cit. 327). The Kumhars of Orissa abstain from eating, and so far as to worship the fish, because the rubbish that would arise now of the fish is the symbol of their craft. The Khatiyas of the Chota Nagpur plateau are forbidden to eat meat (Risley, op. cit. 1., Intro. 48) that the name of the saint has been substituted for the original totemistic name derived from the animal. The Parheya of Palamau have a tradition that their tribe formerly held sheep and deer sacred, and used the dung of these animals to plaster the floors of their huts, as they now use cow-dung; the Kharrias do not eat the flesh of sheep, and may not use a woolen rag—tusab the observance of which is now becoming relaxed (Dalton, op. cit. 131; Ball, Jungle Life, p. 7). Kandus refused to carry a basket containing the skin of a young leopard which Bad had shot, because, as far as he could ascertain, 'the animal was the totem, or sacred beast of the tribe' (op. cit. 690). Many other races of similar belief have been collected by Dalton and Risley (ib. cit.). Many Hindu tribes have the thirteen totemistic sections; a man may not marry a woman belonging to the same section as himself, nor may he eat, cut, or injure the plant or animal whose name his section bears (Risley, op. cit. 1. 25). The primitive 'Pandas' or wild men, and the Kasupata, or tortoise, and will not molest either animal. The Kasupata branch carry their reverence for the totem to such an extent that, if one be caught, they smear its shell with oil and vermillion, and put it back into the water (ib. i. 501). The Mahili Mundas regard the pig as their totem, and will not eat pork (ib. i. 40). The Pans have a host of totems, including animals such as the tiger, buffalo, monkey, tortoise, cobra, mon- goose, owl, king-crow, peacock, centipede, and among plants the wild fig, wild plum, and many others (ib. ii. 16). Many of the non-Aryan tribes, again, claim descent from animals. The Cheros say that they are descended from the naga, or dragon (Dalton, op. cit. 126, 162, 163 f.); the Santals have as one of their totems the wild goose, from the eggs of which they assert that their race toto were created (ib. 209); the Ho creation-legend seems to connect the various tribes—Kols, Bhumijs, Brâmins, Ksatriyas, Sudras, Bhuyâs—and even the English with animals selected by each after their creation by Oto Boram and Sing Borâ, who were self-created.

Another proof of the existence of totemism in Bengal has been traced in the reluctance to mention animals by their real names, and the preference for a descriptive epithet (Frazier, Totemism, 1884). Thus, Ho Hindus would not name a 'four-footed one'; and the Pa[âr]is call the bear 'the hairy creature,' and the elephant 'he with the tusks' (Crooke, Tribes and Costes, iii. 249; PR ii. 54, 142). But in his later examination of tales of this kind Frazier seems to have abandoned the idea that they can be traced to totemism.

The evidence for the existence of totemism as a force affecting religious beliefs is thus very dubious, and many of the examples given above can be explained by animal- or plant-worship.

29. Hinduism and totemism.—The present population of the Province are Hindus, and rather less than one-third Muhammadans, the followers of other creeds being in small numbers. The diagrams prepared by Gait (op. cit. i. 154, 156) show clearly the geographical distribution of these, the two main religions of the Province. What may be called the most conservative parts of the country, those which were settled at the earliest period, continued to be the seats of an historic civilization, and what were centres of Buddhism in former times are now inhabited by Hindus, who are the predominant. These are the sub-provinces of Bihar and Orissa, and the line of districts along the eastern edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau and the western fringe of Bengal proper, which link these two tracts together. The southern hill region, the home of the Mundas or Dravidian tribes, is the domain of pure Animism, which in the plain region is overlaid by Hinduism or Islam. Muhammadanism, again, is predominant to the east, and in that portion of the Province which has now been formed into a separate Administration.
be an eater of meat and a drinker of spirituous
liquor, both being permitted luxuries; while in-
cluding all the duties of the Hindu. In all this
Hinduism, again, is perhaps more eclectic
than most of the great world-religions, freely
admitting into its fold the followers of many
different sects provided they submit to the social
rules of the body in which they accept member-
ship. They are allowed perfect freedom to wor-
sy any or all of the sectarian gods, though to
suit his own inclinations a man may devote special
honour to one of the many forms of the Mother-
goddess, to Siva, or to Vishnu in one or other of
his many incarnations. Hence, among individ-
uals, the standpoint may vary from that of the
rejection of Devi or Durgā side by side with the
gāthāgānā, or amonite, representing Vishnu,
or the phallic symbol of Siva. When he
visits a holy place he will be careful to pay respect
to all the principal shrines, and to worship all
the gods or goddesses who are represented by images.
He does this because his deities are jealous gods,
easily offended if they be neglected, and prone to
punish any one who fails to honour them (Jogendranath
Bhattacharya, Hindu Castes and Sects, 354).
In Bihar, strict but sectarian Hopkins, revulsion
Devi the beliefs few which non-Aryan have
within the limits of the case (Risley, op. cit. i.
33). Passing to castes of a much lower grade, we
find that the Bāgī, cultivators, fishermen, and
mentals of Central and West Bengal, worship, under
the guidance of degraded Brāhmans, Siva, Vishnu,
and the Sakti, as well as Yama or Dharmarāja,
god of Dead-land, and the myriad names of the
modern pantheon, besides animistic deities like
Gaṅgīnī, the goddess, and Bar Pahār, the
mountain-god of the Santāls; but their favourite
object of worship is Mātāja, the goddess of the
cultivation of jīps (Piper betel), mostly Saktis, and only a few areVaishnavas,
but with the worship of these great gods they combine the cult of Usha of the Yeda, the Eos or Aurora of the West. The Dhoī, or washerman
caste, worship, besides the Saktas and Vaishnavas, the
devil, or the Sakti, very much as the personal taste
of the worshipper may dictate, and they venerate,
besides these, non-Aryan gods such as Bīnīyā, the
earth-god, and Barhaū Gāthi, the defiled ghost of a
Brāhmaṇ. The Pools, a mixed tribe in the Delta,
include Saktas, Saktis, and Vaishnavas, as well as
Sauras, Sun-worshippers, and Ganapatys, or
followers of Gaṇapati or Gaṇeṣa, god of wisdom
and remover of obstacles, the two last sects being
very sparingly represented among the higher
classes of Hindus (Risley, op. cit. i. 41, 723, 1177).
We find, again, instances of beliefs held in
common by both Hindus and Musalmans. In
Rangpur, Buchanan (op. cit. iii. 512) found Hindus
worshipping a spirit known as Satyā-nātāyan,
'the true Lord,' whom Musalmans venerate under
the title of the Saktis and Sauras. Hyurius to
him were sung by Brāhmans and Sādhus;
and while the Musalmans used different hymns, the
worship was identical.

In Bihar, the same writer remarks (i. 185) that 'when an Hindu is about to marry such a sect, it does not in
general absolutely imply that he worships only such and such
a god; but that such or such is his family-god (kula-deity) or favourite deity, to whom he may
pray to no god but their favourite and his connections, such
as his spouse, sons, and servants; but in this district it is not
usual to be so stubborn: and though the prayers of piou-
sious Hindu are offered to some one god, he without scruple has
occasionally been known to return to another sect, to associ-
ate with the sect, and never approaches any image or holy place without some mark of respect." The gurus, or sages, he adds, who instruct
both Saivas and Vaishnavas, and who are held to be identical, are so
careless or ignorant 'that they never have taken the trouble
to inquire from their instructor whether the secret prayer is
addressed to Siva or Sakti, and they do not understand a word
of it.'

It must, therefore, be understood that the Hindu
sects of this Province are not in any sense analogous
to the divisions found in other religions, as,
for example, those of Christianity. Certain classes of
the people may be generally labelled Vaishnavas
or Saivas, and so on; but the fact of nominal
adherence to one of these sects does not exclude
the possibility of the worshipper paying reverence
to gods other than those which his sect specially
honours. It is in Bihar particularly, as we have
seen, that the line between Vaishnavas and Saktis
is not clearly defined. This is not the case in
Bengal proper. Here a strict Vaishnava will not
ever mention the names of goddesses like Kali or
Durgā, or the Bel tree (Eagle marmoles) the leaves
of which are useful in the worship of Vishnu;
but the fact of nominal adherence to one of these sects does not exclude
the possibility of the worshipper paying reverence
to gods other than those which his sect specially
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seen, that the line between Vaishnavas and Saktis
is not clearly defined. This is not the case in
Bengal proper. Here a strict Vaishnava will not

31. The Saktas.—Saktism * probably was a develop-
ment of the animistic belief in the Mother-
goddess which, as we have seen (above, § 13),
is widely spread among the non-Aryan tribes. In
the more highly developed form of the cult the
functions of the primitive goddess 'of all work'
have become divided into departments, and the
various forces of Nature are personified under
personalities, known as the Divine Mothers
(mātrigrāma). These female energies are conceived
as the Saktis of the primeval male, Purusā or Siva,
who is the counterpart of non-Aryan gods like
Brāhmiya or Khetrapāla, the male consort of the
Earth - Mother, by union with whom her fertility is
periodically renewed (see § 13).

The Šaktaka cult is said to have originated in
East Bengal, and to be first recorded about the 5th cent. A.D.,
and the headquarters of Tāntrik worship are believed to have been Kāmakhyā in the later Province, whilst it was introduced into Tibet, Nepal, and
Gujarat. The cult in this Province takes many forms.

(a) General form. The Šaktaka, or Matrika, of the
Mātrigrāma, the general worship of the Mothers of the universe personified as the wives
of the gods, that is to say, Sakti in all her various
forms, usually eight in number, and co-ordinated
with the different gods—Viṣṇu and Laksanā
with Viṣṇu; Brahmā or Brahmāni with Brahmā;
Kārttikeya with Kārttikeya, god of war; Indrā
with Indra; Yami with Yama, god of death;
Varāhi with Varāha, the boar incarnation
of Viṣṇu; Dēvi or Īsāni with Siva.

(b) Kāli.—Secondly, there is the worship of Kāli,
which, according to Buchanan (op. cit. ii. 374,
477), was in his time of comparatively recent
introduction into Bihar, 'since the English took
possession, some of the wise men of the East having
told the wisecourses that she is the deity of the
English, told them simply that she were the greatest.' Until the deity was introduced, he

* For a sketch of the development of Śaktism see Gait, Asian
Census Report, 1891, 1. 597. ; Jogendranath Bhattacharya,
Hindu Castes and Sects, 1027 ff. ; Edlin, Catalogue of India,
Eng. tr. 190 ff. The course of the development of Greek belief is supposed to have been on similar lines, and the conception
of Śakti may have been assimilated to the Maid, which may reflect primitive matriarchal customs
(J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena, 260 ff.).
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going on to say, it was not common to call the female power by any particular name. She was commonly spoken of and worshipped as Devi or Bhavānī, two appellations implying merely the goddess. Although by the latter term Sītalā was commonly understood. The original female power, in short, is thus seen undergoing the process of development, a number of special entities being created to whom each department of human action is assigned. The spirit of Kāllī appears in one of its lowest forms among the Tipātas of the State of Tippera and the Chittagong hill tracts to the east of the province. This tribe offers to Kāllī black goats (her name meaning 'the black one'), rice, plantains, and other fruits of the earth. The heads of several giants are hung as a girdle round her loins, and her tresses fall down to her heels. Having drunk the blood of the god, her graces are gathered into her blood, and her breasts fall in a stream down her breast; her eyes are red like those of a drum. She stands with one leg on the breast of her husband, Shīra, and rests the other on his thigh. (Ward, op. cit. i. 117 ff.).

At the present time, pigeons, goats, and, more rarely buffaloes, are the victims usually offered. The ceremony commences with the adoration of the sacrificial axe. Various spells (mantra) are recited, and the animal is decapitated at one stroke. As soon as the head falls to the ground the votaries rush forward and smear their foreheads with the blood of the victim, these sacrifices are laitly performed during the three days of the Durga Pājā (Gait, op. cit. i. 182).

Rights such as these represent the goddess in her maledevor aspect. But she is also Rākhyā or Bālā Kālli, the guardian of every Bengali village, to whom prayers and sacrifices are offered on the outbreak of pestilence. Wise remarks that, when cholera broke out at the great Vārūnī fair in 1874, a subscription was collected for the performance of a special worship of Kālli. Her image was paraded through the streets and was accompanied by a procession in which the enthrone was given, at which crowds of people assembled. The cholera, which had been only sporadic, ceased, and the stoppage was attributed to the benediction Kālli (op. cit. 135 f.).

(c) Devī.—The cult of Devī is similar to that of Kālli. It sometimes represents her as benign, but more often in her chthonic or malignant aspect. It is, in fact, practically impossible to distinguish the double manifestation of the goddess. Speaking generally, when kindly she is Uma, 'light,' Gaṅga, the yellow or brilliant one, Gaurī or Haimavātī, 'she that has her birth in the Himālaya,' Jagnāmātā, 'mother of the world,' and Bhavānti; while in her terrible form, she is called Durgā, 'the inaccessible,' Kāli or Śyāma, 'the dark one,' Chandī or Chandi, 'the fierce,' Bhairavi, 'the terrible.' But in the popular conception these functions so completely merge and interchange that more precise definition is impossible. In Bihar during the Naurā or 'nine nights' festival, the goddess, held during the four nights before the waning moon of the month of Chaitra (March), the rite of infusing by means of spells (mantra) the spirit of the goddess into an earthenware jar is performed. A space within the temple is purified by plastering the surface with mud and row-d topping the jar filled with red water and covered with shoots of the mango tree, and over it is placed an earthenware saucer containing barley and rice, which is covered with a yellow cloth. The priest recites verses, and sprinkling water on the jar and its contents with a few handfuls of the sacred kālī ghee, he begins to go around to enter it. As a sign that she has occupied it, the water in the jar is sprinkled with red powder. During the period occupied in the rite the priest prays alms, eating only roots and fruits. The service concludes with a fire-sacrifice (homa), in which barley, sugar, butter, and sesame are burned before the jar which holds the goddess. The ashes of the sacrifice and portions of the red powder with which the jar was smeared are brought to the houses of his clients by the priest, who smears their foreheads with the ashes, thus bringing them into communion with the deity. We find no fetish rites in their crudest form (North Indian Notes and Queries, iv. 191 f.).

(d) Divisions of the Saktas.—The Saktā sect is divided into three main sections—first, the Dakshānācchāri or Dakshānāmārtī, the 'right-hand' section, who are comparatively free from sensuality, and do not offer spirits or flesh to the deity. They follow the Purānas as their Veda, and are devoted to either Śiva or Viṣṇu in their androgynous character, at one and the same time the male and female principle. There are two bodies of extremists—the Vāmācāri or Vāmāmārtī, 'the left-hand' sect, who follow the teaching of the Tantrik literature, and the Kaulas or Kaulikas, following the Kaula Upanishad, whence they take their name, whose practices are even more grossly lewd. Their object of veneration is the great Sakti, or power of Nature, Jagannātā or Jagadambā, 'the mighty mysterious force, whose function is to direct and control two quite distinct operations: namely, first, the working of natural agencies; second, whether for the support of the body by eating and drinking or for the propagation of living organisms through sexual cohabitation; secondly, the acquisition of supernatural faculties (śiddhī), whether for a man's own individual exaltation or for the annihilation of his opponents' (Monier Williams, Brāhmaṇam and Hindūism, 185 f.). The fœtal organs which accompany such celebrations have been described by Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya (Hindu Caste and Sects, 411 f.), Ward (Hindūs, 295 f.), and others, and will not be discussed here. The animistic side of the cult appears in the Panjab worship of young girls as Devī, apparently a form of sympathetic magic to induce fertility (Rose, Census Rep. 1901, 1. 126).

32. The Vaishnavas.—The revolt against this gross and delasing cultus was led by the reformer Chaitanya, a Vaidik Brahman who was born at Nabadvip, in Bengal, A.D. 1484.

*He preached mainly in Central Bengal and Oriens, and his doctrines found ready acceptance amongst large numbers of the people, especially amongst those who were still, or had only recently been, Buddhists. This was due mainly to the fact that he ignored caste and the 'right' or 'sacred' direction, so that even Muhammadans followed him. He preached vehemently against the imolation of animals in sacrifice and the use of animal food by priests, and taught that the great salvation lay in bhakti, or fervent devotion to God. He recommended Badha worship, and taught that the love felt by her for Krishna was the best form of devotion. The acceptable offerings were flowers, money, and the like; but the great form of worship was that of the devotee who engaged in paroxysms of prayer, meditation, and singing. A peculiarity of Chaitanya's cult is that the post of spiritual guide, or Gosin, is not confined to Brahmans, and several of those who have become famous have belonged to the lowest castes. The devotees of Chaitanya practise medicine in Bengal Proper. They are all of them descended from the leading men of Chaitanya's immediate entourage. The holy songs on the cult are Chaitanya's own, and written for Chaitanya's birthplace, and in a still greater degree, Brindaban (wch. see), the scene of Krishna's sports with the milkmaid, which Chaitanya and his disciples reclaimed from jungle, and where he personally identified the various sacred spots, on which great shrines have now been erected (Gait, op. cit. 154 f.).

* His life and the principles of his sect are fully described by Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya (Hindu Caste and Sects, 400 f.).
Chaitanya, after spending six years in pilgrimage between Mathurā and Jagannāth, finally settled in the latter place, where in A.D. 1522, at the age of forty-three, he disappeared from the world. The reason to believe that he was drowned in the sea, into which he had walked in an ecstacy, mistaking it for the shallow waters of the Jumna, where he saw in a vision Kṛṣṇa sporting with his Gopīs (Growse, Mathurā, 1885, 107). Like his death, his followers split up into two bodies: those who retained, and those who rejected caste. The latter are known as Jāt Baishārtam or Bairāgti (q.v.), are recruited from all castes, and profess to intermarry freely amongst themselves; but caste distinctions are not retained. As a rule, the members of the body are vegetarians, and abhor the Sākta beliefs. But among those of the lower castes some freely eat animal food, and even join in processions in honour of Durgā, but will not be present when sacrifices are offered. The various subdivisions of the Bengal Vaishnavas have been fully described by Wise (op. cit. 147 ff.) and by Risley (op. cit. ii. 339 ff.).

The Vaishnavism of Bengal is thus strongly opposed to Sākta beliefs, and is probably to a large extent derived from the traditions of Buddhism.

Apart from metaphysical subtleties, which naturally have little hold on the minds of the populace, the social tenet of the Bengal Vaishnavas is the all-sufficiency of faith in the divine Krishna; such faith being adequately expressed by the mere repetition of his name, without any added prayer or concomitant feeling of genuine devotion. Thus roughly stated, the doctrine appears absurd; and possibly its true bearing is as little regarded by many of the more ignorant of the Vaishnavas themselves as it is by the majority of superficial outsiders. It is, however, a legitimate deduction from sound principles; for it may be presumed that the formal act of devotion would never have been commenced had it not been promised at the outset by a devotional intention, which intention is virtually continued so long as the act is repeated.

As a parallel case, Growse, himself a member of the Roman Catholic Church, quotes from one of its manuals the rule: 'It is not necessary that the intention should be actual throughout; it is sufficient if we pray in a human manner, and for this only. If the mass be repeated fifty times, this is the form of an intention which has been actual and is supposed to continue, although, through inadvertence or distraction, we may have lost sight of it.'

(a) Prevalence of Vaishnavism.—The Vaishnava cultus is one of the most important among the beliefs of the Province. Ward in 1815 stated that six out of ten of the whole Hindu population were worshippers of Kṛṣṇa (Hindoos, ii. 158); in 1828 Wilson [Religious Sects, i. 152] calculated them at one-fifth; and in 1872 Hunter (Orissa, i. 144) at four times one-fifth. His calculation of the whole number of Hindus. Wise (op. cit. 147), from a catalogue of the temples in the Dacca District, found that 74 per cent. belonged to Kṛṣṇa in one or other of his numerous forms, and only 21 per cent. to Kāli. Ducret, in 1861, estimated the number of Kāla- glycrush as largely due to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assigned by Wilson (Vishnu Purāṇa, xxxi.) to the 12th century of our era. It has, however, been recently established that the Purānic literature goes back to the 6th or 7th century, and thus the allusion to the honour of the Deity of Near Bengal in the Brāhmanism must be assigned to an earlier date than that fixed by the older authorities. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa is now regarded as the chief book among the Vaishnava scriptures.

Since his death, Chaitanya has been identified with Kṛṣṇa, and this deification has been ratified by the Charitranjana, written thirty years after his death. The moral and profound doctrines of the Transcendental teaching were received by millions of the people, and roused an enthusiastic spirit that has, unfortunately, driven many into strange and perilous wanderings. Among the purānic credos there is less error than there was before; but there is a greater creed than among the lower mixed classes, who have always been more easily corrupted. The religious sentiments of the latter, instead of being properly guided, have been left to develop as fancy or bias disposed them. Whether this be a satisfactory explanation or not, it is certain that the Vaishnava creed has, for the past forty years, been freely mixed with the lower and most ignorant classes of the community. The equality of all men, a doctrine preached by Chaitanya, has not been completely reasserted, and a large portion of the Vaishnavas is still the outgrowth of the later offshoots of Vaishnavism, and with them no distinction centred by birth, wealth, or prescription is ever recognised (Wise, op. cit. 147).

(b) The erotic Vaishnavism.—The development of Vaishnavism on the erotic side marks the degradation of the cultus. The original doctrine of bhakti, or loving faith, was afterwards conceived to appear in five stages, the higher of which, as in the case of the Śūfi mystics, could be attained only by a few privileged persons, after prolonged austerities and mortifications: (1) śānti, or quietism, in which the Vaishnava enjoys perfect contentment and peacefulness even without the love of his lot, and grateful to Hari for his mercy; (2) dānya, the relation between a master and his purchased slave, of which the keynote is self-denial, the dedication of all the believer's energy and thought to the service of the god; (3) sakāhya, or friendship, at which stage the disciples worship Chaitanya as his bosom friend, and regards his own soul as an emanation from and a particle of the paramātmā, or supreme spirit; (4) vātanīya, 'affection towards offspring,' in which the deity is regarded not as a common Father of all men, but as the parent of the worshipper; and (5) mādākṣurya, 'sweetness,' the efflorescence of bhakti; as it has been called. In this, the highest and most exquisite condition, the disciple glows with the same uncontrollable desire that Krishna felt for the absent Rādā (Wise, op. cit. 155). This last development of erotic Vaishnavism finds itself most complete and degrading exposition in the practices of the sect of the Vallābhāchāryas, according to whom body, soul, and property (tan, man, vīra) are to be regarded, as in the case of the Kṛṣṇa worshippers, as the successors and vicars of Kṛṣṇa upon earth, by the rite of self-devotion (ānugrahyātā) and women are taught that their highest bliss results from the carrosses of the representative of the god (Monier- Williams, op. cit. i. 134 ff.; Growse, Mathurā, 1899.; Karsanbā, in the Saiva Yājñavalkya, or Vaiśnavaśāstra, of West. Ind. Soc., 1865).

33. The cult of Śiva.—The cult of Śiva is of less importance than that of either the Sakti or Vīshnū. In Eastern Bengal the Saka fraternities, those of the Kanphātās, or 'ear-pierced' Yogis, and the Brāhmanchāris, never gained popularity, and their conventual establishments, which are few, would have disappeared long since, but for the charitable endowments of former ages. The Saka mendicants or conobites are, according to Wise (op. cit. 174 ff.), notorious for their licentious lives and dissipated habits; but, notwithstanding the scandal which they cause, their akāhāras, or convents, are thronged by crowds of devotees, chiefly women. In Bengal proper, according to Ward (op. cit. ii., Introd. xxx.), we find Hindu Saka fraternities of the kind that in the Purāna are denoted by the word Kāla. His temples generally represent him in the form of the liṅgam, or as Ānēhannām, the figure of the deity with five faces. Further west, in Bihār, the worship of Śiva is more common, and prevails widely among Brāhmanas. In Hengshikāhō, with images of the liṅgam and of Nandi, the bull 'vehicle' of the god, are common, and the worship is adopted in preference to that of
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Visheyn in one or other of his many forms, because the ritual and offerings made to him are much more elaborate and expensive. The Saiva cultus thus suits the thrifty habits of the yeomen among whom it chiefly prevails.

Among the castes who are specially devoted to this form of belief may be mentioned the Yugis or Yogis, now a weaving caste in Eastern Bengal, of whom the great majority worship Siva or Mahâdev, especially at the Sivarâtri or 'night feast' of Siva, held in the month of Mâgh (January-February). The chief religious centres of the Mašyâ Yugis are Brindâban, Mathurâ, and Gokul, all in the United Provinces; but their chief places of pilgrimage are Benares, Gâyâ, and Sitakund in Chittagong (Risley, op. cit. i. 358). These Yogis, as they prefer to be called, are supported by Gait (op. cit. i. 381) to be descended from a religious community, not necessarily from the regular Yogi or Jogi ascetics, but possibly from some Buddhist Order. The same writer supposes that their present degraded condition is due to their having remained in the Hindu faith after the general population had reverted to Hinduism. They call their priests, who belong to their own communions, Mahâdevas or Paudâta, both of which terms were formerly in use among Buddhists; they bury their dead in a sitting posture, which was crossed in the conventional attitude of Buddha, and with the feet turned to the north-west. The Yogi sects of Northern India freely admit outsiders to their body; and their present occupation in Bengal, weaving, is one often practised by degraded religious communities. Their devotion to Siva is possibly connected with his manifestation as the typical ascetic and self-mortifier—a conception which perhaps owed much to the influence of Buddhism. The Saiva mendicants are popularly divided into ten classes, known collectively as Daśânim, of which there are 237,893. Besides that of the more respectable Order, the Sannyâsins, the cult gives shelter to loathsome ascetics, like the Aghoris (wh. sec), the Urdhâvâ-bhâs, who contort their limbs, and the Akâsâ-mukhins, who keep their necks bent back in a fixed gaze on the sky until the muscles become withered.

34. Buddhism.—Buddhism, which had its origin in the western part of the Province, and finally became one of the great religions of the world, is now more popularly connected with the region of the Himalayas. Its influence has been considerable in Bengal. In so far as they follow the orthodox standard of belief, they are included in the Mahâyas, or Great Vehicle, which is the basis of Tibetan Lânamis, and also of the Buddhism of Bengal. The Buddhists of this Province may be divided into at least four groups.

(a) Chinese Buddhists.—First comes the small body of immigrant Chinese in Calcutta, where they follow many occupations, such as carpentry and shoemaking, boil down pigs' fat into lard, and deal in live fish. The Buddhist sects here seem to be usually sects of Buddha as well as of Shinto worship, that at Calcutta being dedicated to Kwan-te, generally called the 'god of war.' In the courtyard is the god's horse, comfortably stabled. Climbing a flight of stairs, one reaches chapels and rooms for attendants, in which animals intended in the first instance as food for the god, and which are afterwards consumed by the worshipers, are being cooked (Calcutta Review, xxxi. 362).

(b) Himalayan Buddhists.—Secondly come the Buddhists of North Bengal, who are either natives of the Himalayan State of Sikkim, or immigrants from Bhutan, Tibet, and Nepal. By race they are mostly Tibetans, Lepchas, Lamas, and Maghs, but in Nepal they themselves hold a friendly losing ground under the attacks of the militant form of Hinduism pro-

fessed by the rulers of that kingdom, who, like all recent converts, are more ardent supporters of the new faith than even their more orthodox brethren in the plains. Nothing, again, has contributed so much to the decline of Buddhism in Nepal as the adoption of caste by the Buddhist Newars, and the consequent adoption of many monastic rules (Oldfield, Sketches, ii. 131 f.). Besides this, the heterodox Buddhists constitute a large majority of the Buddhist population. They avowedly combine the worship of Siva and of the other Hindu deities with that of the Buddha, and belong to the more corrupt, and more attractive religion of the Hindus' (Oldfield, op. cit. ii. 147).

The same is the case with those Himalayan Buddhists who have migrated into British territory. Thus, in the Lepchas of the adjoining region, Buddhist usage forms only a thin veil over their primitive shamanistic Animism. Their religion consists mainly in the propitiation of the spirits of forest, hill, or stream which are considered sacred. *The snow-clad giant Khinchinjunga, chief among the elemental deities of the Lepchas, who vaxes men with storm and hail and sends down avalanches and torrents to wreck their fields and sweep away their homes, has been translated to the milder system of Buddhism, where he figures as the tutor of Sakyamuni himself* (Risley, op. cit. ii. 10).

Similarly the Limbus of Dârjiling adapt their religion to their surroundings. Where their environment is Hindu, they call themselves Saivas, and profess to worship Mahâdeva and his consort Gauri, the favourite deities of the Nepalese. *In a Buddhist neighbourhood the yoke of conformity is still more easy to bear; the Limbus has only to mutter the pious formula, Om maâr padme om, as Waddell trancribes and translates it, 'Om! The Jewel in the Lotus! Hâm.—Om-maâr padme Hâm, the first and last word being a mystic expression (Buddhism of Bengal, 134), and to say with respect and moderate tribute to the Lâmas, in order to be accepted as an average Buddhist. Bengali beliefs in the essential doctrine of Buddhism. The belief in the belief in the essence of the soul (Buddha has himself translated) makes faith happens to have gained local accotpticit, the vague shapes of their original pantheon have survived in the form of house- 1875; and, gold or forest spirits in the shape of the mountains, or the dead, or the Greek gods may be traced in the names and attributes of the souls who preside over the mountain, the forest, and the rice fields of various nationalities in the remote parts of Greece and the Sambhar day' (Risley, op. cit. ii. 17).

The degraded condition of the present Buddhism of the Lower Himalayas is shown by the adoption of rites of blood sacrifice, a relic of the old devil-worship of the country, but absolutely repugnant to the rules of the orthodox faith (Waddell, Among the Himalayans, 74).

(c) Buddhists of East Bengal.—The third group of Buddhist Buddhists—that of Chittagong and the hill tracts of Chittagong consists mainly of Chaknâs and Maghs, the latter divided into two classes: first, descendants of Arakanese immigrants who were conquered by the Burmese in A.D. 1785; and, secondly, the mixed race descended from Magh women by Bengali fathers, who are known as Râjuns or Baram Maghs, and are less numerous than the first branch. There are also some Tipârs in the hill tracts who described themselves at the last census as Buddhists.

*In the Tippera State the Tipâris now call themselves Hindus; but this country was formerly a great Buddhist centre, and some sacred shrines there were visited by the Tibetan traveller, Buddha Gupta Nâth, who travelled in India in the seventh century A.D. (Gait, Himalayan Sketches, 19). The Chaknâs profess to be Buddhists, but their religious practices have been much corrupted by
the gross Hinduism of Eastern Bengal. This
change was brought about by the influence of the
local Rājā, Dharma Baksh Bhān, who was a
bigoted Hindu, patronized the cult of Kāli, and
pretended to be a descendant of the ancient
Kṣatriyas. Much of the more primitive Animism
still survives under the upper layer of Buddhism
(Risley, op. cit. i. 1724 f.). The same fusion of
Hinduism and Buddhism among the Magha and
Chittagong cultivators who profess to be Buddhists of the Southern school,
and regard the followers of the faith in Tibet as
unorthodox. The worship of Siva and Durga has
here been added to the Buddhist observances.
While their priests are Buddhist, phugnyis or
reigning deities, and the Maghīs and
employed to determine auspicious days for par-
ticular actions, and to assist in the worship of the Hindu
gods (ib. ii. 33).

(d) Survivals of Buddhism and Hinduism.—The last and most interesting group of so-called Bud-
dhists in Bengal is found among the caste known
as Sarākṣ, resident in the Barāmasta State in Orissa,
whose beliefs have been fully investigated by Gait
(op. cit. i. 427 ff.). Their name appears to be de-

drived from the Skr. sruvedha, ‘a hearer,’ a term
attributed to Buddha on the day of his birth,
affiliated to the community, as distinguished from the
Yatis, monks, and ascetics; it still survives in the
name Saragi or Sarāvagi, applied to a mer-
chant community of Jains which is rapidly becom-
ing a regular caste of the usual type. The centre
of the Barāmasta Saragi worship is at the celebrated
eave-temple of Khandagiri, where they assemble
once a year to do homage to the idols there and to
confer on religious matters. They worship, under
the name of Chaturbhuj, the four-armed one,
and also Scandha, which usually has only two arms, and is
undoubtedly a representation of Buddha. This
worship is performed on what is supposed to be the
anniversary of Buddha’s wedding, a fact which
may with some probability be considered to con-
cert the cult with the primitive animistic concep-
tion of the union of the male consort with the
primal Mother (see above, § 13). The family
rites of the caste are performed by one of their
own members, who calls himself Achārya, or
‘teacher,’ and Brahmins are employed only to
conduct the rituals. He is married in the same
marriage, after which the Achārya concludes the
proceedings by calling upon Buddha to bless the
young couple.

The evidence, so far as it has been collected,
seems to indicate that the Sarākṣ have retained
many of the customary Hindu practices which have descended
to them from the Buddhism which was the creed of
a large number of the people of Orissa. Here its
place was taken by Brahmanism, and it is now dif-
cult to say how many of the beliefs of the Sarākṣ
are due to direct inheritance of the Buddhist
tradition, and how many have been transmitted to
them with a leaven of Vaishnavism. Too much
stress must not be laid upon the worship of images of
Buddha by the people of our time. All through
Northern India are to be found statues or pillars disas-
terraced from the ruins of śāihu and vāhrāns,
which have been adopted as images of the village
gods, and even of the orthodox Hindu deities.
Thus Buchanan (op. cit. i. 78) found in a Bihar
temple of Tāra Devi (the female power in her most
developed form) an image which, though
adored as a goddess, which was really one of Buddha
himself.

Another survival of Buddhism has been traced in
the worship of Dharmarāj or Dharma by low-
caste tribes like the Pādis, Yogis, Dons, and
Khataks. Buddha is identified with Yama, by others
with the sun; by others he is regarded as a snake-god; or, finally, as an incarna-
tion of Siva or Vīṣṇu.

He is usually worshipped by a low caste priest, a Pod, a Yogi, a Deen. In a few places he has temples, but, as a rule, he is represented by a single stone image daubed
with vermilion and placed under a tree. In a village in the
Sriramnagar sub-district, there is a small buffalo
tortoise. His shrines are common all over West Bengal, and
also in Jessore, Murshidabad, and the Twenty-four Par-
shans. He is most frequently believed to possess
powers, and his priests administer medicines as specific for
various diseases. Hogs, fowls, and ducks are sacrificed before
him, and offerings of rice, flowers, and pounded
’tīrīca-beer’), but never of cooked food. The worship
takes place on the midnight of Baisāhā, Jāthīya, and is
on the day of the full moon, and in some places on the last
day of Bhādra. All castes, even Brahmins, make offerings through the medium of the officiating priest’ (Gait, op. cit. i. 201).

The worship of this animistic deity has been
adduced as evidence of Buddhism of the Mahābodhi-
padhyaśya Hari Prasad Sastri (JJASe Be, 1880), as
produced in a further statement given by Gait (i. 201)
the writer supplements this with inferring that because
Buddha is worshipped in meditation as void (śānu
mārtiḥ) the cult represents the philosophical con-
ception of śānyogal—concerning which neither
existence nor non-existence nor a combination of
the two can be predicted. It is zero.’ Again,
the ceremonies and fasts in honour of Dharma all
take place on the full-moon day of Baisāhā, the

Buddhist
Banskis are aware that Dharma is respected in Ceylon,
that he is not an inferior deity, but superior to Vīṣṇu or Siva.
Finally, he is represented in many places as a
tortoise, which is a Buddhist emblem (Waddell,
Buddhism of Tibet, 395). It is possible that some
traditions of the worship of Buddha mentioned in
are still to a certain degree
in that of Dharma; but if so, very little of
the original conception remains.

35. Jainism.—Jainism, like Buddhism, had
its birthplace in Bihār. The origin of this form of
belief and its relation to Hinduism and Buddha
will be considered in another article (see JAINISMS).
Here it is sufficient to say that recent research by
Jacobi, Hoernle, and others (Hoernle, ‘Presiden-
tial Address,’ JJASe Be, 1884; Bühl-Barges, The
Indian Sect of the Jains) has established that Jain-
ism, so far from being an offshoot of Buddhism, was
the result of an independent and contemporaneous
religions movement under a Kṣatriya prince named
Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, who was born in the
neighbourhood of Patna about B.C. 599, and died
about B.C. 546. The observances of the Jains are
still to a certain extent uncertain; but the most recent
investigations place the period of his life between
B.C. 588 and 508. It is thus possible that the
founders of these two sects, who were both of
Kṣatriya descent, may have met in the course of
their preaching and thinking movements.

Neither sect is a religion in the true sense of
the word; both are rather monastic organizations of a
type very common in the age when they were
founded. Both arose from the circumstance that
the Brahmins were then claiming the monopoly of
admission to the monastic Orders. As a protest
against this action, many non-Brahmanical Orders
were founded. They were gradually led to dis-
continue the use of the Vedic ritual, with the
natural result that they came to be excluded from
the pale of Brahmanism. Jainism differs from
Buddhism in rejecting the doctrine of nirvāṇa,
and in asserting instead that, when the soul
has gained freedom from the trammels of the succes-
sive series of existences, it passes into a state of
existence which is vague and permanent.

Those saintly men who have attained the rest of the
blessed are known as Tīrthankāra; those
who have created a passage through the circuit of
life,’ form the body of saints who are worshipped
by Jains. From the chief of these, Pārvanātha,
the bull of Pārvanātha (which, in brahmanical
nomenclature, is a non-existent place) was made
a pilgrimage in Bengal, takes its name. Jainism, by
its more democratic constitution, freely admitting
lay adherents to communism, adopting a less active missionary career than Buddhism, and preferring as its chief centres of worship more secluded sites, like Parasñath, was able to resist more successfully the stress of the Brahmanical revival and Muhammadan persecution, under which the Buddhism of Bengal perished.

The Bengal Jains, who have their headquarters at Murshidabád, are found also in Calcutta and the chief towns of the Patna Division. But though they are permanently settled there, they are rarely accompanied by their wandering folk. Most of them are temporary visitors from Western and Central India. After making money by shopkeeping in Bengal, the heads of their firms often return to their original homes, their places being taken by younger men. Many of them are Māwarzís from Māwarzí in Central India, and belong to the Agar- wála and Šowl sub-castes of Banjáys, the former of the Svetámbara or 'white-clad' sect, and the latter of the Svetámbara or 'white-clad' sect. These distinctions, as far as questions of dress are concerned, have disappeared, so that they may be taken as representing the contrast between the more primitive naked ascetics of Southern India and those from the North and West. Of these merchant families some follow the Hindu and some the Jain rule; but this does not operate as a bar to intermarriage, because even within the Jain sect, in deference to the prejudices of the majority of their brethren they do not sacrifice animals or partake of meat and spirits. A large proportion of the Hindu merchant class belongs to the Vaishnava sect and those are as strict in their regard for animal life as the Jains themselves. When husband and wife belong to different sects, the wife is formally adopted into the sect of her husband, but continues to practise her original religious rites. When, however, she visits the home of her parents, she must have her food cooked separately and eat apart from the other members of her family (Risley, op. cit. i. 7, ii. 151).

36. Sikhs and Kábirpanthís.—Like the Jains, Sikhs profess to be Hindus, and at each successive enumeration it would seem that their numbers have been understated, as they have been included in some Hindu sect. They are, as a rule, temporary residents, and their strength depends largely upon the number of Panjábi regiments which happen to be serving in the Province. The only place with which they have any constant connexion is Patna, where the Har Mandir is said to mark the place where their tenth guru, Góvind Singh (A.D. 1675-1708), is believed to have been born while his mother halted there during a pilgrimage. In Eastern Bengal the Sikh sects best known are the Sathñásháí and the Nanáksháí. Wise (op. cit. 181 f.) describes the members of the former sect at Dacca as disorderly, generally drunkards and smokers of hemp drugs. They are often Brahmanos who do not discard the sacred cord on joining the community, and continue to eat with Bráhmans of their own tribe, and not with all grades of Sikhs. No Sikh, however, will refuse to partake of the consecrated food (prásad) when offered to them. They observe all the great Hindu festivals, and pay special adoration to the káthgrán, or amnuníto, which represents Vishnu. The account given of this sect by Macfadyen (Panjábi Census, 1891, i. 154) is not more favourable. He describes them as importunate beggars whose profligacy is notorious, most of them are low-brigands, and, when they get the thrill which accompanies the loss of the paper wealth in gambling, and spend their lives in roving mendicancy. Nánkarpáthí is a term of less definite meaning, as it is often applied to Sikhs in general, who are all followers of their guru, Nanárk (A.D. 1460-1538). They have some connexion with Dacca, which is said to have been visited by Nánkár Sháh; but their dákhará, or convent, in that city possesses no endowment, and depends largely on the charity of Armenian or Muhammadan residents (Wise, op. cit. 182 f.).

Kábir was closely connected with Nánkár The chief note of his collected works is the fusion of link Hinduism to Islam. All and Ráma, he said, are only different names for the same god. His teaching seems to be rapidly gaining adherents in Western Bengal and the United Provinces. Differences in rank and religion are all, he taught, but nájár, or illusion. Emancipation and peace are to be gained only by recognizing the Divine Spirit under these manifold illusions. The way to union with the Divine is not by means of formula or sacrifice, but by fervent faith (bhakti) and meditation on the Godhead. The use of spirituous liquor and the worship of idols were prohibited by the founder of the sect; but, as often happens, in process of time practices lag behind precept, and the successors of the teacher fail to maintain their office. In the case of the Kábirpanthis it is said that there is now a tendency to revert to idolatry, while at the same time they pretend to maintain the teaching of Kábir.

37. Deistic sects.—(a) The Brahma Samaj.—Of the Hindu deistic sects the best known is the Brahma Samaj, though its numbers are small, and show no tendency to rapid increase. In Bengal it is divided into three sections: the Adi, or 'original', the Nababidián, or 'new dispensation', and the Sádhánair, or 'common'. All alike believe in the unity of the Godhead, the brotherhood of man, and direct communion with God in spirit without the intervention of any mediator.

'The differences which exist are ritualistic and social rather than religious'. The Adi Samaj, or 'original', is also that most conservative. While discarding all idolatrous forms, it follows as closely as possible the rites of Hindúism, and draws its inspiration solely from the religious books of the Hindus, especially the Upanisads, and not from the Bible or Qurán. It has only once allowed a non-Hindú to officiate as its minister. Inter-caste marriages are not allowed, and a considerable agitation was raised when one of its Brahman members recently married the daughter of the Mahárája of Kish Bhir. In other respects the restrictions of the caste system sit lightly on the members of the sect, who are peculiar to style and dress, are Hindus, and before the Census of 1891 they submitted a memorial intimating their desire to be entered as 'Theistic Hindus, and not as Brahmas' (Gale, op. cit. i. 159).

The second section, known as the Nababidián Samaj, or Church of the New Dispensation, was founded by the well-known Keshí Chandu. It is more extensive than the Adi Samaj in its tendencies, and has assimilated what it considers right not only in the sacred books of Hindúism, but also in the religious teaching of Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam.

The most advanced of these Churches is the Sádhánair, or 'common' Samaj. It rejects all the essentials of what is commonly regarded as Hindúism; disapproves of ritual and set forms of worship; absolutely rejects caste; disapproves of the custom of sati, or post-mortal immolation; opposes all education, and allows them equal voice in Church determination between persons of different castes.

'They are thus, "as Gale remarks," gradually becoming a separate caste, recruited from a variety of different sources, but mainly from the ranks of the Brahmans, Búdías, and Káyásáths... Most Indian gentlemen who have received an European education join this community, not so much from any religious conviction as because of the freedom which it allows them from the irksome protomals of the ceremonies of post-mortem purification (op. cit. i. 159).'

(b) The Sivánárayánis.—The Sivánárayánis or Sírínárayánis is an interesting sect, founded about two centuries ago by a Rájput named Siva Nárayána from Gházípur in the United Provinces. It was first described by Buchanan in Patna and Bhágal-
pur (op. cit. i 214, ii. 137), who notices its adherents under the name of Sant, or 'pious.' They believe in the efficacy of the sacred scriptures (or Rigveda) against idolatry, and reverence their original Guru, whom they regard as an incarnation of the Almighty. The eating of flesh and drinking of wine, which for hundreds of years has been forbidden to them, has now been relaxed. Mandras ['spells'] were composed by the founder, to be uttered from time to time during the day, e.g. from a hawked book of the Aum Sabda-Sant or Guru Granth. It contains moral precepts, and devotional chants salved for to be addressed only by unswerving faith in God, control over the passions, and prompt obedience to the teaching of the Guru. The Guru is said to be held in such high esteem by his disciples that a monk's license was given to his disciples. Their great annual festival is on the fifth night after the new moon of Magh (January-February), when the sect perform sacrifices on one of their granaries, and sing songs and read extracts from the Guru Granth. When a man wishes to become a Sag Yarayan, he selects one of the sect, because he is a caste not inferior to his own, who warrants his being the mandra ['formula'] of initiation. He is then enjoined to have the Sah Bibhag (sakhi) and the original Guru, and is given a certificate of admission. This is done in the presence of several members of the sect, whose names and address are noted in the certificate. All castes are admitted, but most of the disciples come from the lower grades of society, such as the Talw, Chamar, and Dos dah castes. The castes was formerly more popular than it is now, and higher castes are said to have supplied it with recruits. The Yarayan yury die their dead, and one of the greatest inducements to join the fraternity is said to be the knowledge that they will give a decent burial to their confrères when they die, and will not allow their bodies to be thrown to the dogs. A fourth of their funerals are conducted with song, and are accompanied by songs and music. The ordinary caste restrictions are observed, save only in the case of the Vaishnavas, who also adopt an ascetic life (Gail, op. cit. i 155; cf. Crooke, Tribes and Castes, ii. 155 ff.).

This sect is only one of many which have recently grown up in Northern India, founded on a revolt against pauperism, and the pretensions of the Bhakti Reformers. They have adopted many of the principles of the reformed Vaishnavism communities. Movements of this kind in India tend to degenerate, and once the enthusiasm which animated the founder has ceased to inspire later generations of disciples, the sect, like most others, shrinks itself free from the restrictions of caste and the control of the tribal council, often surrenders itself to licentiousness. This has been the fate of this sect at Dacca, where the meetings which occupied several nights in succession, degenerated into drunken orgies.

The lower Hindu castes, ever willing to repudiate Brahmanical interference, and assert spiritual independence, have always been noted for prophylactic and hygiene practices. Intoxication is with them an irresistible passion, and no threats or corrections have the slightest effect in weaning them from the habit. In other families, especially among the Brahmin husbands, they have no conception of a moral religion; and their untutored minds can neither understand nor comply with a faith which is inconsistent with the occupations and the whole system of their daily life. The institution of the wheel, and the explanation of all worldly lusts 'and passions' (Wise, op. cit. 153.)

38. The Paichpiriyas.—The important sect of the Paichpiriyas or Fadchpiriyas forms the subject of a special article (see).

39. Muhammadans.—The map prepared by Gait (op. cit. i. 156) clearly shows the distribution of Muhammadans in the Province. Prior to the Census of 1872 it was generally believed that they were most numerous in Bihar. That Census established, on the contrary, that the chief seat of Musalmân influence was in Eastern Bengal and to the north, where respectively two-thirds and nearly three-fifths of the people were found to be followers of the Prophet. On the other hand, in North Bengal they were only a sixth of the population. The Mohammedans in North Bengal have subdued the Pachpiriyas. The area of Muselmân predominance consists of the extensive compact territory lying north of Calcutta and stretching westward from the frontiers of Assam, including the Districts of Mymensingh, Fâbua, Bogra, and Rajshâhî, and a second tract lying south and west of this and east of Calcutta, including the Districts of Noakhâli, Chittagong, and Backergunge. In these two regions the proportion of Muhammadans to the total population ranges from 82 per cent in Bogra to 71 per cent in Chittagong.

The extraordinary increase in the numbers of the followers of Islam in Bengal, and particularly in its eastern region, is the most remarkable fact in the recent religious history of the Indian Empire. The following table shows in a compact form the relative positions of Hindus and Islam during the period for which fairly trustworthy statistics of religious belief become available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of</th>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Per cent of Total Population</th>
<th>Muhammadans</th>
<th>Per cent of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>30,596,575</td>
<td>63.70</td>
<td>15,590,202</td>
<td>31.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>45,152,500</td>
<td>63.69</td>
<td>21,370,724</td>
<td>31.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>47,831,408</td>
<td>64.57</td>
<td>23,658,547</td>
<td>31.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>49,057,300</td>
<td>63.50</td>
<td>25,416,415</td>
<td>32.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious from these figures that, while during the period of thirty years the proportion of Hindus in the total population has slightly declined, the increase of Muhammadans has been steady and considerable.

The second remarkable fact in connexion with the spread of Islam in Bengal is that it has occurred not in those parts of the Province which were centres of Musalmân influence and where their great cities were established. Dacca, for instance, for long the seat of Musalmân government in Eastern Bengal, though it contains 62 per cent of Muhammadans, presents the phenomenon of a community that is extremely rural in its vicinity. Málâ, which contained the great capital city of Gaur, and Musrubâbâd, an important seat of government, show no startling increase of Musalmâns; Bihâr, Bhâgâpur, and Monghyr were important Muhammadan cities; but in spite of this the Muhammadans furnish barely one-tenth of the total population of the districts in which they are situated. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that the increase of Islam was largely due to causes independent of the action of the native government.

40. Origin of the present Muhammedan population.—It was, of course, ultimately due to the occupation of the Province by the Muhammadans that their faith began to spread among the Hindus and Animists whom they found in occupation of the country. The rule of the Muhammadan government lasted from the invasion of Bakhtiyâr Khâliji in a.D. 1293 until the British acquired the Divân, or control of the revenue administration, in 1765—a period of more than five and a half centuries. During this time the ruling power occupied the country with a foreign army, and many soldiers after retirement from the service remained as colonists. Grants of land were made to grandees and officers of the empire, as well as to men of learning and piety whom the government encouraged to take up their permanent residence in the land. Bengal also became a place of refuge for many families driven from North-Western India by war and revolution. On these grounds various recent Musalmân writers, especially when discussing the social position of their co-religionists, have endeavoured to prove that they are in the main of foreign extraction. This question has been examined at length by Gait (op. cit. i. 165 ff.). While not denying that there are a considerable number of Musalmân, who, originally of foreign descent, have
preserved the purity of their blood by refraining from intermarriage with persons of more doubtful ancestry, and also that many families of foreign origin have, owing to the rules of the Muhammadan law of inheritance, gradually lost their estates and some of the higher castes. Considering the proportion of the population, he regards it as impossible to suppose that the whole or even a great majority of the Musulmân population can be the descendants of immigrants from North-Western India. Such a theory would be inconsistent with the distribution of the Musulmân population. If they were really descendants of foreign immigrants, they would now be found in occupation of the more healthy tracts in the neighbourhood of the ancient capitals, not in the rice-swamps of Noakhali, Bogra, and Bakergunge. Anthropometry, again, so far as statistics are available, shows that the foreign element among the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal is inconsiderable, and that physically they are akin to the aboriginal or non-Aryan races whom the first Musulmân invaders found in occupation. On the whole, Gait (op. cit. i. 160) comes to the conclusion that the foreign element in the Muhammadan population cannot exceed four millions, or one-sixth of the total number of those professing Islam.

41. Causes of the spread of Islam.—(a) Conversions.—When we come to consider the causes which led to the spread of Islam, we find that while the Mughals were generally tolerant in matters of religion, the Afghans who preceded them were often fanatical; local traditions, supplemented by the scanty historical evidence of the character of their rule, describe numerous cases of forcible conversions of Hindus and Animists, while the ranks of the true believers were recruited by voluntary converts and criminals who on conversion were pardoned.

"In spite, however, of the fact that cases of forcible conversion were by no means rare, it seems probable that very many of the ancestors of the Bengal Muhammadans voluntarily gave in their adhesion to Islam. The advantages which that religion offered to persons held in low esteem by the Hindus who had already been pointed out, and under Muslim rule there was no lack of pious Firs and Fakirs (holy men and religious mendicants) who devoted their lives to gaining converts to the faith. There were special reasons why intermarriage among the early villages in the Muhammadan supremacy, made conversion comparatively easy. Although the days when Buddhism was a glowing faith had long since passed, the use of the palm leaf and the influence of the Buddhist, or the Brahman, when Babkhiyár Khilji conquered Bihár and massacred the Hindu population, had already made an impression on peoples who were already in part, deprived of their priests and teachers, were easily attracted from their old form of belief, something to the alien doctrine of the new invaders. People who were higher castes probably found their way back to Hindism, while the non-Aryan tribes, who had, in all probability, never been Hindus, preferred the greater attractions of Islam" (Gait, op. cit. i. 171).

(b) Physical causes of the increase of Muhammadanism.—The faith thus started progressed rapidly, owing to causes which were not so much moral or religious as physical, and due to the environment of the people. These have been carefully examined by O'Donnell and Gait (Census Report, 1891, i. 146 f.; 1901, i. 172). It has been established from these investigations that the main explanation of the spread of Islam in Eastern Bengal must be the greater fecundity of its adherents. In the first place, we find among Muhammadans a much larger number of potential mothers than among Hindus. While the higher caste Hindus throughout the Province, and in Bengal, generally averagely, rigorously prohibit widow-remarriage, the Muhammadan widow usually finds a second husband. Statistics shew that of every 100 Hindu women between the ages of 15 and 40 more than 10 are widowed yearly and to re-marry. Among Muhammadans the percentage is only 12. O'Donnell, again, remarks that ill-assorted marriages are far more common among Hindus—men well advanced in years being united to girl wives, who in the natural course of human life are left widows, debauched from further matrimony, at a comparatively early age. On the other hand, Musalmans, particularly those of the younger generation, are polygamists whenever they have the means to support a second wife, generally a widow, 'married as often as a convenient unpaid domestic drudge as for the sake of the children she usually bears her master. Lastly, in Eastern Bengal ‘the climate is so prosperous and better fed than the Hindu in other parts of the Province. Bihár and Orissa, the head-quarters of Hindism, are fully developed, congested regions, where a large proportion of the people live in a condition of permanent depression. Eastern Bengal, on the contrary, is a land of promise, enriched by a large trade in rice and jute. It is improbable that the enterprise of the Hindu wedded to his hamlet and his local gods would have been sufficient to bring its fertile alluvial soil under the plough. But the Muhammadan has no prejudices against leaving his birth-place, and gladly migrates in search of remunerative work. While the Hindu is very often a vegetarian, and, if he eats meat, does so only when he makes a sacrifice, the Musulman is inclined to adopt with more or less readiness a dietary more vigorous and fertile. The conditions thus described sufficiently account for the fact that, while Hindism barely holds its ground, Islam prosperers and increases the number of its adherents.

42. Characteristics of Muhammadanism in Bengal.—Islam throughout Northern India falls far short of the standard of faith laid down by the Prophet and his immediate successors. As might have been expected, this degeneration is specially apparent in Eastern Bengal, where the Muhammadans have been to a large extent recruited from an Animistic population. Thus, the Pachipiria sect (wh. see) shows obvious signs of the fusion of Musalman traditions with Animistic beliefs. The Wahhabi movement (see below, p. 43) has in some measure checked the corruption of the faith, but before the recent crusade against idolatry it was common for low-class Muhammadans to join in the Durga Pâjia and other Hindu festivals.

Although Babkhiyár Kâlî has long been purred of many superstitions, many still remain. In particular, they are very careful about omens and auspicious days. Dates for weddings are fixed after due consultation with Hindus, who, as the bamboo is not cut, nor the building of new houses commenced, on certain days of the week, are often undertaken on the advice of the Musalman. The use of the Hindu almanac to see if the proposed day is auspicious. When disease is prevalent, Sîlâs or碗 (see above, &c. para.), where, in Hinduism, the temple of Maryâz, and Bîchârî (see above, p. 36) are also named by many ignorant Muhammadans, who make over gods to Hindus in order that they may perform the sacrifice on their account. Sàsthi is worshipped when a child is born. Even now in some parts of Bengal they observe the Durga Pâjia, and buy new clothes for the festival like the Hindus. In Bihár they join in the worship of the Sun, and when a child is born they light a fire and place cactus and a sword at the door to prevent the demon Jâvân from entering and killing the infant. At marriage the bridegroom often follows the Hindu practice of snaring the bride's forehead and illumine oroint her with a torch and scimitar. The Sonthal Parganas Muhammadans are often seen to carry sacred water to the shrine of Balâdhunish, and, as the Musulman may not enter the shrine, pour it as a libation on the outside verandah. Offerings are made to the Gâmûyâ-devâlî (see above, p. 49) before sewing or transplanting. A tree is therefore sometimes devoted to the use of sickness. Ghosts are propitiated by offerings of black fowls and pigeons before a picture drawn in vermilion on a cowl. In the villages of Bokhâra, where they die hard, and amulets containing a text from the Qur'an are commonly worn, even by the Muslims who forestall these rivâls, as the Musalman is not permitted to eat with them. As is the case throughout Northern India, customs like these are practised especially by women, who are much more conservative in their religious beliefs.

Worship of pîs and dâìfîs men.—In the same category of corruptions of the primitive faith may be placed the adoration of pîs, or saints, and other
defined men, a practice for which no authority can be found in the Qur'an or in the older commentaries on it. The pir after death is supposed to be present in the tomb with the body, and in the case of the Meccas or Medinas. Hence a dargah, or tomb, covers his ashes and becomes a place of pilgrimage, to which people resort for the cure of disease, or the exorcism of evil spirits, to obtain the fulfilment of some cherished wish, such as the birth of a child, or success in pending litigation. Gait (op. cit. i. 177) and Wise (op. cit. 10ff.) have given full catalogues of the more famous saints (see SAINTS, [Hindu]). The educated Musalman denies that he worships the pir, he merely prays that he will be blessed with blessings. 'The shahadah, amongst the lower classes it is very doubtful if this distinction is clearly recognized, even if it actually exists.'

43. Sects of Islam.—The familiar division of Muhammadans into the two sects of Sunni and Shi'a is of less importance in Bengal than that which classes them as 'reformed' or 'unreformed.' The former is the title applied to those who are connected with the movement which resulted in the formation of the Wahhabi sect (wh. see). The sect was founded about 1738 by a man who had developed a new form of is- lam. The sect is an example of the former. The Wahhabi movement was started in India by Saiyid Ahmad Shah, of Kadam, who was known as the 'mother of the sect.' Of this movement, it is a 'land of war'—has quite disappeared; and a movement which, as is the case with the Wahhabi movement in Bihar, draws its adherents from the lowest and most ignorant classes of the Muhammadans, must be regarded with watchful suspicion by the ruling power.

44. Christianity.—The following figures illustrate the remarkable progress of Christianity in the Province during the last thirty years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Census</th>
<th>Number of Christians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>29,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>126,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>192,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>278,336</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scope for missionary effort in the future may be estimated at the fact that only 36 in 10,000 of the total population belong to the Christian faith. Of the total number of Christians enumerated at the Census of 1901, 27,489 (including 1081 Armenians) or 9.9 per cent belong to European races; 23,114 or 8.5 per cent are Eurasians; and 227,483 or 81.6 per cent are native converts.

More than three-fifths of the European Christians belong to the Anglican communion, and about one-fifth are Roman Catholics. According to the returns, the Presbyterians number less than one-tenth, but it is believed that the real number is greater, and that those who declare themselves as Presbyterians, as belonging to the Church of England were brought up as Presbyterians. Of the Eurasians, more than half are Roman Catholics, and nearly two-fifths belong to the Anglican communion. The proportion of Roman Catholics is swollen by the inclusion of 2221 Feringhis, of whom all but 191 belong to this persuasion (Gait, op. cit. i. 160).

These Feringis (Pers. Farangi, Firingi, ‘Frank’) are a degraded mixed race, largely found in the Backergunge District.

In the southern quarter of the Backergunge district there still exist several original Porongure caste of probably two centuries' duration, which exhibit a melancholy example to what an extreme degree it is possible for Europeans to degenerate. They are a small community of indigent natives, who hold themselves in the utmost contempt, and designate them by the appellation of Cela Porongues (Hind. Beng. Baidha) or ‘Black Europeans’ (Hamillton, Description of Hindoostan, 1820, i. 133).

This account of the Wahhabi movement in Bengal is largely taken from Gait's Remarks on the Wahabis of Bengal. The remainder, is founded on Wise, 'Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal' in JASAS, 1891. Also see his account in Notes on the Races, Caste, and Tribes of India, 21. Some of the same views have been discussed by Hunter, The Indian Mussalmans; are they bound in conscience to rebel? and the reply by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, India, 1891, 11891. The Wahhabis of Arabia are seen Falegh, Central Arabia, 1891, and Eastern Arabia, 1895, and in the Monthly Religious Sketches of 'c'; Badej, Isma'ees and Sajjads of Oman; Badej, Future of Islam.
In recent times there has been little improvement in their industrial, social, or moral condition (Beveridge, The District of Bakarganj, 1876, p. 110).

(a) Sectarian divisions of Christians.—The ignorance of the native converts and the inability of the Census enumerators to understand the European names of the various denominations of Christians have made it very difficult to collect information regarding the sectarian divisions of the native converts.

So far as the returns go, about two-fifths of the native Christians are members of the Roman Catholic Church; nearly one-third of the Lutharians are Anglican, and nearly one-eleventh are Baptists. The other denominations combined account for only about one in twenty of the Christian population in the District.

(b) Roman Catholics.—The total number of Roman Catholics has increased from 78,000 in 1891 to 90,000 in 1901. Their chief sphere of missionary work is in the Râchî District of Chotâ Nâgpur, where the converts exceed 54,000, or form about three-fifths of the total number in the Province. Their work in this District is shared among the non-Aryan Mundás and Oriôns by Anglican and Lutheran missions. Christianity has here made more rapid strides than in any other part of India. In 1891, Nadiya, the Twenty-four Parganas, Nâdiya, and Champânap were opened for conversion. Six missions are working there, including the Roman Catholic Mission, established in 1740 by Father Joseph Mary, an Italian missionary of the Capuchin Order, who was passing through Bettîsh on his way to Nepal, when he was summoned by Râja Dhûrva Shâh of Bettîsh to attend his daughter, who was dangerously ill. On the missionary’s return from the grateful lady, he invited him to stay at Bettish, and gave him a house and about ninety acres of land. The Chuhri Mission owes its origin to some missionaries who left Italy in 1707 for Tibet. Two reached Lhassa, and were followed by others. They built a mission-house and chapel; but as soon as the number of their converts began to increase, they incurred the ill-will of the Grand Lama and were forced to leave. They then settled in Nepal (in 1719) and established missions at Khâktândî, Pitan, and Bhatgón. They received grants of land from the Newâr kings, and prospered considerably till 1769, when the Newâr dynasty was overthrown by the Gait, who were inoculated with their principles by exterminating the Christians. Being warned in time, the missionaries, with sixteen families of their converts, fled to Bettîsh, but the latter made terms with the Gait and the Marâns, the present Christians in Chuhri are the descendants of the original converts and still speak and understand the language of their forefathers, but they have intermarried to a considerable extent with the native Christians of Bettîsh' (Gait, op. cit. l. 189; for these and other Missions in the C. P. see Sketches, i. 1891. cit. : Hamilton, Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1815, p. 38).

(c) Lutherans.—The converts of the Lutheran Mission have increased from 28,000 in 1891 to rather more than 40,000 in 1901. Their operations extend to the non-Aryan tribes of Chotâ Nâgpur, in Râchî, the Santâl Parganas, Singhîbhum, and Manibhûm. The Râchî Mission, known as that of Gossner, was founded by six German missionaries in 1815, who were invited by the native aborigines of the region, as a fortunate circumstance actually occurred, and the Mission was split into two sections, one enrolling itself under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the other retaining the name of Gossner's Mission.

The progress made during the decade in the Râchî District has been phenomenal. Ten years ago the number of converts was 28,000, now it has increased to 40,000. The number of churches has increased from 280 to more than 500. Two years ago the Mundás were greatly agitated by disputes with their landlords; their cause was espoused by the missionaries, and the dispute was subsequently settled. It is now unlikely that any political party may be artifically augmented the number of professed Christians. Unlike the Hindus, the Mundás receive apostates from Christianity, for whatever may be the nature of that casuistry of backsliding by no means rare. We must, therefore, wait for the next Census before we can pronounce how far the wonderful progress made in the past decade is genuine and permanent (Gait, op. cit. l. 1891).

On the other hand, Bradley-Birt, writing of the Mission to the Hos of Singhîbhum, remarks that the barrier of exclusiveness which the race has always maintained affects the Christian missions established in the District.

'Though without the castes prejudices of the Hindus, they have no mercy for the castes who abandon their traditions and race. No Ho would take water or food from one of another race; and as the Hos of Singhîbhum is peculiarly situated outside the pale of the Ho community, and not participating in the rites and festivals of his family. Converts thus fare badly among the Hôos. They usually have to endure the brunt of the customs of a lifetime and enhanced Christianity. It is to the children that the missionaries chiefly turn their attention' (Bradley-Birt, op. cit. l. 1891). The same writer, when treating of the Santulls and Pâliârás, remarks that it is only among people who have not yet come under the spell of Hinduism that missionary efforts have met with success.

'But hopeful as is the progress of Christianity among them, it has exercised as yet no influence beyond a certain radius from the Mission Stations, and in their midst, to influence whole races, as Hinduism has done, and is still doing, to enhance its tenets and beliefs. Everything to-day points to what has been—indeed was—to-day the course of the first faith, and is fighting its own battle of doubt and scepticism in the absence of any large portion of the future of the aborigines of Bengal' (Story of an Indian Upland, 20.)

On this question the views of Dalton, one of the best authorities on these races, deserve quotation.

'If we analyze the views of most of the Orons converts to Christianity, we shall, I think, be able to discern the influence of their pagan doctrines and superstitions in the motives which first led them to become catechumens. The Supreme Being, who does not protect them from the spite of malevolent spirits has, they are assured, the Christians under His special care. They consider that, in consequence of this guardianship, the witches and bhûtes have no power over Christians, and it is not long before the old superstition dies out and is forgotten. One of the Christian converts who has given us an outline of the future of the aborigines of Bengal wrote at this notion, and long afterwards, when they understand it better, the atonement, the mystical washing away of sin by the blood of Christ, is the doctrine on which their simple minds most dwell' (Dalton, op. cit. 257).

(d) Baptist and other Missions.—Farther east the Baptist Mission is at work in the swamps of Backergunge and Fardpur, where from the mission stations of Chittâjâlp and Nâmüstrâs they have made 19,000 converts. The only other important Mission is that of the Church of Scotland, which is engaged in parts of the Darjiling and Jalpaiguri Districts. The total number of their converts is about 2000.

(e) Classes among whom Christianity progresses.—The classes most receptive of Christianity are those outside the Hindu system, as in Chotâ Nâgpur and the depressed communities of Backergunge and Fardpur. It is thus summed up by Gait (op. cit. l. 164):—

'The influence of Christian teaching is no doubt far-reaching, and there are many whose acts and opinions have been greatly modified thereby, but amongst the higher castes the number who at the present time are moved to make a public profession of their faith in Christ is very small. At one time there seemed a prospect of these converts being gained from the ranks of the educated Hindus, but the efforts of Keshâb Chandra Sen and other cultivationists have turned their thoughts and aspirations into another channel.'

Literature.—The best recent authorities are the last three Census Reports—by J. A. Bourdillon, 1881; C. J. O'Donnell, 1901; E. A. Gale, 1901, the last being the most complete and valuable. To this article is very largely indebted. Among the older authorities may be named: Ward, A View of the History, Literature, Mythology, and Religion of India; Francis Buchanan, afterwards Hamilton, The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Manners of the United Provinces, 1798; from the author's MSS by Montgomery Martin, who does not name the original author on his title-page; J. Campbell, A Perambulation of Thirteen Years' Tour among the Wild Tribes of Kondâstan, for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice, 1804: S. C. Macpherson, Memoirs of Service in India, 1855: Sir G. Rawlinson, Sir J. B. Wallich, Sir W. W. Hunter, The Annals of Rural Bengal, 1868; S. R. Parran, 1872; J. H. Barrow, The Arrival of British Power, 1817; The Hill Tracts of Chittagong, 1869; The Wild Races of South-east India, 1870; E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal.
BEOTHIUS.

The Beothuks were the aboriginal inhabitants of Newfoundland, and the sole representatives, so far as is known, of the Beothukan stock. The race is now extinct, and in its place there now exist the Moqlt people. The Beothuks are described as having been the progenitors of the Micmac and Iroquois and of the Beothukan and Beothuian races. They were the most northerly aboriginal people of North America.

In the early 19th century, the Beothuks were known to be living in a small area near the mouth of the Humber River, where they were said to resemble the Indians of the Continent. They were described as being rather tall and sinewy, with a dark complexion and black hair.

The Beothuks were known to be skilled in the arts of hunting and fishing, and they were also known to be skilled in the construction of boats and canoes. They were also known to be skilled in the arts of weaving and dyeing, and they were known to be skilled in the art of making and using weapons. They were also known to be skilled in the art of making and using tools, and they were known to be skilled in the art of making and using weapons. They were also known to be skilled in the art of making and using weapons.

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known, they probably perished gradually from the hostility of whites and Miensacca plagued by famine and disease. Their number seems never to have been large. John Mason, writing between 1618 and 1619, records ‘few savages in the north, none in the south’ (Prowse, op. cit. p. 107); Cartwright (1799, op. cit. p. 131) noted the Beothuk were cut off in 1825, Shawndithit said that only fourteen of their tribe were alive (Lloyd, JAR, 1876, p. 228). The last Beothuks, except three women, one of whom (Shawndithit) was brought to St John’s, were seen on the ice in New Bay in the winter of 1825 (Bonnycastle, op. cit. ii. 285 f.). The Beothic Institution was founded for the civilization of the Beothuks; but the expedition of Cornack, undertaken under its auspices, utterly failed to find even a single member of the tribe, though there was evidence that Beothuks had fled just before his approach (Bonnycastle, op. cit. ii. 263-276).

3. Relics.—The relics of the Beothukan stock, of which the Public Museum of St. John’s contains some important specimens, include morto-shaped vessels, spear-heads, arrow-heads, gongs, and axes, all of stone. Bone ornaments, used for adorning the hair or dress, and decorated with right-angled triangles, have also been found, as well as carvings on whalebone in the form of walrus, seals, and deer, all these objects being dyed a deep sienna. On the skeleton of a man found near Comforth Head in 1888 was a medicine bag containing several charms of carved bone, strips of wampum, a brilliant piece of iron pyrites, and a number of bird skull, some of these objects obviously being religious in character (Macdougall, in Trans. Canadian Inst. ii. 101 f.). In this connexion it should be noted that the Beothuks kindled their fires from the down of the cypocita cristata (L.) (Linn. spec. nov. 1870). It seems, however, to have had no knowledge of pottery, though they possibly made soapstone vessels (ib. p. 29), unless these were of Eskimo origin (cf. Prowse, op. cit. p. 391), especially as the Eskimos in Labrador manufactured soapstone lamps (Hough, in Report of U. S. Nat. Museum, 1896, p. 1041 f.). What is still more extraordinary, they remained ignorant throughout their history of the use not only of firearms, but even of the dog (Bonnycastle, op. cit. ii. 256, 277). In point of time, these facts suggest that the Beothuks apparently did not practise scalping, but the more primitive American Indian custom of cutting off the head (cf. Friederici, Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsübungen in Amerika, Brunswick, 1896, passim). Thus when, in 1810, the Beothuks killed two of the marines of Lieutenant Buchan, the heads of the victims were cut off and carried away (Prowse, op. cit. p. 385).

4. Language.—Our knowledge of the Beothuk language, which bears no known relation to any other American Indian tongue, rests on two vocabularies (not altogether free from Miensacca loan-words) obtained from the women Shawndithit and Demaisditudi (‘Mary March’), containing about 280 words. These are only lexicographical in value, giving no hint of morphology or syntax.

5. Religious beliefs.—Naturally data concerning the religion of the Beothuks is extremely scanty, and must in consequence have rather vague implications. According to Broughton (quoted by Anspach, Hist. of the Island of Newfoundland, London, 1819, p. 457), ‘they had some knowledge of a Supreme Being,’ and they believed that men and women were once of a certain number of ‘arrows’ stuck fast in the ground, and that the dead went into a far country,
there to make merry with their friends." The implication of a hostile Mienane, that the Beothuks possessed no religion, is without value, especially as it is represented by an understanding of the Beothukan dialect (Chappell, Voyage of H.M.S. Rosamond to Newfoundland, London, 1818, p. 71).

That they had a very keen sense of the future life is shown by their care in the disposal of the dead, and by the objects found interred with them. There were four types of graves. One class of burial-place resembled a hut 10 ft. long, 8–9 ft. broad, and 4–5 ft. high, in the centre, with a floor of square poles and a roof covered with bark, the whole being well protected against the weather and the intruder. Another was formed by the grave of Demasunità ("Mary March") given by Lloyd, J.A.I., 1875, p. 32. In the second mode of burial the body was wrapped in birch bark, and, with the property of the deceased, was placed on a sort of scaffold about 4 ft. from the ground. This scaffold was made of four posts, about 7 ft. high, fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to sustain a kind of crib 5 ft. long by 4 ft. broad, with a floor, made of small squared beams laid close together horizontally, on which the corpse and its belongings were placed. A third was formed by bending the body together, wrapping it in birch bark, and enclosing it in a kind of box. This receptacle, which was made of small squared sticks laid on each other horizontally and notched at the corners, was carefully provided against the weather. The body usually lay on the right side, though the skeleton of a boy found in 1880 (Macdougall, op. cit. ii. 102) had been placed on the left. A fourth, and more common, mode of Beothuk burial was to wrap the body in birch bark, and to lay it, covered with a heap of stones, on the surface of the ground in some retired spot. Occasionally in this last form of burial, the body, thus wrapped up, was put a foot or two underground, the grave then being covered with stones. If, however, the soil was sandy, graves were dug, and no stones were placed above them. The Beothuk cemeteries were located at definite places, to which the dead were brought from long distances (Lloyd, i. 231).

The Beothuk belief in a future life receives additional testimony from their custom of laying beside or on the grave, bows, arrows, and other implements of warfare. The grave of Demasunità ("Mary March") contains small models of a male and female child and of canoes, in addition to cooking utensils of birch bark; while with the body of the boy already alluded to were buried food (salmon and trout), two pairs of moose-casts, and of other things. The interment of religious objects with a corpse near Comfort Head has been noted above (§ 3; cf. also Lloyd and Macdougall, loc. cit.).


William Pilot and Louis H. Gray.
BERAR

ignorant or careless of the restrictions of sect, and they worship all or any of the recognized deities. Next to the Smârta the most important Saiva sects are the Lingyât and the Nâth. The former is discussed in a special article and is connected with the Gâosî or Gâosâi of other parts of the country. Most of the Nâth adopt a secular life and are known as Sanyôgi, the ascetic minority being called Yogi. The latter are now very rare, and the major portion of them live by weaving, fortunetelling, and charming snakes, as making medicines passes over the sick with a bunch of peacock's feathers; others are simple mendicants, leading about a little performing bull, known as namâl, the 'vehicle' of Siva. The regular Gâosâi Order is divided into several classes. The most celebrated of them is the Gâosâi (Kitts, G. G., Bhandârkar, Times of India, 15th Nov. 1907). They are divided into a caste section (Bairagi) and one of married householders (Gôreshâ). The former include both males and nuns; the latter are divided into the upper (Bhulô, 'friend') and the lower (Ehoî, who accept the principles of the Order so far as they do not go against particular local customs, with local caste distinctions. The caste monks shave the whole head and face, while the nuns have their hair removed by a male barber. They live in temples, which are placed in public places; they eat no meat and drink no water in the presence of an idol; both sexes wear black clothes and ear-rings and ornaments of the bamboo (tulasi) and kumkum-stick. They are a quiet, thrifty, orderly people; one of their chief religious duties is to feed the Brahman daily at their vihara, and eat at a place where a murderer or an accidental death may have occurred. Their gods are Dattâyêra, a deified saint worshipped as an incarnation of the trilab—Brahman, Vigna, and Siva—or more especially of Vigna and Krypa. Their scripture is the Bhagâpâm-sûty, and they follow the teaching of a pontiff, known as the Kâshîlâr Mahât, whose seat is at Râîpûr in Berar. Their rejection of the manifold sects and orthodox gods has brought them into conflict with Brahmanas; but they are held in much respect by lower casta Hindus. They have no belief in the agency of spirits, holding that the diseases usually ascribed to them are the result of sins committed in a former life. The initiation formula is communicated to the female branch by a senior nun. Each sect contains five grades of the clergy, poured into by initiation, married, and cremated. When a Mahant, or pontiff, dies, his corpse is washed, placed in a raised seat, worshipped, tied in a litter in a sitting posture, and carried to burial, not in one of the ordinary cemeteries, but in a clean place selected by the brethren, where the corpse is burnt on a funeral pyre, facing the east, and a coconut is broken on the skull as a communation of a sacrifice (P.R. ii. 106). After burial all traces of the ceremonial are removed, and no tomb is left. They have no fear of the possibility of the growth of a cult of the dead man. Like many Vaisnavas they are considered to have been successively the bodies of sages and brâhmanas in former times it is said that marriage between a monk and a nun was symbolized by the pair tying their wallets close together—a form of marriage which has been accused of being mysterious and decreasing, but this is perhaps due to the fact that in the present day fewer join the celibate section. In 1901 they numbered 2,506 in Berar (Kitts, 62 ff.; Ed. xix. 120 ff.; 1817).

6. Popular Hinduism.—The popular faith of the province has been fully described by Sir A. Lyall, whose classification (Asiatic Studies, ii. 9 ff.) is here followed. (1) The worship of mere stocks and stones, and of local configurations, which are sometimes of great size and power. This includes not only the worship of natural objects connected by legend with some deity or saint, but extends to the phallic rites, to the Sâllum, or fossil, in which Vishnu is manifest, and to all that class of objects which entirely separate the outward image from the power really worshipped. So that at last we emerge into pure symbolism, as when anything appears to be selected arbitrarily to serve as a visible point for spiritual adoration. (2) The worship of spirit-like deities, which are girt with mysterious motions, such as water, fire, the sun, and trees. For instance, in an eddy of the Tâpi, wood, when floated down, sometimes disappears in a subterranean passage, to avoid which the Gonds propagate the river-deity with the sacrifice of a goat; Mahishôkha (Skr. mukhâ, a 'buffalo') is a buffalo-god which lives under water and demands propitiation. The worship of fire in the form of the Vedic Agni has disappeared, but it is revered among the Brahman fire-sacrifice (homa). The sun is the most popular object of worship among the northern hills, and he is also worshipped by all Hindus under different conceptions and doctrines regarding his personality. By the jungle-dweller the tree is feared as possessing sentient existence and mysterious potency, fed by its waving branches and the weird sounds which occasionally proceed from it. At a later stage trees which are fruitful or toxie are honoured, or a certain species is appropriated by one god, or a spirit seems to dwell in a great solitary trunk or in a gloomy trunk of a very great age. In the case of water such a plant as the tabû, and no one dares to cut a tree or even to use the fallen branches as firewood. The custom of tying rags on trees, in order to bring the worshipper into communion with the indwelling spirit, is common, and one class of such trees is known as Chiniyâl Deo, 'the deity of tatters,' where, if one present a rag in season, one may chance to get good clothes (Lyall, Gazetteer, 191; Kitts, 47 ff.). (3) The worship of animals which are feared. This is illustrated, a deer (sûpah), 'tiger'), who is propitiated by those who frequent the jungle; and by the refusal of gardeners to inform sportsmen when a tiger or a leopard has taken up its quarters in their plantations, as they believe that the garden owner is at fault for the slaughtering of the animals. The vulture, the wild dog, and the jackal are sacred, and it is a crime to kill any of them. (Lyall, Gazetteer, 61 f., 190 f.). In the same class is the cult of the snake, which is everywhere feared and revered, and of the monkey, which has now been appropriated by the Vaisnavas in the form of the monkey-god, Hanuman. (4) The worship of visible things, animate or inanimate, which are directly or indirectly useful and profitable, or which possess any incomprehensible function or property. Such is the reverence paid to ox, and it has been noted that the worship of the fishermen's net, the scribe's pen, the banker's account-books (P.R ii. 185 ff.; cf. MacCulloch, Childhood of Fiction, 200 ff.). (5) The worship of a spirit (deo), a thing without form and void—the vague impersonation of the opposite sensations which come under the name of the void in science. In the modern deserts. The site of the manifestation of such spirits is marked by a pile of stones, to which every passer-by contributes, or by rages or charms tied to a cliff or tree or such beings are supposed to haunt an old banner. There is also a well-known type of worship of dead relatives, and other deceased persons known in life to the worshipper. Such are the worship of ancestors, and the attempt to recall...
the spirit in a stone picked up at the grave, which is reverently worshipped for a time and then decently disposed of. (7) The worship at shrines of persons who have died in some strange or mysterious way. 

In the worship of Chând Khán at almost every fort in Berār we have perhaps a survival of the foundation-sacrifice (Tylor, Primitive Culture, 2, i. 104 f.; MacCulloch, Childhood of Fiction, 427). The Banjāra (g.v.) tribe worship a notorious bandit, and M. Raymond, the French commander, has been canonized. Besides these there is a host of saints and worthies whose shrines are found in all parts of the Province. (8) In some cases persons on childless, who have no scruples about subordinating deities, and are worshipped in temples—a phase of the local beliefs fully illustrated by Lyall (Asian Studies, 3, i. 39 ff.), who has, however, extended too far the ancestor-cult as an assumed origin of the theogony (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP). The remaining forms of the local beliefs illustrated by the same writer—the worship of manifold local incarnations of the elders deities; of departmental deities; of the supreme gods of Hinduism and of their ancient incarnations and personifications, as recorded in the Brāhmanical scriptures—form part of the general Hindúism, which is not peculiar to Berār.

7. Animism.—The general types of Animism current in the province have been described in the last paragraph. That of the forest-dwellers closely agrees with the beliefs of the cavigo tribes (see DRAVIDIANS, BHILS, Gonds). The religion of the Korkus, Gonds, and Andhs has been described by Kitts (p. 77 ff.) and C. A. Elliott (Settlement Rep. Hoshangabad, 1857, p. 250 ff.). The special class of sorcerers who are believed to control hallucinations and exercise wide influence over the peasantry is noteworthy. At the Dasshār feast the sorcerer (gārpāgār) mixes up samples of all kinds of grain grown in the village, and over them sprinkles the blood of the victim offered to Durgā. The grain is then shaken up and divided among a number of small pots, each of which is assigned to a certain period of the season during which hail may be expected. Over these, secret charms are recited. The pots are inspected daily, and, if the grain is damaged, the pot is represented by any pot, the grain in it is believed to bubble up, in which event Durgā must be propitiated with avictim, whose blood is allowed to drip into the pot—after which the ominous bubbling ceases. Māruti, the monkey-god and victor over the jackals, is also represented; but this is simply done by blowing a horn at his shrine or in some other part of the village (Lyall, Gazetteer, 208; Kitts, 60).

Totemism is indicated by the institution of Guardians (devas), also common to the Deccan and the west Districts of the Bombay Presidency. The guardian is usually some animal or tree; but sometimes natural objects are included, such as one of their trade implements among artisans. Whatever the guardian may be, it is treated with respect. If it be an animal, its flesh is taboo; if it be a material object, it is worshipped at marriage and at the attainment of puberty. The Prabhā caste, when a youth is initiated into the privileges of caste by the binding of the sacred cord, mark their guardian's image and perform various offerings in it, close the lid and tie a string round it, and finally light a stone lamp before it (Campbell, Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom, 1855, p. 8 ff.). The guardian is regarded as the protector of the family, and persons possessing a common guardian cannot intermarry. Totemism is thus at present largely a social institution, and is closely analogous to the customs in Bengal (see BENAL, p. 490; Frazer, Totemism, 58 ff.).

The spirits of the dead are supposed to bring disease upon the living. The tradition of the boy invested with the sacred thread who has died before marriage, is believed to be envious of the good fortune of others, and specially malignant. To avoid his ill-will, the child is called by an opprobrious name (see Crooke, Pl. ii. 4); or his father gives a feast at a hanyan-tree to the unmarried males of the village; or he employs an exorcist, who propitiates the unmarried male dead of the household, sprinkles water over which sacred texts have been recited over the mouth and eyes of the child, and drives away the spirit of the dead boy who he is and how he gained entry. Finally, the spirit, by a tap of the wand of the exorcist, is persuaded to depart, whereupon the child takes an old shoe—an article which repels spirits—to a sacred fig-tree, at the foot of which he is supposed to fall senseless, and thus to become freed from the incubus. A nail is then driven into the tree to confuse the spirit, or it is induced to enter a bottle which is buried deep underground (ib. 1. 162, ii. 14). Rites of a similar kind are performed to expel or propitiate the ghost of the unmarriageable (jumāna) who is specially hostile to her own sex, and that of a child (jjetun) who has died before investiture with the sacred thread (Kitts, 53 f.).

The belief in sorcery and witchcraft affecting man and beast is wide-spread. The witch is feared rather than respected, but her power is believed to cease when her teeth fall out. The more Hinduized peasantry worship Ganpati or Gaṇaśa, god of luck, before starting on a journey or other enterprise; but the common people trust more to meeting omens. If a ring-dove enters the house, it is abandoned for three days, and purified by leading a cow inside, and giving food and alms to Brāhmanas (ib. 49).

8. Sikhs and Jains.—Besides the orthodox Sikhs—immigrants from the Panjāb—some members of the Banjāra (g.v.) tribe recorded themselves as Sikhs at the last Census. Sikhs generally are most numerous on the Hyderābād frontier in the neighbourhood of the tomb of their Guru Govind at Nānder (Chinoy, 57 f.). The early influence of the Jains is shown by the multitude of Jain temples, such as those at Sirpur, Muktāgirī, and Kāranā. The present Jains consist largely of immigrants from Bombay, Rajājūtāna, and Central India, who are attracted by trade. The cave-temples at Pātār Shaikh Ebbā— a site which, as its name shows, has been sacred rather than respected, but her power is believed to cease when her teeth fall out. The more Hinduized peasantry worship Ganpati or Gaṇaśa, god of luck, before starting on a journey or other enterprise; but the common people trust more to meeting omens. If a ring-dove enters the house, it is abandoned for three days, and purified by leading a cow inside, and giving food and alms to Brāhmanas (Fergusson-Burgess, Cave Temples, 428).

9. Muharramans.—Islam is increasing its numbers not so much from proselytism as by the greater fecundity of its members, the facts of which have been fully illustrated in the case of Bengal (see BENAL, § 41). The faith has been much corrupted by the local Animism, as is shown by the prevalence of the cult of hermits and martyrs, to whose shrines, for the sake of their offerings, even Hindus are admitted. Some Muharramans secretly engage Brāhmanas to worship the local gods, retain their Hindu surnames, and employ the village astrologer to select an auspicious day for marriages (Lyall, Gazetteer, 194; Chinoy, 57 f.).

10. Christians.—Christians, now numbering 2,275, have increased owing to missionary efforts during recent famines. The vast majority of them are native converts attached to the fourteen mission stations established in the Province by denominations of the largest congregations belong, in order, to the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches.
BERBERS AND N. AFRICA.

RENÉ BASSET.

i. PAGANISM.—Whatever opinion may be held regarding the mythic origin of the races which, under the general name of Berbers, still inhabit all the north of North Africa, from the Mediterranean to the Sudan and from the Atlantic to Egypt, they form a linguistic unity; and it is only by starting from this point of view that we can understand their ancient religion. But, at the very outset, we find ourselves faced with a difficulty which is almost insoluble. Although there was unity in their language, this was by no means the case in their religion, i.e. that connected with their gods. Moreover, the uncertainty which still exists concerning the date of the decipherment of the Libyan inscriptions deprives us of their help, and obliges us to have recourse to the scanty information supplied by foreigners, who have not always distinguished the native from the borrowed elements in the beliefs and ceremonies of which they have handed down accounts.

ii. Mountain-worship.—It seems that irregularities of the ground—mountains, caves, and rocks—were regarded by the Berbers, if not as deities, at any rate as sacred objects. Therefore, at least in the west, Mount Atlas—the pillar of Heaven, as it was called by the people of the country in the time of Herodotus (Hist. iv. 184)—must have been the object of their worship. Pliny the Elder (HN v. 13) mentions the mountain and the town of the same name.

'In the middle of the sands Mount Atlas rear its head to the skies, rugged and bare on the side facing the ocean to which it gives its name; but, on the side which faces Africa, very shady, covered with woods and watered by gushing springs, fertile in fruits of all kinds, which grow of their own accord, and are sufficient to satisfy all desire. During the day not a single inhabitant is seen; everything preserves a deep silence, like the awful silence of the desert. As men approach the mountain a religious fear seizes their souls, and especially the sight of the summit raised above the clouds and apparently close to the circle of the moon.'

This information is confirmed by Maxinus of Tyre (Dissertations, viii. 57):

'The Western Libyans inhabit a long narrow strip of land surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the fourth by mountains; they have therefore preserved the practice of worshipping the mountain. Thus, for instance, the mountain of Atlas which lies between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and is covered with forests and with watercourses, is the object of sacred devotion to the Libyans, both in Tripolis and in Cyrenaica.'

The Atlas of which he is speaking is evidently the Atlas of Morocco. Its native name, Dyris or Addris (cf. in the Gnau dialect of Teneriffe, adër, 'cliff'; in Awelmenian Thuarg, adër, 'mountain, cliff'), seems to have been preserved by Pliny the Elder (HN v. 13 and Solinus (Polyhistor, § 29). But the Greek and Manichean concept of Atlas supporting the world might be found in the name which, according to Galindo, the Gnauches of Teneriffe gave to God, viz. AgnýChief of the mountains.'

In this extraordinary and evidently corrupted name, it is impossible to decipher, even approximately, more than the last part etuma, which is an erroneous form of echamun, 'god.'

have been applied to Mount Teyde in Teneriffe. Granach mythology, however, assigned another role to this mountain. Indeed it is granted that the present Bul Qornin (the ancient Balharumensis), who rules Tunis, and whose name re-appears in the deity worshipped there (Saturnus Balcarumensis), was venerated in primitive times by the Berbers. The pre-Islamic Phoenicians had installed their Baal* there, on whose summit was super-imposed, sometimes represented as mounted on a lion (CIL viii. 20457, 20443) or accompanied by the epithet Sobare(n)sis at Henchir Bu Bekri (ib. 12300, 1878). The Baal Karmun, who was worshipped there by the Berbers, appears, and, undoubtedly in imitation of them, by the natives, was a purely Semitic deity, like the Baal of Hermon or the Baal of Lebanon, whose perecedras was Tanit (cf. the inscription of Bori Jidil. Probably the same thing happened with the cult of Baal Hamân at Dugga. Dedication to Saturn are, however, very frequent in the Latin inscriptions of Africa, and the name of Saturnius is often mentioned. We may cite at Ain Zanhour (ib. 2280) a dedication by Saturno frugifero Augusto (CIL viii. 1851), and at Fontaine-Chaude an inscription, 'Deco Sancto frugifero' (ib. 1720). A Latin inscription, found at some distance from Annule, is addressed to the genius de Russia, the mountain, Pastorilamenis, who gives shelter from the wind (ib. 9180); there is also one at Chenetu in Tunisi to the genius of the mountain (ib. 14588). Even in our day certain mountains excite among the Tuaregs a religious fear which they cannot overcome. But it is not the terrifying appearance of the mountains which inspires the fear; it is the genius who dwell in them. This belief existed even from the time of Pliny the Elder. Reproducing a passage from the Periplus of Hanno, he places in Atlas the Saspanes and the Satyres, whom the Carthaginian traveller locates much further south (Periplus, § 14); the same passage is also quoted by Solinus (Polyhistor, § 29). In the 12th cent. of our era an anonymous Arabian writer mentioned similar beings in a mountain of the Sahara, but he added, in order to lacerate the Musulman beliefs, 'It tells of the mountain of Felfel, which holds within it the remains of numerous towns abandoned because of the genii; during the night people see their fires there and hear their voices singing and saying prayers. Azger Tuaregs the grove of Idenen, 30 kilometres to the north of Ghat, is the object of a superstition terror, and no one would dare to penetrate it. Barth, who explored it, almost died of thirst without, however, having found any of the ruins which were said to be there. Among the Ahaggar, Mount Udan is regarded in the same way, and the name given to the mysterious beings who inhabit it, ahkiman (from Arab. al-jinn), shows clearly that an Arab belief has come to be added to a superstition of Berber origin.' The Kundait, to the north of Temanghasset and to the east of Iman, is likewise the object of fears of the same kind. In the Canary Islands, Mount Teyde,
where hell (oekyelos) was supposed to be, was inhabited by a demon of the name of Gwato or Huwato. The demon of Palma was called

2. Rock-worship.—Rock-worship is naturally joined with mountain-worship. P%iny the Elder (HN ii. 44) and Pomponius Mela (de Situ Orbis i. 8) tell of a rock in Cyrenaica consecrated to the South Wind: "if it is touched by the hand of man, immediately the wind rises violently, tossing the sea, and carrying ships over the billows." In the Canary Islands, near the crater of Caldera in Palma, there was a rock, formed like an obelisk, which was called Idafe. To prevent it from falling, the people of the tribe of Tamenas who lived settled in the neighbourhood, used to make offerings to it, with processions and singing; they sacrificed entrails, and then ate the animals, and sometimes whole victims were cast down from the heights of the neighbouring mountains. In the Great Canary Island there were two rocks; the one called Tismar, in the district of Galdar, the other Vinencia, in Telde. In times of distress the inhabitants, accompanied by priests called magdadas (Viana, p. 22, calls them harrmgudadas), used to make pilgrimages to these two rocks. By natural cracks in the rock, vases filled with milk and butter. This poured on the rocks, dancing round about them and singing Inguibius airs like funeral chants, which the Spaniards called endechas. They then proceeded to the seashore, and beat the waves vigorously with their rods, shouting all the time at the pitch of their voices. It is evident that here we have to do with a kind of worship. Besides, if we can believe to the letter what the Spanish writers have handed down, the Guanches, differing from other barbarous races, seem to have had a settled religion. In any case, we are tempted to connect with this institution of sacrifices the use made of a stone situated near Guertufa, between Tiret and Relizane, and known by the name of Hujaor Grid.

In one place a recess in the rock leaves a mound between it and the road, and it looks like a huge stone, apparently fallen from the summit and caught on the other rocks. It measures 4 metres at its base, 2 metres at its top; and 8 metres above; its upper surface is 10 m. long and at least 6 m. broad at its broadest part. . . . After climbing up this rock, perfectly broken off at the base, which has been broken at different degrees, one sees a sort of cascade, formed by three basins of unequal size and depth, into which it is evident that quantities of liquid water have been filled. To the right are two little round holes; to the left, two little square holes, all being from 10 to 15 cm. wide. We have no doubt that there was a primitive altar there, a table for sacrifices.

We may quote the conclusion of this description: "The Hujaor Grid was a splendidly-chose place for a bloody religion. The sacrificer, raised up 8 or 10 metres above the crowd, let the blood of the victim flow into one basin into the other. The sacrifice was performed before a vast horizon; all the races of the plain saw it, and the fire that was lit was undoubtedly seen from the far-off heights of the mountain of Laaja Kran."

But this is merely a hypothesis. There still exist, however, in the Canary Islands places where ollations of milk were made—holes and trenches hollowed out by the inhabitants; wells of receiving the liquid. There were also sacrifice-trenches—simple cavities surrounded by carefully-arranged heaps of stones. In the gare of Tenantit

* Viana, Antiguedades de las Islas Afortunadas, Tiiibingen, 1853, p. 54; Parker Webb and Sabin Berthelot, Historie naturelle des Canaries, Paris, 1859, p. 179.
* Vienne, Quinze années de séjour aux îles Canaries, Paris, 1899, p. 376.
* Glas, The History of the Canary Islands, London, 1764; Webb and Berthelot, op. cit. vol. i. p. 172; Verneau, op. cit.
* Glas, op. cit. II. 3, 70; Webb and Berthelot, op. cit. vol. i. p. 172.
* Verneau, op. cit. vol. i. p. 179; Verneau, op. cit. vol. i. p. 172.
* Verneau, op. cit. p. 90f.
* Verneau, op. cit. p. 90f.

in Taat, there is an aerolite which, even to this day, is the object of general veneration. Legend tells that, when it fell from the sky, near Nun en-Nas, it was gold, but God changed it into silver, and then into stone to prevent its becoming precious. . . . Connected with natural rocks, and rocks wrought by the hands of men, are dolmens, but as these are really tombs, it is unnecessary to speak of them here. See art. STONES.

3. Cave-worship.—Caves seem also to have been worshiped among the ancient Berbers, in agreement with the testimony of Seneca (ad Lucilium Ep. xii.): 'Et si quis specus saxis pennis excessas montem suspenderit, non manu factus, sed naturalibus causis in tantum laxitatem excavatus; in minimum tumam religionis aspectus perme cutiet.' But nothing has been found as yet to prove the existence of the god of caverns, Ifru or Irri, affirmed by Masqueray. The most celebrated deity who is mentioned is the god Baexx, whose grrotto near Ananna (Thibilis) has been discovered and explored. In this cavern the apartments are not all situated in one horizontal plane, nor are they connected simply by narrow passages; they are often placed one above the other, and have communication with each other through small passages by which the caves are connected. The difference in level between the entry-passage and the bottom of the cavern cannot be less than three or four hundred metres. The name of the god Baexx, mentioned in a certain number of Latin inscriptions, CIL. viii. 5974 (18829), 5975 (18829), 5117 (19847), 5518 (18850), 18851, 18853, has as yet defied all attempts at interpretation. It was in front of the entrance to the cave that sacrifices were offered. Perhaps it is to a cult of this kind that we should attribute the Libyan inscriptions of which are found near the cave of Ibru in Ifri delal. There is still another cave-deity whose name must be recognized in the enigmatical GDAS, with which a certain number of inscriptions begin —the inscriptions found in the cave known as R'sar Emma, situated on a spur of Jebel Chettaba, in the neighbourhood of Constantine. Opposed though it is by G. Mercier, who has given a minute description of the cave, the proposal of Mgr. Toulouste and M. Héron de Villefosse to connect the present name Chettaba with the mountain of Giddaba, which has been suggested by G. Blanct —seems strong; and GDAS would stand for 'Giddaba de augusto sacrum.' In the Great Canary Island, two leagues from Teyde, at the top of a volcanic mountain, there is a large cave in the rock, entered by four openings fourteen feet high, whence arises the popular name, 'Mountain of the four doors.' The openings are separated by pillars varying in diameter from seven to nine feet. In front of each pillar, on a level part cut out of the rock, and serving as a presitile to the cave, there are several niches, some round and others square. These seem to have been intended to hold the objects of the cult. The niches are more than five feet from the ground. **In the Isle of fer in the Canaries, the cave of Astehaya, in the district of Tacuitu, served as a refuge for the man who, in times of

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drought, went to implore the goddess. She appeared to him and gave him a token that his prayers were answered.*

4. Air-worship.—We do not know if the Berbers worshipped the wind, but if they did, this was undoubtedly under foreign influence. We have an inscription in Latin verse, found at Narragarra (Sidi Yusuf), in which the air is invoked under the name of Juno (CIL viii. 4635); and it is perhaps due to the influence of such a foreign idea that the name of the wind was adopted by the Berbers, who were famous for their skill in astronomy.

5. River-deities.—Rivers, or at least the sources of rivers, were consecrated to a particular deity. The only extant inscription which mentions them, and which gives us, as the title of the special deity, the word 'genius,' probably due to Roman influence (genius). Thus near the Sig was found a dedication to the genius of the river (genio fluminis; CIL viii. 5740); at the mouth of the river Sita an inscription was excavated which mentions the genius of the Amsaga, the former name of the river (ib. 5884). There is one in existence to the deity of the river Alexandrinia (ib. 2662), to the deity of the waters (ib. 2663), to the genius of the fountain (genio fontis) associated with Jupiter, and to the Fountain of Caïd, near Batna (ib. 4291).

6. Town-deities.—The application of the name 'genius' to towns, frequently found in the inscriptions, seems to be the result of an imitation of the custom of the Greeks, who also invoked the genius of towns in some special genius, when it was not actually the work of Roman settlers rather than of the native populations. Thus the genius of a village in Lambessa (genio vicii; CIL viii. 2804 f.) the genius of Lambessa (genio Lambesii; ib. 2528, 2596, 2598 f.); the genius of Rustica (genio colonie Venerii Rusticae augusto; ib. 7939 f.); the genius of Henchir Masfana (genio Lamas esperi augusto); the genius of a market-town in Sur Juba (genio pagi augusto; ib. 9190); the genius of the transit rubit at the colony of Milah (ib. 7960, 8020 = [19930]); the genius of Mactar (ib. 6352); the genius of Subzavar (ib. 6001); the genius of Phare (ib. 6267-91); the genius of the municipality of Testar (ib. 1533 [1891]); the genius of the municipality of Sotata (Ain Kebir; ib. 8589); the genius of the civitas Celtanimeum' among the Beni-Welban (ib. 19685); the genius of the colony at Henchir Sidi Albeigbas (ib. 14087); the genius of the 'agripa Lamortense' at Henchir Maftun (ib. 15596); the genius of the 'colonia Julia Veneria Chirte Nove' at Henchir Jezza (ib. 16367); the genius of the market-town ('genio vii augusto') at Marchina (ib. 424); the genius of Tibiser at Henchir Amanet (ib. 154945); the genius of the people at Ain Zana (ib. 4575); at Constantine (ib. 6949 f.); the genius of Novar among the Beni Fida (ib. 20429 f.); and the genius of Gadulgofala ([ib. 15752]. We may add to these the inviolate deity of Gurai (Qsar Gurai, near Tébessa); and the deity also mentioned in an inscription of Borj Hamza, 'Auzio deo genio' (ib. 9014). The genius is usually a Latin or Punico-Latin deity, as at Qsar al-Ain, in the region of Ain Beida. In a dedication to Saturn, of the 3rd cent., this god is qualified as 'genius saltus Sorothensis';* in another addressed to Jupiter, at Uzali, there is 'genius arcae funerariae' (ib. 6639).

5. Sun-worship.—Besides mountains, rocks, caves, and rivers, the Berbers worshipped the sun, and, primarily, the sun. This cult existed among the nomadic Berbers between Egypt and Lake Tritonis (Herod. Hist. iv. 158), and among the Berbers in general.† We read in the Life of St. Samuel of Catamon that the Berbers, who had submitted to slavery through their slave-god, had been induced by Jupiter to go to the sun, because, as Neugebauer shows, this cult was widely spread among them. In the Balearic islands, for example, in the 13th cen., the Balearic Berbers had a solar temple on Mount Pedra. The Berbers of Algeria worshipped the sun, and the sun was the god of the Berbers of the Sahara, as well as of the Tuaregs of the desert. The sun, therefore, was the most important of the gods of the Berbers, and was worshipped throughout the country.

6. The Guanches of Palma also worshipped the sun, and gave it the name of Lageo,§ as well as the name Amen, which seems to have come from 'Lord'; in Arzoumian, Amenai has the meaning of 'God.' According to Macrobins (Sat. conv. i. 21), the Libyans worshipped the setting sun, and the sun was worshipped by Ammon (Amen). He was represented with ram's horns, in which resided his chief power, as that of the sun in its rays.|| In the speech of Athanasius against the Gentiles (§ 14) it is said that among the Libyans the sheep was called ames, and that it was worshipped as a deity. The opinion, however, has been suggested, with every appearance of reason, that Ammon (Hammon, Amen) was a god of Berber origin. We may compare with this the carving on the rock found at Bu Alem in South Oranais, representing a ram or a mountain goat, with its horns surmounted by an ornamentation in the form of a solar disc, surrounded with a ureas.† It would be a mistake, however, to see here the prototype of the Egyptian Amen; the present writer believes, with Gsell, that it is a more or less successful copy of the Egyptian representation, as probably are the rock-drawings discovered by Barth at Telissau, west of Fezma, and the bas-relief found in the foundations of the Borj Tasko at Ghadames.++

But there is still another proof of the worship of a ram representing the sun, and one in which we do not see an Egyptian imitation. It is found in a monument, discovered in 1851 at Old Arzeu, representing a roughly sculptured head with a very slightly sharpened nose, two round or oval holes for the eyes and for the ears, and the mouth

* Viara y Clavijo, in Webb and Berthelot, op. cit. vol. i. p. i. p. 186; Verneau, op. cit. p. 92 f.

† See Neugebauer, ‘Pythagorem in les ruines de Mila, Syraval, Sitia et Sigyas, Constantine, n.d., p. 301.

* Gsell, op. cit. p. 40.

† Ibn Khaldun, Kitab it-Tarikh, vol. 2, 1854, vi. 80.

‡ R. Bassot, Synopsis arabo-jacotide, Paris, 1851; P. M. Esteves Pereira, Vida de Abdo Samuel, Lisbon, 1591, pp. 29, 50, 54.


* Duveyrier, Les Toureges du Nord, pl. x.
represented by a hollowed line; its horns are curved back, the points to the ground, and the arms are fixed to the body with the hands remaining above. The inner part of the body ends in a terminal. It is also an idol of this kind that was found at Tuat, and is designated 'getule idol' (?). This may be identified with Gurzitz, whose priest was Terna. It was the idol of the hospitable Jupatamman (Corippus; Julianus, i. 109 f., v. 494 f., vi. 116) by a heifer (ib. ii. 111). This Gurzitz is regarded as an Apollo; he was represented by an image of a bull being carried to fight (ib. v. 606-673, v. 22-29). The cult of this deity was maintained for a long time, for in the 14th century it was said that the sand idol in Tripoli, set up on a hill and named Gorga, to which the tribes round about—the Howara, amongst others—offered sacrifices and addressed prayers in order to recover their riches. Al-Bakri, unfortunately, gives no information about the shape of this idol. Probably it was also a Berber idol of this kind that the same author calls 'Maghmades' (perhaps the Macomades of the ancients), and describes as being set up on the seashore between Egypt and the Maghrib, and surrounded by several of these sanctuaries. It is evident that this cult was an element of the names of the locality in a town placed by Polybius (Hist. i. 74) near Utica, and in a tessera of hospitality and patronage in the reign of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (CIL viii. 68): 'Senatus populusque civitatis stipendia acerrima fecerunt.' Gurzitz was also the name of a temple in Byzantium dedicated to the goddess Venus. Amongst the Arabs, it seems that the name of Gorga is very meaningful. It would be very difficult to explain this name for the Guanches of Teneriffe (Relation, p. 34). The planet Venus is called Lomer in the present day in Zuwaa. Among the Awelimenid, when it is an evening star, it has the name of tutari, and when a morning star, that of ammaen n chad or ammaen achach. Among the Tuareg, it is called Tattir to n tufat, which can be exactly translated by 'morning-star.' Following the example of other peoples, the Ahaggar have located a certain number of tales in the sky. We cannot, however, decide whether they correspond to a religious sentiment. Thus the Pleiades are the 'Daughters of Night' (Chet Ahodh). Six of the stars of this constellation have each a name; the seventh is a boy's eye which had been taken out and flew up to the sky. This story is given in the following verses:

'The daughters of the night are seven in number: Mätēřerje and Ererljot, Mätēsek$h and Esek$h, Mätēlagh$h and Èlēqhol$h. The seventh is the eye of a boy which flew up to Heaven.' We can see that the six stars are given a true name by three pairs whose names are derived from the same root. The Awelimenid give them also the name of Chetketch (= Chet Ahodh).

Orion (in Tuareg, Amanar) has two interpretations. According to the one he comes out of a muddy well; and Rigel (Atarantes, 'the Foot in the Mud') is the foot he brings out of the mud last, i.e. the last star when the constellation is rising in the East. According to the other, he is a hunter, with his belt on (in Ahaggar and Awelimenid Teppbëut en Amunwar, 'Belt of Orion'), who is followed by a dog (Eddi, Sirhus) and preceded by gazelles (Ichenkôh, 'constellation of the Hare').

The Great Bear and the Little Bear represent a camel and her young one (Taladum dera); the Pole Star is a negress called Lomkochen (i.e. 'held') because she has to hold the young camel (Atruo) to let her mother be milked. But the stars φ, χ, μ, ν, α represent an assembly which deliberates whether the negress is to be killed. She (the Pole Star) stands motionless with fear, the other stars, according to a legend contaminated by the Musulman religion, the Great Bear is a camel which belonged to Noah. It was slain by seven nobles, one of them a Tuareg; he was changed into an 'ournine' (or'ata), a kind of lance, by the others. In a back and a

* Berbrucker, Bibliothèque musée d'Alger, Algiers, 1850, p. 287.
* Avise de Ca’ De Mosto, Relation, p. 34; Glis, The History of the Canary Islands, p. 139.

Africa—seditions in which the Berbers probably took part, and which Pertinax had to repress during his pontificate of Africa (Gundilanus, Fides Pertinacis, ch. iv.). We find the crescent moon at the top of a great number of inscriptions (cf. CIL, passim), one of which, among the Beni-Ukden, is in Libyan and Phoenician characters (CIL viii. 2016); but it is very probable that this sign, which in primitive times had signified a lunar cult, has become a meaningless ornamentation. There is no occasion for the theory, formed from inaccurate etymology and assimilations, that 'Tanit, the great Punic goddess, was of Berber provenance.' For, since the name of the moon in Berber is masculine, it could not have been represented as a goddess. There is far more probability in the hypothesis of G. Mercier, which tends to find Ainir in the enigmatical Ternu, mentioned along with the qutation 'angustus' in an inscription discovered on the Gueughch, sixteen kilometres from Constantine (CIL viii. 5673).

9. Worship of other planets.—It is very probable that the other celestial bodies were worshipped by the Berbers, although we have no proofs except for a few of C. Alize de Certeau, which are cited here for the Guanches of Teneriffe (Relation, p. 34). The planet Venus is called Lomer in the present day in Zuwaa. Among the Awelimenid, when it is an evening star, it has the name of tutari, and when a morning star, that of ammaen n chad or ammaen achach. Among the Tuareg, it is called Tattir to n tufat, which can be exactly translated by 'morning-star.' Following the example of other peoples, the Ahaggar have located a certain number of tales in the sky. We cannot, however, decide whether they correspond to a religious sentiment. Thus the Pleiades are the 'Daughters of Night' (Chet Ahodh). Six of the stars of this constellation have each a name; the seventh is a boy's eye which had been taken out and flew up to the sky. This story is given in the following verses:

'The daughters of the night are seven in number: Mätēřerje and Ererljot, Mätēsek$h and Esek$h, Mätēlagh$h and Èlēqhol$h. The seventh is the eye of a boy which flew up to Heaven.' We can see that the six stars are given a true name by three pairs whose names are derived from the same root. The Awelimenid give them also the name of Chetketch (= Chet Ahodh).

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The Scorpion is sometimes called Tangherdaut ('scorpion'), sometimes Tazezed ('palm-tree'). A young man, Anrot (Antaruis) is going to climb the palm-tree; but when halfway up the tree he notices some pretty girls (tibarudin), clothed in red haikus, coming on the lake (Teuklab); he stops halfway up to watch them.

Other constellations have names, but no legend attaches to them. In Bougie the Milky Way is called Aqja n tiganu, 'beam of the sky,' and among the Tuaregs Maculine. The stars ε, δ, ν of the Great Dog are called Ifor'am benben, 'noise of a fan or of a bird,' and β, Ahnum, 'the young of the gazelle.' θ and ι of the Boat are 'Riches' (Tenafatela) and 'Poverty' (Toscer). Aldebaran is called Kekoyyedh and Canope Wadit.

In ancient times the Africans (especially those skilled in the science of horoscopes, and particularly so was Septimius Severus—as may be seen from a saying attributed to him. Speaking of his son Geta to Juvenal, prefect of the pretorians, he said: 'It is certain that when Geta is to be defined; his constellation had nothing in it to my eyes' (Spartianus, *Vita Getae*, § 2 in *Historiae Augustae*).

The name of the rainbow, among certain Berber tribes, has preserved the trace of a myth. Although at Wad Rif it is called abhechta and in Harakza abeggas ('girdle'), in Zuwa it is called thesithi k wamaz, among the Botiwa of Rif thesithi n unzar, among the B. Ilmeneen thasli n unzar, which means 'bride of the rain,' and among the Beni Menacer theslih n yfenja, 'bride of the sky.' The rain (Anzar) is then considered a male being. In Jurjura, the Kabyle children, in times of drought, go from house to house singing:

`Anzar, Anzar, o Lord, water us to the roots.'

At Izb, the children sing while transplanting grain:

`Give us, O Lord, the water of Anzar.'

In a popular tale of Wargha, Anzar (=Anzar) is personified. The rainbow is commonly regarded as the bride of the rain. This myth is not without parallel in the way in which certain Berber and Arab peoples of the Maghrib provoke rain. At Ain Seira, at Tiemsen, and at Mazaun, they take a wooden spoon (in Kabyle oghonej) and dress it in bits of cloth, so as to make it a sort of doll representing a bride, called Ghonja; they take this in solemn procession to the tombs of the local priests, singing couplets which vary according to the locality. For example:

`Ghonja! Ghonja has uncovered her head.
O Lord, thou wilt water her eardrops.
Her ear's thimble
Give her drink, O our Master!'

At Tit, in the oasis of Tunt, during drought, the people go out of the qarir—men, women, boys, and girls. They take a wooden spoon and dress it in female garments. A young girl carries it, and the people keep saying: `O spoon! O meadow! (ar' enja — la merja) Lord, remove the time of heat! Lord! in the name of the Prophets!'

The Cameroun. *Berber and N. Africa* (Ap0, xxix.) gives the Virgo Celestial the title of `Pluviarum Pollicetrix.' Among the Gauches the main part of the ceremony for bringing rain was to make men and animals fast, and, in Terenife, even the young animals, which were separated from their mothers; the dogs, whose cries the priests were to move to the heavens. Rain-making was also a gift of certain magicians. An ancient historian tells how among the Berbers a Roman army under the command of Hostilius Geta, successor of Suetonius Paulinus, almost died of thirst in the desert while in pursuit of the rebels and their chief Sabulas. A native ally persuaded the general to have recourse to incantations and magic, affirming that often great quantities of water had been got by these means. But the time again the process was successful, but we do not know in what it consisted (Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* ix. 9).

10. Native deities.—To these deities we must add those which are made known to us by Latin epigraphy, though we are not sure about their nature and attributes. Thus we have dedications to the Moorish gods at various places in North Africa: at Chercheh (CIL viii. 9527), near Wed Marcuna (ib. 2933), near Wed Tezzerlet (ib. 2840); at Labricieris (ib. 7290), at Henchir Ramad in Tunisia (ib. 1442), to the holy and to the desert saint and saviour-gods and to the genius of Satafs at Ain Kebira (ib. 2931). Possibly these Moorish gods are the divinities of whom we are to speak below (p. 511-512), but there is nothing to prove it. Thus Autamun, associated with Mercury in an inscription at Lambessa (ib. 2950), and compared with the Mastimani of Corippus (Johannis, viii. 306 f.), some people used to take for the god of war. Other Moors saw in him Jupiter Tertuaris (which it has been proposed to correct to Jupiter Tertiarus, corresponding to Dis Severus in the Latin inscription, CIL viii. 9018), to whom human victims were sacrificed in times of plague (Johannis, viii. 307-309). We may compare this passage with the statement of Pliny the Elder (HN v. 8) that the Angulis worshipped none but the infernal gods, or, according to Pomponius Mela, the manes (ib. Situ Orbis, i. 8). Aulisva was worshipped in the region of Tlemens, as is shown by two inscriptions found in Agenlac (CIL viii. 9696 f.), and another, ib. 21704. It is not necessary to insist on Kantus Pates—a reading which is quite sure in an inscription of Khanchela—any more than on Kaub, mentioned in the Chettaba. An inscription in Her. Math. *Prop.* 1749, which mentions certain gods of the villages of Magifa: it is dedicated to Masinis, Thikkava, Sugganis, and Iesdanis, of whom there were statues. Another inscription, at Sidi Yusuf (ib. 18809), mentions an Iocolo (Iocoloni deo patrio). This epithet, Deus patrius, is given to Balidir or Baldir in the inscriptions that mention his name: at Guela ou Bu-Bu, between Bôna and Guelma (ib. 2579), and at Sigu (ib. 1912-1913). Is this the same as the Genius patrius, a priest of whom was buried at Zettara (Kef Desina)? Another Deus patrius, who had priests, is located at Henchir el-Box (ib. 12005). Is this name Balidir, or at least its second part, ildir, a Berber word, as G. Mercier's maintains, translating it by 'the living God'? The chief objection would come from the fact that this word would be compounded of luni and Berber. It has also been identified (but this is a very improbable theory) with the name of Abbadiri Saneto, mentioned in


* Les drogues, p. 8, note 3.
an inscription of Miliana (ib. 21481), and counted among the Punic deities by St. Augustine (Ep. xvii. 2). Priscian (vii. 315) gave the name of Asherah to the god worshipped by the Phoenicians, and placed him above the others, at least in Mauretania. This seems to be the indication of two inscriptions, one of which at Bougie is dedicated 'Numinum Maurantiae et Genio Thurmarum,' (CIL viii. 8286), and the other at Ain Kebira, 'Numinum Mauriantei.' Plato's supreme god is to be found in the Ilios who is mentioned, he says, in the treaty between Carthage and the Roman Senate, and whom he claims to have found again in a Libyan inscription. The reading of these latter inscriptions is too uncertain, and, besides, Isis is a Punic god. If we trust the accounts of the Spaniards, the Guanches must have had a supreme god at the time of the conquest of the Canary Islands. Viana relates that they worshipped one god, infinite, omnipotent, just and merciful, called by several names, to wit, Guayazaurax (named by Viera Achguayuauraxi, 'saviour of the world'), Acueana (named by Galindo Acueuca), Menceo, Acoron, Acman, Acchauran (called Athaurahan and Ackzauran by Viera), Acman, Herodotus (Athene in his epithets meaning, omnipotent, 'protector and creator of all beings,' without beginning and without end, 'cause of causes.' The sense of these words is not found in Berber, except in Acoron and Acmanum, which mean 'the great' and 'the sky.' The Guanche names handed down by the Spaniards are very much corrupted; this is due to errors in writing and to the authors' ignorance of the language spoken in the Canaries. Thus Achuana, given by Viera with the meaning of 'supreme god,' is more correct than Acumana, and seems akin to the Aewilimindn Tnareg aucchina, 'the sky' (cf. the Teneriffe Guanche uchano, 'year'); it is connected with the root GY, which gives in Zuawa thagnuth, 'cloud,' and yenni, 'sky,' and in other dialects ajenna and ijenne with the same meaning. But we cannot place complete confidence in Galindo, who shows a tendency to see among the Guanches a religion resembling Christianity with a supreme god and a devil. He goes the length of saying that they never believed in or worshipped any idol worshipped in the Canaries. The Berbers of Chill y Naranjo restrict this assertion to the natives of Lanzarote. The same author has cut out several inexact data of this kind, and, besides, the assertion is refuted by the discovery of idols, in the 14th cent., in the Great Canary Island, and of a wondrous one representing a nude woman in a building called Tinana. According to Viera, the god of men was called Eraoranah (Eroaranh according to Galindo) in the Island of Fer; he had his seat with Moryela, the goddess of women, on the two rocks of Bentayga, called to this day Sanhíllos de los antiguos. After their conversion to Christianity, the natives of Fer worshipped Christ and Mary under the names of Eraoranne and Moreyela. A supreme god, Espinosa says, created man from earth and water. *


† Anticuidades de las Islas Afortunadas, p. 19; Webb and Berthelot, op. cit. p. 4.


§ Potier, ib. 1917.

★ Verneau, op. cit. pp. 88-90.

★ Berradales in Webb and Berthelot, op. cit. vol. i. pt. i. p. 170.

★ * Webb and Berthelot, op. cit. vol. i. pt. i. p. 168.

number of men and women. Flocks were given them for nourishment. Afterwards he created more men, but did not give them more flocks. When they had no more flocks, he gave them to others and they would give you nourishment.'

This last class of beings to be created consisted of achicazae, 'peasants,' while the first class comprised achiceman, 'nobles,' and echicigusto, *

† knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

** Deities assimilated by the Greeks and Romans.—This list of deities could be lengthened, if we had the native names of those deities mentioned by the Greeks and Romans; the latter have assimilated them to their own names, and sometimes the assimilation becoming simple borrowing on their part. In any case, it seems futil to linger over the mythological romance founded in all its parts on the Amazons, the Atlantes and their kings, Amnon, etc., which finishes the third book of the Bibliotheca Historicae Diodorus Siculus. It has absolutely no connection with the religious traditions and customs of the Berbers. Herodotus (Hist. ii. 50) tells us that it was the Libyans who revealed Poseidon, whom no one before them had ever heard of; and thus this god was worshipped as a god. Ampelius (Liber Memorialis, ch. ix.) speaks of a fifth Apollo, born in Libya (Gurzil?). But the most celebrated of all these divinities is Athene Tritonitis, born, according to Pausanias (Graeciae Description, i. 7), and Paussanias (Graeciae Description, i. 4), from Poseidon and the nymph of Lake Triton. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the personage of Triton as represented by Greek monuments, but Herodotus (iv. 186) mentions customary rites which the maidens of the Auseans performed in honour of a native, and therefore Berber, goddess, who was no other than the goddess called Athene by the Greeks:

'And the Libyans, Ares and the Dardani, and the Carnutes, the Libyans, and the Numantians, and the Tagulians, and the Marcomanni, and the Thracians, and the Illyrians, and the Iberians, and the Hesperians, and the Thapsians, and the Calabrians, and all the other nations that live near the sea, and the entire world, perform sacrifices to Poseidon and Triton, who is called by them Triton, while in every kind of city, where there are no sacrifices, they have a temple of Poseidon, and a statue of Triton, and worshippers, that is the king of the sea.'

The Greeks explain this custom as a continuation of the struggle which took place between Atheue, who was brought up by Triton, and Atlas, Triton's daughter, in which Atlas was slain (Apollo: Bibliotheca, hist. 12). This custom must still have existed in the Canaries, for Pompianus says that the Bierce women worshipped the simply copied Herodotus. Herodotus thinks that, before the Greek helmet and shield, the maidens used to carry Egyptian arms (Hist. iv. 180).†

A Latin inscription found at Ain Gules in Tunisia (CIL viii. 16247) and another at Henchir el-Matria (ib. 15378) mention a dedication to a dragon (' Draconis augusto'). Perhaps this divinity is connected with the serpent of bronze with gift head, which the pagans worshipped at Tipasa, on the Hill of Temples, and which, in the 5th cent., St. Salsa threatened to destroy, when she was burnt at the stake. It is not certain whether this is a relic of the worship of Elumenus and the summary of the sufferings of St. Salsa. There is nothing anywhere to show that the cult of the serpent was ever native to the Berbers.

12. Deification of kings.—The pantheon has been enriched, on the other hand, by the apotheosis of the kings, at least during the time of independence.

* Alonso de Espinosa, The life Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, i. (tr. by Markham), and ii. (tr. by Grant), London, 1887.

† J. F. Vizet, Triiten un! Unphemoses, St. Petersburg, 1859; Titois, de Trioten, in Elber, i. 168; Ci. Elbier, Trioten und seine Belebung durch Herodes, Leipzig, 1909.

‡ Ci. Elbier, ibide, p. 171.

§ Ci. Geis, Trioten, Rome, 1894, p. 310f.


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The phrase of Minucius Felix is well known: 'Et Juba, Mauri voluntius, Deus est' (Octavius, ch. xxvii.). A Latin inscription (CIL viii. 17159) is distinctly consecrated to Juba and the genius Vanimensis at Tassamment.  

Tertullian for his part calls ‘Unam dedicaverunt Veneres et bullae, in honore domus est... et Mauretaniae reguli sui' (Apol. ch. xxiv.). There has been found at Bougie a fragment of an inscription dedicated to king Ptolemy, son of Juba (CIL viii. 9127), one at Algiers (ib. 9257), and another at Cherchel, to the genius of king Ptolemy (ib. 10412). This was a retrospective worship that caused the inhabitants of Thubursicum Numidarum (Khamissa) to sanctify Ilipeamid, son of Ganda, as a god (ib. 7* [17159])—a fact which explains the homage rendered to Gulussa, king of Numidia, son of Masinissa (ib. 3*), according to two inscriptions. These inscriptions were with extreme levity treated as false by Mommsen, who afterwards had to face the evidence and confess his mistake.† But it is probable that Africa followed the example of Egypt in the veneration of the Emperors. This may be seen from the comparison made by Lactantius: 'Hae selectae ratione Romani Caesaris suas consecraverunt et Mauri rege suas... and further on: 'Singular populi... summa veneratum; ita aberat affectio et adoratio Ptolemae Juliani' (Migne, PL vi. col. 194). Pomponeus Melo (de Situ Orbis, i, 8) had established the fact: 'Ore (Africa) vic. habitantur, ad nostrum maxima ritum morati culturiam, nisi quod quidam lingua different, et cultu Deum, quos patrios servare, ac patrio more venerantur.'  

This remark of Pomponeus Melo is confirmed by Ibn Khaldün: 'It befell the Berbers from time to time to profess the religion of the Emperor, for powerful nations brought them into subjection' (Kitābib-al-'I‘tr, vi, 106). We must add that Septimius Severus, an African by birth, was regarded as a god by the Africans (Historiae Augustae, ch. xiii. 'Vita Septimi Severi'). This explains the large number of inscriptions in honour of deities adopted, without even assimilation, by the Berbers, who took the gods of Rome after those of Carthage: Jupiter, Juno, Pluto, Flavis, Venus, Apollo, Diana, the Nymphs, Neptune, Mahaffa, Thot, Hecate, Tellus, Minerva, Mars, Aesculapius, the Dioscuri, Tellus, Hymica, etc., and even the Eastern deities like Mithra, Mahbal, Mater Magna, Jupiter Dolichenus, Jupiter Helopolitans, Isis, Setapis, Belus. Besides, as seems to be also added, a mistake, a false reading, that gave rise to the belief that the name of Baecehs appeared in the name of Yakhsh, which is of Berber origin, and is the translation of an Arabic epithet which has no connexion with Dionysus. The existence of vines in Africa does not justify in any way the hypotheses into which Leibèr... and, after him, Bethollen ventured. But it is almost impossible to make a separation among the worshipers, Roman colonists and soldiers, foreign invaders, inhabitants of Phoenician origin, mixtures of Berbers and Phoenicians or Romans, and, lastly, pure Berbers.  

13. Demi-gods, mythical beings, etc.—Perhaps we may attribute to the Berbers, alongside of the worship of their kings, the worship of divinities of a character analogous to the demi-gods of antiquity, whose giant birth and stature form the subject of various legends. The gist of them is that the sister of

† Gsell, Recherches archéologiques, p. 260.  
§ De la politique religieuse des Grecs en Libye, Algiers, 1902, pp. 32-38.  

Ya'la ibn Muhammad al-Ifrani gave birth to a son without having intercourse with man. She was bathing in a warm spring where the wild beasts used to go to drink, and conceived by the effect of a lion's foam. The child was called Al-Fath ibn al-Ifrani (so also of other women); and extraordinary qualities are attributed to him in stories. Ibn Khaldün adds that the Berbers tell such a great number of stories of this kind, that if they were put in writing they would fill several volumes. It is to similar beliefs, adapted from the legend of the great giant of Grecian or Oriental origin, that the hero of the legend of the discovery of the Body of Anteus, which measured at least sixty cubits (as, according to Gabinus, Sertorius declared in his Historiae Romanae), in order to issue forth of Antaeus by his son Sophax (Strabo, Geography, xvii. iii. 8; Plutarch, Sertorius Vita, ch. ix.). Perhaps a souvenir of this kind is to be found in Prudentius, Peristephanon, hymn viii., where he says that Lingis contains the funeral monuments of the Massilian kings.‡ At the present day, the inhabitants of Azilal in Morocco show on a rock the footprint of a gigantic foot—the trace of their ancestor.‡ Another giant, whom the Jewish and Musulman traditions have adapted to the name of Sali atish (Joshua), is buried by the sea-shore, in the territory of the Beni Sharāṣ, in the region of Nedroma. A row of stones marks the length of the body, which goes beyond the wall of the town, and ends in a sort of platform.†  

Among the mythical beings whose cult was maintained for some time after the conversion to Islam, there must be mentioned a category of genii whom we know only under the Arabic name of Chamārikkh in the 11th ecatt. of our era, among the Beni Ursafan,  

'when they wished to undertake a war, they sacrificed a black cow to the Chamārikh who are their devils, and they said: 'Behold a sacrifice for the Chamārikh.' When they came to the fight in the morning, they watch till they see a whirlwind of dust, and say: 'The Chamārikh, your friends, are coming to your aid.' Then they charge confident of success. They pretend that this has never failed them, and the majority of them believe it is open to them to extend hospitality to a guest, they put food aside for the Chamārikh, and maintain that the latter eat what is reserved for them. In all this they avoid mentioning the name of God.†  

The Arab historians have preserved an account of the familiar genii of the Kāhlmah, Dīyā, daughter of Tābat (?) of the tribe of the Jeraus, who made a long and successful stance against the Musulmans, and finally drove them from Hiriyah. It was this familiar demons who foretold to this tribe the final victory of the Moors, and caused it to send its sons to launch against them before the final battle where it succumbed.‡ This prophetic faculty is again spoken of by Procopius (de Bellis Vandali, ii. 8). After the expedition of Belisarius against the Vandals, the Moors, afraid that some harm would result to them, had recourse to the prophecies of the women. After a few ceremonies, they foretold that they like the Vandals would be annihilated.  

In the middle of the 10th cent. of our era, among the Ghimmar of Morocco, Taqrit, the aunt of Ha-Mina, and Dajjī, his sister, who, as we shall...  

§ Kitāb-al-I‘tr, vi, 106. CT. On traditions of this kind: Lucina sine curio, Legenda aurea, iv, p. 376.  
* C. L. de Carpentier, 'Un Empire qui créait le monde,' L'Année Historique, 1896, p. 232.  
* CT. R. Basset, Néthmānīth et les Traros, Paris, 1901, p. 70.  
* CT. Al-Bakri, Description de l'Afrique, p. 1851.  
see below, founded a special religion, were renowned soothsayers, and belief in the former was part of the Qur'an of her nephew.² Procopius does not describe the preliminary ceremonies employed by the Moorish women for vaticination, but the following notice takes place among the Tuaregs at el-ESMán, near Ghadames:

"During the absence of the men, the women, dressed in all their finery, go and take their stand near the tombs of the Zabelt [lit. of the 'dead'] and, when they (the Tuareg) believe to be of a race previous to their own, and they invoke the genius who is to give them information. His name is Sába (the tomb itself) which is of the most ancient. He appears to them in the shape of a giant, with eyes like a camel, and gives the required information. For this consultation the women cannot do anything with either iron or steel about them, even a needle.³

The same ceremony takes place at Air, but during the night.⁴

"On the sides of a châl which commands Wad Wulidit, in the North of the Sahara, are found great tombs corresponding to those on the rocky slopes of the Tadjelait. They are elliptical in shape, with major axis, inclined East and West, varying from 20 to 45 metres. They are surrounded by heaps of moderately-sized stones. The Anger Tuaregs attribute these tombs to a former race. If a woman who has a friend, a relative, or a lover far away for any cause goes to sleep at the middle of the day among these tombs, she is sure to have visions, to meet spirits there, and get news of the absent one. The Tuaregs also claim that there is hidden treasure in these tombs.

But, in spite of what Procopius⁵ says, the gift of prophecy was accorded to men as well as to women among the Berbers. To quote only two examples, the Angers, and the Bikaga, who were sometimes among their civil wars, the soothsayer Failq foretold that they would see real war when the man of the East came to them mounted on a white mule. This prediction was recalled by a schoolmaster on the arrival of the dâ' Abd Allah, the Fatimid missioner. A white mule passed the tomb (Im' Azqrí, i. 120). Similarly, the soothsayers in a tribe of the Maghrib declared that, when the two superior planets met, a king would rise who would change the form of money. Malik ibn Wahib persons the word of Lentuma, Ali ibn Yásq, that it was to Mulkí ibn Támért that this prediction referred, as also the popular lines:

But letters on his feet,
Or he will make you hear the drum

(Íbn Khaldún, vi. 238).

14. Ogres.—There still remains to be mentioned the belief in ogres, who play an important part in the popular tales of the Berbers. But we must keep in mind that all uses which we travel, and take care to strip off all that is due to borrowing.

Traces of originality may, however, be found in some of these stories. Among the Fadiblah and the Beni-'Áqidden—Berber tribes in the West of Egypt—we find that of a boy who went away by being changed into a reptile, and threw herself on people until she was bound and pinned (al-Bakr, p. 4). The Arab author even mentions an eye-witness of such an occurrence. It is given by a modern tale current at Wargla, Story of a Father and his Daughter the Ogre, and is the foundation of an accusation brought against the Uled Settú (the sons of the Megéra), a tribe of the Rif noted for its penchant for brigandage.

Another used to be seen running about with her three children in a piece of land which is desert to this day, devouring the people and feeding her children on human flesh. No one went near the cave because they knew that no male, ogre or human, and this afterwards participated in the local festivals.

² Al-Bakr, op. cit. p. 100; Ibn Abi Zair, Rawd-al-Qarfas, ed. Tornberg, Upsala, 1843-49, i. 62; Ibn Khaldún, op. cit. v. 218.
⁵ Fourcau, D'Ayor au Congo, Paris, 1902, p. 65 f.
⁶ Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Algérie du Nord, pp. 31-33.
⁷ Barmay, Étude sur la dialecte berbère de Ouargla, pp. 255-257.

saying that the Uled Settú had no father. After devastating the country for many long years, she suddenly disappeared and was never seen again. But her children remained in the desert of Garet, and were the skeletons of the Uled Settú tribe.

The names by which the ogres are designated are, for the most part, of Berber origin. Although we find some that have come from Arabic, like ghilr or zellunux, yet among the Rif of Morocco and the Kabyl of Wargla, we find a name like the Beni-Menacer anzwa, with feminine thegn of the form tamzat, which is derived from the root MZ, 'seize,' 'take'; among the Zuawas awaghznin. The ogres has also the name of taghizamou in the Cheylfa of Dizerwalt, of tsefiel in Zuwa. But, in the tales, it is a mix of ogres and menad, mixed stories relating to the ancient inhabitants of the country, pagans or Christians, designated also by the name of Tubala (Arabic for 'ignorant people'), and from stories circling around the ogres, confused to such an extent that these classes of stories are often mistaken for each other.

15. The ceremonies of worship.—Here we are reduced to conjectures, so far at least, as the purely Berber gods are concerned. Wherever there were borrowing and assimilation, the ceremonies were those of the Phoenicians, and probably, in some parts, of the Greeks. Protected by their isolation, the Guanches were able to have a religion of their own. In what manner they practised the preservation of the dead, their tombs or pyramids, their special caste, proves an original development among them, alongside of common traits, even before they had arrived at the idea of the immortality of the soul or of future rewards and punishments.⁶ Viana mentions a female religious caste called Harramugadas (or Harramugas, Mogáca) who lived in common, vowed virginity for a time, educated the children, and, as has been seen above, took part in certain ceremonies to get rain; the men were forbidden in that case to look at them.⁦ The house where they lived was called tonggençin acoram, 'house of god' (in Berber, tiginnin tin amorgar (?)). In connexion with ceremonies, we may mention consultation by sleep.⁸ Examples of this have been cited above. We shall add another: in ancient times, the Angies (of the oasis of Anjula) used to stay asleep on tombs, and as they would answer to the question: as answers the dreams they had during their sleep (Pomponius Mela, i. 8). This was also the custom of the Nasamones (Herodotus, Hist. iv. 172). Al-Bakr cites a case where this method of divination had no consequence. They took their men from the Rif, on the borders of Wed Lao (see, further, art. INCUBATION).

16. Feasts.—We must also speak of the feasts, which have been with reason called sainonnieres, and which have continued among the majority of Berbers to mark the chief changes of the year. There is good ground for seeing in them the traces of a nature-worship with which may be associated some remains of agrarian rites. The feasts seem all the more ancient by being performed without the intervention of any special assistants, by being celebrated, not in the mosques, but near the tombs of popular priests, and by being addressed to invisible powers and not to consecrated persons. The principal feasts are those of Ennair, fixed for the whole year; the feast of ansara, which may be called the water-festival; the feast of akhrir, etc. But it must be observed that the peculiarities characterising these feasts, as death or re-birth of

Moïlirâ, Le Marco inconnu, Oran, 1898, i. 183.
Alonso de Espinosa, Las Guanches de Tenerife, vol. i. ch. 9.
L. Corbera, Las ceremonias del indio en la región de Tenerife, op. cit. pp. 70-84.
⁰ Cf. Doutté, op. cit. pp. 410-419, and the authors quoted.
vegetation, or purification by fire and water, are not confined to the Berbers, but have been found among many other-naturizing peoples. It will be enough, therefore, to mention a few.

17. Traditions, etc.—It would be difficult to say whether the following tales, although current in Africa, are of Berber origin. Phiny the Elder tells that in this country 'no one begins any undertaking without first uttering the word "Africa," while in other countries affairs are begun by asking the favour of the gods' (IN XXVIII. v. 2).

I. SIGONUS AND NYMPHODORUS, mentioned by the same author (IN vii. ii. 2, reproduced by Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, iv. 4), tell that there were in Africa families of sorcerers, who, by means of spells, cause flocks to perish, trees to wither up, and children to die.‡

But we are clearly dealing with Berbers in the following examples. In Tanernam, in the desert, between Sabih and the mountains of Targhlin, a locality inhabited by the Beni-Geldin and the Fuzanah, when a thief has been committed, the inhabitants trace some writing which they communicate to each other. The thief is immediately seized, and the owner of the same, unless he has confessed his guilt and restored what he has stolen. He does not recover his calm until the writing is rubbed out (al-Bakri, op. cit. p. 10).

In one of the mountains of the Mejeka of the Rift there lived a magician called Ibn Kosey. This niajil had the power, which might be called the little cloak,' was evidently a nickname borrowed from his way of acting. No one dared to contradict him or to disobey his wishes. If any one did, he turned the cloak in which he was wrapped, and then some malady attacked that person or his cattle instantly. No matter how numerous his opponents were, the malady fell on all the same as on one. He even made them believe that a light burned under his clothing. His sons and descendants inherited the same power (al-Bakri, op. cit. p. 101).

Similarly in the Rift, among the Ghâmara, a Beni-Shaddad tribe, part of the U-Halawat, there lived a man who always carried a bag filled with animals’ heads, and a cord strung with the teeth of land- and sea-animals. He used this as a chaplet. He raised it round the neck of the person who was consulting him, then shook it and tugged it violently. Next he began to smell each of the pieces separately until his hand stopped on one of them. Then he answered any questions that were put to him, and unerringly foretold illness, death, etc., even if they were not mentioned to him (al-Bakri, op. cit. p. 101).

Mâsa, son of Sabih, was also a Ghâmara. He is said to have lived before the Hijâra; but even in the 14th cent. there still remained his 'prophetic' sayings, in the language of the country, containing a great number of predictions relating to the control which the Zenatas were going to exercise in the Maghrib. There is quoted, in proof of the accuracy of his prophecies, the fulllength of the one that foretold the destruction of the most wildly-homes of this town were to become a field filled by a negro with one-eyed black bull. This is said to have taken place after the destruction of Tlemcen by the Merinides, between A.D. 760 [A.D. 1358] and 770 [A.D. 1368]. But if some people considered him a prophet, others took him for a magician. In any case all credited him with a supernatural power (ibn Khâldûn, op. cit. vi. 105, 276, vi. 51).

Further mention will be found among Arab writers of persons who practised

* Cf. for full details on these feats, Douéte, op. cit. pp. 541-594. The story of the kind of these Beni-Sousa, Algiers, 1905, Les fêtes sarrasines chez les Beni-Sousa, Algiers, 1907; Sâid Bôula, Textes berbères en dialecte de Tlemcen, p. 156. The author refers to the Beni-Sousa, Algiers, 1887.

‡ On the evil eye in most recent beliefs, cf. Douéte, op. cit. pp. 517-528, and the authors there quoted.

The other places mentioned are the roots of the dwarf-palm (thouqâna), the wild jujube (thanzg-garâsh), the fruit of the conifer—pine, cedar or fir (azînûba)—and the green oak (kerrish).†

ii. JUDAIISM.—It has been observed that the Jews of the North of Africa, with the exception of those who at well-known times were driven from Europe by the Romans, were, until the conquest of Spain by the Muslims, sorcerers were already established in antiquity, as is shown by Virgil’s anachronism when he makes a Massilian priestess be consulted by Dido, in order to keep ‘Enesc, the goddess of magic arts (Enéid, iv. 483-498, 504-509). Even in our own day the women of Jurjura practise incantations, for which they use certain plants. We have evidence of this in a popular song which begins thus:

Greet the old man, the sorcerer, the one who has seen the secrets of spells, who has seen the secrets of spells, who has seen the secrets of spells,

Men have called thee hornbeam;

For me, I call thee the grid which commands;

Transforms his husband of mine into an ass;

And I shall have straw brought him.†

The other places mentioned are the roots of the dwarf-palm (thouqâna), the wild jujube (thanzg-garâsh), the fruit of the conifer—pine, cedar or fir (azînûba)—and the green oak (kerrish).†

* Cf. for full details on these feats, Douéte, op. cit. pp. 541-594. The story of the kind of these Beni-Sousa, Algiers, 1905, Les fêtes sarrasines chez les Beni-Sousa, Algiers, 1887; Sâid Bôula, Textes berbères en dialecte de Tlemcen, p. 156. The author refers to the Beni-Sousa, Algiers, 1887.

‡ On the evil eye in most recent beliefs, cf. Douéte, op. cit. pp. 517-528, and the authors there quoted.


† The popular Berber tales include numerous examples of metamorphosis, and similar cases of sorcery, and others Judaism, and others paganism. These last even had a temple at Shibhina, where later arose

The popular Berber tales include numerous examples of metamorphosis, and similar cases of sorcery, and others Judaism, and others paganism. These last even had a temple at Shibhina, where later arose
the Andalusian quarters. Ibn Ali Zar', who has preserved this detail (Abd al-Qadir, i. 153), designates the pagans by the name of majus (magi), and he naturally calls their temple a house of fire. This passage has been reproduced by Ibn Khaldûn (op. cit. iv. 13).

In the same era, the country of Tensawa (the modern Tunisia) and the towns of Chella and Tadla were peopled partly by Jews and partly by Christians, who submitted to accepting Islam after the conquest of that region under Idris I. It is not safe, therefore, to try to specify that such and such a tribe was exclusively Jewish or Christian. Moreover, nearer the end of the 2nd cent. A.H.—a long time after the conquests of Qubbat al-Musa. But the Judaism which is spread at the present day by the descendants of converted Berbers has nothing to distinguish it from the Judaism practised in the other regions of the civilized world; and as regards local superstitions, they are common to Jews and Muslims.

iii. CHRISTIANITY.—We do not know how Christianity was brought to the Berbers, but probably we should look for its starting-point in the large towns, and for its first seats, as at Rome, in the Jewish communities living in the cities, and in taking part in this way the Church of Africa soon became prosperous. But its history belongs rather to the history of Christianity, and it is impossible to call from its developments and vicissitudes what refers specially to the Berbers. We may admit, however, that it was among the latter, at least in the places under the direct control of Rome, that the Donatists were reared—a sect which was more schismatic than heretical—and the Circumcellionists, whose movement, in spite of its religious colour, was social rather than rational. The list of African bishops (Proconsular, Byzacena, Numidian, Mauretanian—Sitifian, Casarion, Tingitan—and Tripolitan) contains a host of names of which the great majority are Berber; but it is difficult to identify the true names of those who were converts or those who were the descendants of Berbers, or at least of a mixed race in which the Berber element was predominant.

As for the half-subject or independent tribes among whom Christianity spread, we may suppose that conversion took place, as in so many other parts of the uncivilized world, by means of captives taken in incursions. The domination of the Arian Vandals made no alteration in this state of affairs further than that Catholicism, after having been the persecutor, became in its turn (except at very occasional intervals) the protector of the pagans, converting only by the suasion of the Byzantines.† We must mention, moreover, as having to do with the history of Christianity among the Berbers of the West of Algeria, the existence of a native dynasty at the beginning of the 3rd cent., after the fall of the Vandals and before the Arab invasion. Some distance from Frenada the tombs of these princes are seen. Two erected in the name of Idris the Elder; Masama, and Massonas, who seems to have been the same man as the Damasia, 'rex gentium Mauro- rum ac Romanorum,' mentioned in a Latin inscription of Hajar el-Rûm (Lamortier, CIL VIII. 3853). It was a Christian Berber dynasty, as is shown by the emblems by which the remains of the princes have been excavated on the tomstones known by the name of jedar, and already mentioned by the Arab historians. These princes probably disappeared with Christianity itself, at the first victories of the Musalmâns.

In the other places, however, Christianity still survived for a long time: in Tripoli, among the Nefûsa, whose territory still contains a number of ruined churches; in Auräs, among the Beranes; and in the Rif, among the Ohmaras and the Sanhaja. We have seen that at the time of Idris, i.e. more than a century after the appearance of Islam in this place, there still existed in the Maghrib al-Âqsa, Christian tribes or parts of tribes. Wherever a treaty was concluded between the invaders and the native population, the latter were permitted to the Muselmân domination, were able to keep their religion, but isolation and internal division hastened its fall. In the 10th cent. there were still forty bishops; in 1054, under Leo IX., only five remained, and of these two were disputing the presidency. In 1076, when the Casarion Berbers submitted to the Byzantines, we are informed that there were only two left: Cyrilaeus, primate of Carthage, and Sercundus, in the see of Hippo. There was still a bishop at the Qala'a of the Beni-Hamâd; he had the Arabic title of Khâlid, and he certainly endowed with his flocks to Bougie under an-Asker.‡ A Christian community existed at the same time in Tlemens, but we do not know whether it was under the authority of a bishop. In 1068, al-Baktrî mentions a church in this town which was frequented by the remains of a Christian population surviving till that time. But everything was carried away by the current of the Almohads. No trace of Christianity remained, alongside of vague legends, except a few words, among others Tafsisk (the Passover-târâqa)—the name given to the fourth month of the year by the Tâtau, to Tafs, i.e. to Tafsak and Tîfûsik mean 'spring' among the Awelmidens, and this word has penetrated even to the Dyolofs of Senegal, Tabaski dyâ corresponding to December.

Chapter vi. MUHAMMADANISM.—I. History.—We have no exact information, nothing beyond the sometimes fanciful accounts of the conquest, about the way in which Islam spread in the North-West of Africa, but it is certain that it met with a lively resistance there. The first expeditions were only cavalry raids, with pillage as their main object, in which the Arabs avoided the strongholds where the natives and the descendants of the Roman colonists were taking refuge. The coast-line itself was respected, guarded as it was by the mountains and the points which remained in Greek possession. The foundation of Kairwan by 'Oqba gave a character of stability and permanence to the spread of Islamism, but in no decisive way. The Musalmâns were more than once driven right back to Tripoli; accordingly, it is not wrong to suppose that they had succeeded in making no lasting conquest of the country. But the Arab historians themselves declare that the Berbers recanted from Islamism twelve times; and it is probable that, if they had found an ally in a strong and well-organized tribe, they would have been able to establish themselves instead of


† Cf. Cohen, loc. cit.; which two expeditions were recently followed by the Italian expedition under downward the slope at the end of the 1st and during the 5th centuries, Paris, 1897; Diehl, L'Afrique byzantine, Paris, 1898, lib. iii. pt. ii. ch. 2, 'La question religieuse dans l'Afrique romaine depuis la fin du troisième siècle jusqu'à l'invasion des Vandales,' Paris, 1897.

‡ Cf. La Blanchère, op. cit. p. 781; Gesell, op. cit. ii. 418–427, and the bibliography there given.


‡ Cf. La Blanchère, op. cit. p. 76.
the Byzantine Empire or the kingdom of the Goths, would have triumphantly repelled the Musul-
mān invasions. But their divisions and isolation, especially after the conquest of Spain by Mūsā, ended in securing the victory for Islam—a victory which was not absolute and decisive until the 12th century.

But if, during the earlier periods at least, they were converted more by force than by persuasion, they did not fail to retain in their new religion the independence and party-spirit which they had already shown in Christianity, by adopting schisms rather than orthodoxy. The history of the Musulmān Berbers is simple to unfold. Originally they were Sunnites, but soon they enthusiastically welcomed the most levelling ideas of Islam, and declared themselves for the various Kharijite sects. On account of a similar feeling—hostility towards the distant Khalifate of Baghdad, or the nearer Khalifate of Cordova—they took the side of the Alids, the opposite extreme from Islam, and became the source from which Idris ibn 'Abd Allāh and later 'Ubayd Allāh derived recruits to found their dynasties. Idris founded his in the present-day Morocco—a dynasty hostile to the Umayyads of Cordova and the 'Abd al-Malik dynasty of 'Ubayd which was at Mahādir—a dynasty which drove out the last representatives of the Ābbāsid in Ifriqiyah, almost succumbed to an offensive re
taliation from the Kharijites, but was victorious at the last moment, and once more became mistress of North Africa and conquered Egypt. Then came a Sunnite reaction, taken part in by the Berbers of the South Sahara, the recently-converted Lemtuna—a tribe whose fortune was as brilliant as it was ephemeral. Other Berbers, the Mas
dīna of Atlas, whose chiefs were struggling against the gross anthropomorphism of the Almoravids (Lemtuna), founded a rival Khalifate to the Khalifate of Baghdad (the Khalifate of Cordova was no longer in existence, and that of Cairo was about to disappear); but, clinging to orthodoxy, they destroyed the last remains of Christianity and all that had survived of Alid Shi'ism, while dealing a blow at the same time at Kharijī, already weakened by its struggle with the Fīṣīmids—a blow from which it never recovered, so far, at least, as to be independent.

After this the North of Africa, i.e. the Berbers and Arabized Berbers, remained Sunnite except for some stubborn industrial communities which held out in Maqz, Jebel Nefuse, and Jerba.

The fame of Ibn Khaldūn the sketch just traced would be to give a complete history of North Africa, and would exceed the limits of this article. We shall therefore pass over the orthodox Islamism of the Berbers and refer only to that part of their Islamān which was characteristic, to the Kharijīte doctrines (which, however, they were not alone in spreading), and to the attempts to find a religion which should be to Islam what Islam was to Christianity and Judaism. It must be understood that, apart from these attempts, the Berber revolts, under the name of religious sects, were essentially social; they were not due to differences of opinion or interpretation concerning dogma. As a matter of fact, the Berbers had contradicted the theologians, but no great champions of orthodox doctrine. They only attached themselves to the strictest parts of the Qurān text; the Lemtuna even accepted to the letter all the figurative expressions and became anthropomorphists. Thus, out of the four orthodox sects of the Alid tradition, one only was restricted, the one which (after the Ḥanбалīte) was most slavish to the letter, viz., that of Mālik ibn Anas.

Hunted down in the East, after the fall of Nahrawan and the victories of Hajjaj, which had saved the Khalifate of Damascus and driven out the Iraq Arab Kharijīte, the latter, divided into two sects, Zubairī and the Aḥṣāfī, turned to the West. They found no difficulty in spreading their doctrine among the Berbers, the victims of the greedy Musulmān governors. In the interests of the public and also of their own private treasury, these inovorers did not exempt converts to Islam from the tax of a fifth—the tax paid by non-
Musulmāns. The Zubairīte, who took their name from 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubair of the Beni Tamīm, were further advanced in the doctrine of Kharijīsm: they refused the name of Musulmān to any man guilty of even a minor sin, and even made it lawful to kill him and seize his goods. This doctrine was developed particularly in the north of what is now called Morocco, above all, among the Matghara and the Mīknāa. Led by an old water-carrier of Tangiers, Masaṣa, who took the name of Khali, and more than 200,000 Berbers, with shaven heads and carrying the Qurān in front of them to fastened to their spear-points, annihilated the Khalīf's armies and took possession of Tangiers and Sāsī (A.H. 122—A.D. 739-40). This sovereign, a powerful dynasty which, thanks to the opposition of the Kharijites, was almost annihilated, was killed; his men, Hamid az-Zanātī in his place. In the following year, he destroyed two fresh Arab armies, and thus began a general alleviation in central Māghrib. The two victories, of el-Qarn and el-
Anam, checked, but did not destroy, the Zubairīte in the West; and their chief, Abu Qorrah, founded a State in the region of the Mūnyya. The Idrīsids destroyed this centre of strict Kharijī,

Another group was formed in Jebel Nefūsa, South-East of Tripoli, and it was not long in spreading as far as the cases of Wargla and Wad Righ. This group is better known, because it left historical and religious records. These Kharijītes were Abadītes, dating their rise from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abād who lived in the 1st cent. A.H. This sect showed itself a relatively small community of the Zubairītes, and its founder seems to have had relations with the Umayyad Khalīf 'Abd al-Malik. Its teaching was brought to the Māghrib by Salīma ibn Sa'd, and later by 'Umar ibn Inkatān, Isām ibn Darrār, Asīm as-Sadrāt, and others. The chief, of the tribes of Tripoli, Abu Khaltar, took the title of 'inām, and founded a centre, which was reduced by a province by his fall and death in A.H. 155 (A.D. 771), but which, nevertheless, has re

* Cf. the summary of these events in Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, Leyden, 1861, 1, 141-176, 220-229, 233-235, 256, 269; Proust, Les Berbères, I., Paris, 1876, 333-341; the sources given; for the East especially, Weigall, Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz, Berlin, 1902, pp. 47-185.

and the Wasilites, with doctrines tending to Mu'타zilism (liberalism). These dissensions greatly favoured the work of destruction accomplished by the last of the Fatimid caliphs. The chief de Masqueray, wearing the black mask, of the sect of the Alids—albeit, on the one hand, the Berbers adopted and intensified the levelling characteristic of Islam, and the Zubairites and Nukkarites succeeded the Circumcellionists among the Romans. On the other hand, some of them adopted an entirely opposite doctrine. These, instead of making the imam a chief freely elected by the community and, when necessary, deposed by it, saw in their imam not merely the descendant of the Prophet, but the incarnation of all the Prophets and Apostles. The Berbers were divided once more; this division persisted, and the power penetrated into the Maghrib, and was adopted twice as a protest against the orthodox Khalifate. The first time, it was a descendant of 'Ali, Idris ibn Abd Allah (who had escaped his family's disaster), that founded the dynasty of the Idrisids, and Fas afterwards became their capital. But it seems that the Shi'ite doctrine, professed at this time by the Berbers, meant simply adherence to this imamate. It even contributed to the consolidation of Islam by converting the few Christians still surviving, and by driving the Berbers out of the Maghrib. In later times, the Nukkarites adopted the Shi'ite doctrine. This dynasty is of no importance in the religious history of the country. We need only observe that it had a firm ally in one Berber tribe, namely, the tribe of the Auraba.†

(c) L'Isle de Levi.—The Ismailian doctrine, on the other hand, grew much more on Islam by reviving, under the mask of Shi'ism, the ancient doctrines of Persia—mixtures of Manicheism and Greek philosophy. It is hardly necessary to remark that the mass of the Berbers who rallied to this teaching always remained in the ranks lower than imitation. Those of the central Maghrib, in modern Great and Little Kabylia, became the chief adherents of the Fatimid prophet (d'Al) Abd Allah, and he recruited from them the army that was to destroy the remnants of the Abbasid dynasty in the Maghrib. The Zubairite-Khajjrite kingdom of Siylmasa, the Abadite-Khajjrite kingdom of Tahert, and the ghost of a State which had taken the place of the Idrisid dynasty in Fas. The fall of Tahert scattered the Khajjrites who were settled in it. Some of them retired within the Berber States, but others routed among their communities still exists; the others fled to Warqla, Sedrata, and the region of Wal Righ. Their life was peaceful, and their prosperity increased steadily until the ravages of Ibn Ghanya, and especially to the plague of 1349-50, which brought about the levelling influence of Musulman orthodoxy over N. Africa, came to drive them from their refuge. Determined to keep their faith, they proceeded to settle in a hilly stretch, called in Arabic chebka (‘thread’), where the Beni-Mzab-Wasilians nomads, whose name they took, used to wander about. Sheltered in this solitary place, where they made rich oases, the emigrants, like the Mormons on the shores of Great Salt Lake, prospered under the shadow of outside wars, and founded a community, a sort of ecclesiastical State. This community was rich by commerce and agriculture; but, as usual among the Berbers, it was torn by dissensions, not only between towns (there were seven towns), but even between districts of towns. It required the authority of France, in 1852, to restore order.

Another group of Nukkarites had remained independent in the Aurâs. Abâ Yazid, nick-named ‘the Man on the Ass,’ brought up by an old schoolmaster who was born in the Sudan and preached the Khajjrite doctrines in the Maghrib, and strictness, imperilled the existence of the Fatimid dynasty under its second prince. The dynasty was at this time reduced to within the walls of its capital, Mahdyâ. But a supreme effort saved the monarchy. The Berbers were divided once more. These religious history, accordingly, offers no characteristic interest. And it is the same with the dynasties which were established in the central Maghrib and Iriqqah before and after the great Mzab invasion (in the eleventh century of our era).

3. Present-day Islamism.—At the present day, orthodox Islamism reigns alone (associated, of course, with local superstitions) all over North Africa, except, as has already been said, in Mzab, where, and the Nefusa, where the modified Kharjism of the Abadites holds sway. It is especially in Mzab—the centre of theological studies,—that the traditions are kept up. The iżāżeb (‘doctors’) have retained an influence there which has a control over the conscience in spite of contact with Europeans. But Kharjism has lost its power of spreading, and more converts are made by the Musulmans.† We may form an idea of the doctrine at present in vogue from the summary given in an Aqīdah reduced to the Berber language, and then translated by a Nefusi, Abu Hafs Omar ibn Jania, who lived probably in the 11th cent. A.H.

Several commentaries† have been made on it, and it forms the basis of the Kitâbat al-Mulāmin of Shaikh 'Abd al-Azîz of the Beni-Sen, author of the similar Kitâbat of the same name. This is the latter that is now followed in Mzab and Jerba, while at Jebel Nefusa it is the treatise of Shaikh Abu Taiber Ismā’il al-Jaitâli, who died at Jerba A.H. 790 (A.D. 1349-50). From the point of view of dogma, the principles of Islam are concerned, this doctrine does not differ from orthodox. The only difference lies in some points of discipline: the wā'yati, the law imposing friendliness between Musulmans of the same group, and its opposite, the beràna (in Mzab, tabir) (punishment, ‘excommunication’); and, among the ‘ways’ of religion, besides the ‘manifest way’—that of the first Khalifs—the mention of the ‘forbidden way,’ the ‘way of sacrifice,’ and the ‘secret way,’ which, founded as they are on orthodox example, have justified the

‡ Cf. on the Idrisids, Fournel, Les Berbes, i, 390-461, 418 f., 417-420, 455-466, 473-477, 500-506, and the sources there cited, to which we may add Idris ben Abjad, Elidjar et benjikham, Fas, a.h. 1324 [A.D. 1906].
conduct of the Kharители ever since their appearance.

4. Attempts to form new religions.—(a) Ha-

Mim.—It remains now to speak of only two

attempts to form a religion that should be

called Islam. Berbers claim to be of Judaism and

Christianity. The first involved a claim to

take place among the Ghanı̄mara of the Rif, in

the neighborhood of Tetuán, in the territory of

Mejeksa among the Beni-Ujeftül. There is dis-

agreement concerning the exact date of the ap-

pearance of this religion; opinions range from

A.D. 300 to 325. In any case, it was at the begin-

ning of the fourth century A.H., the tenth century of

our era.

A certain Ha-Mim, son of Mann Alläh ('Grace of

God'), son of Hizir, son of Ann, son of U-Jef-tül,

son of U-Zerül, appeared in this tribe and

preached a new religion. He cut out three of the

canonical prayers, leaving only two—one for sun-

rise, the other for sunset. In offering these

prayers, his followers had to prostrate themselves

as Jewish or Sufi (son of Sama). One day, he

was seen by the sheikh of the tribe with a

hundred thieves, which he had captured. He

then proceeded to the mosque and placed himself

in the middle of the congregation. He then

said: 'There is no God but Al-lah; the Prophet

is the messenger of God.' Then, to the

greatly astonished onlookers, he continued:

'Very well; but I would not return when the

seventh king of his dynasty was on the throne.

The new religion remained in seclusion until the


*b* Sālih.—Another attempt was of more impor-

tance. In the West of the Maghrib, in Tunesia (the

modern Shawia, which includes Casablanca, Rabat, and

Chella), the Berghuata were settled. One of their chiefs,

Tarif, who seems to have been of Jewish origin (son of

Sama), and Bongr, son of Isaac, had, along with his people, embraced the

Zubairi-Kharjiti doctrines and struggled against

Maisara. After the fall of the Berbers, he retired to

Tenesma and lived there in independence. He

remained faithful to the doctrines of Islam; but his

son, distinguished for his learning and virtues,

who had also fought in the ranks of the Zubairites,

offered himself as Prophet and composed a Berber

Qurán. But he did not spread his doctrine; he

entertained faith in the holy city El-Fas; and, when

he declared that he would return when the

seventh king of his dynasty was on the throne.

The new religion remained in seclusion until the

regime of Yūsuf, who proclaimed it abroad and

compelled the people to adopt it whether they would

or not. The doctrine of Sālih, who presented

himself as the Sālih al-Mu'timin mentioned in the

Qurán (lxvi. 4), was as follows: to recognize the

Divine purpose of all the prophets and of Sālih

himself, to found a new creed, to make the

month of Ramadan, and also on a certain day of

the week and the same day the following weeks;

to pray five times a day and five times every night;

to celebrate the feast of sacrifices on the eleventh

of Muharram (and not on the twelfth of Dhu-

bi'ja).

The manner of performing ablutions was equally
definite. There was no invocation (salāt) or intro-
duction to prayers (ṣalāt). Sometimes prayers

were offered with prostration, sometimes without;

at a hundred head of beasts.

Some public prayer took place on Thursdays very

early in the morning. When making profession of

faith, they held their hands open and leanning on

the ground; they repeated half (!) of their

Qurán standing and the rest prostrate. At the

end of the prayer, they pronounced the

terminal formula in their own language: 'God is above us;

nothing that is on the earth or in the sky is hid

from Him.' Then they repeated in Berber:

Mokkav Iarak ('God is great'); or, as often,

Ibna (Ian) Iarak ('God is one') and Ur d'arn

Iarak ('There is none like God'). The acts

required by law were half of all their grain. As

in the religion of Ha-Mim, it was forbidden to eat

eggs, the head of any animal, or fish that had not

had their throats cut (or been gutted); all animals' heads,

and the eggs of all kinds of birds. Even to this
day, a tribe in the neighborhood of Tipasa and

the Taregs abstain from hens' eggs. He

composed a Qurán in Berber for the use of his

partisans; the Arab writers at least call it a

Qurán. Some fragments have been preserved.

One of these began with the formula of the unity

of God, then continued: 'Deliver me from my

sins, 0 Thou who hast let Thy gaze rest upon the

earth; withdraw me from my sins, as Thou didst

withdraw Jonah from the whale's belly and Moses

from the waters.' All prostrated themselves and

repeated: 'I believe in Tanguit (or Talyah, Tebah'it, aunt of Ha-Mim.' This Tanguit was a

sorcerer like Dajji, the sister of the new prophet.

Ha-Mim, nicknamed al-Mu'afā'ari ('the forger'),

married the widow of the son of Sama (296/315 according to some, 325 according to others).

He fell in a combat against the Masmuda in the
territory of Tangiers. His sect did not disappear with

him. Later on, a certain 'Asim ibn Jamil offered himself as a new prophet in this tribe.*

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* * *

* de Motyliniskis, Le nom berbère de Dieu chez les Abahdîtes, Algiers, 1903; B. Essov, Le nom berbère de Dieu chez les Aoufîtes, Susa, 1906.
of Fir'aun (Pharaoh, cf. Qur'an xliii. 45-55); of Qur'ān (Korah, Qur'an xxvii. 70); of Ḥāmid (Aman, cf. Qur'an xxviii.); of Yāsīyāt and Ma‘ājī (Gog and Magog, Qur'an xviii. 59, xxi. 96); of al-Mu‘āqalāt (the Call of Gold, cf. Qur’ān ii.); of Ḥārūt and Mārūt (cf. Qur’ān ii. 96); of ‘Ṭālīt (Saul, cf. Qur’ān ii. 245 f.); of Nūmāt; of the Cock, the Partridge, the Grasshopper, the Camel, the Eight-footed Serpent, and of the Marvels of the World which followed each other in the Maghrib. The fragment of the sūrah of Jōl has been preserved in an Arab translation: ‘In the name of God! He by whom God has sent his Book to men is also he by whom He has told forth His tidings. They say: Iblīs has knowledge despairing (of) forbidden knowledge. What can triumph over tongues in discourse? God alone can by His decree. By the tongue by which God has sent His truth to men, that truth is established. Look at Manet [in Berber, ʿumān Məmət, i.e. Muhammad]. During his life, and right on to his death, his followers conducted themselves aright. Then their people grew corrupt. He has lied who said that truth survives where there is no messenger from God.’

Iznacen offered a long and successful resistance to the various dynasties which followed each other in the Maghrib, and it was only to the Almohads that their sect finally succumbed.

Must we consider as the provenance of one of these sects or of a sect analogous to them the beliefs of the Zekkara, who live in Morocco not far from the Algerian frontier, between the Beni Iznacen, the Beni Bū Zeggā, and the Beni Ya‘lā? We have not only been informed (though it would be wise to check the information) of their absolute atonement for the Muslims, but that they have even harked back at the various objects of a complete indifference to every kind of belief. Some have even gone the length of regarding them as Positivists, although they claim to believe in the doctrine of the celebrated marabout buried at Milhana, Sidi Ahmad ibn Yūsuf. The most daring systems have found acceptance; even Druses have been seen there.

Before risking any opinion on this question, we should wait until a seriously conducted inquiry is made. When this has been done, it will probably be found that the popularity of these sects, and the character of their isolation, has remained in the state in which the greater part of North Africa was during the anarchy of the 15th and 16th centuries, when the Musulmān missionaries succeeded in resuscitating Islamism from a vague shadowy memory.

**Literature.**—The literature has been given fully throughout the article. In addition to the works there mentioned, the following may also be consulted:—H. Lecerf, L'AFRIQUE CHRETIENNE, 2 vols., Paris, 1894, vol. i., for paganism, and passion for Christianity; M. Slouschz, Histoire-phénomènes et idées-berbères, Paris, 1896.

**BEREANS.**—The Bereans were a religious sect, originating in Edinburgh in the year 1773, who took their name from the Bereans mentioned in Ac 17:10. 11 *("who received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so."

1. Life of founder.—John Barclay, their founder, was the son of a farmer, Ludovic Barclay, in the parish of Muthill. Early designed by his father for the Church, he received a good education, and was sent to the University of Edinburgh, where his theological course he undertook under the influence of Dr. Archibald Campbell, professor of Biblical History, author of an Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue, and The Necessity of Revolution. Campbell's views attracted considerable attention in his time, and were deemed sufficiently heretical to bring him to the bar of the General Assembly, though the office he held was dismissed. The first of four charges was that he held that 'man was unable by the use of his rational powers to find out the being of a God.' This thesis Barclay was afterwards to take up and amplify.

Meantime Barclay was licensed on 27th September 1759 by the Presbytery of Auchterarder, and shortly afterwards was appointed assistant to the Rev. James Jolison of Errol. From the first he attracted attention by his preaching. He was a man of strong convictions, of great fervency of utterance, with a command of rhetorical language which readily passed into violent invective against those who opposed what he conceived to be the truth. Jolison belonged to the Evangelical party in the Church. He was a "Marrow man," with clear views of his own, and it is not surprising to find that after some controversial passages, culminating in a statement from the pulpit of their respective positions, he and Barclay were obliged to part. In 1763, Barclay went to Fettercairn to be assistant to the Rev. Anthony Dow, whose failing health he prevented from being fulfilled. When Barclay's ministrations were warmly received by the people. He preached to crowded congregations, many flocking from the surrounding parishes attracted by his eloquence. He was most assiduous in his visitation and catechising, and exercised a strong moral influence over the people. Barclay had a considerable gift of verse, and his productions found a place into the region of poetry. Many of his verses were afterwards collected into a hymnary which was used in his own church.

In 1766, Barclay came into collision with the Presbytery through the publication of a book entitled Refusel Evermore, or Christ All in All. The book was condemned as heretical, and Barclay received a formal censure. A list of his heresies was also drawn up and read from the pulpit of Fettercairn Church. This, however, only increased his popularity, and through the connexion with the parish ceased, he asked for the usual Presbyterial certificate, which was refused, nominally on the ground that he was obstructing the peaceable settlement of the presentee. Barclay appealed from this refusal to Synod and Assembly, but the appeal was dismissed.

On the occurrence of the vacancy at Fettercairn a petition was sent to the Crown (in whose gift the patronage lay) by the whole body of the parishioners, asking for the appointment of Barclay as their minister. The petition was refused, and the Rev. Robert Foote was presented to the living, though only three communicants could be found to sign the call. An appeal to Synod and Assembly met the usual fate. Thereupon the whole body of the congregation, to the number of over a thousand, signed and petitioned the Synod of Edinburgh, though his adherents there were very few (the call contains sixty signatures), and confi...
do very little for him. It is a characteristic of Scottish dissent which is frequently overlooked, that a peculiar High Church tradition has invariably run through it. The call of the people, while indispensable to a valid ministry, has never been deemed sufficient. The minister must be ordained by his brethren, the ministry, who alone can judge of his qualification, and through whom alone can come the necessary authority to administer the ordinances of religion and to dispense the sacraments. Barclay's congregation could not find any presbytery in Scotland that would furnish him with a subscription to be ordained by the ministry for the work in which he had been sent to England with a general letter addressed 'to whatever Presbytery or class of dissenting Brethren this shall be presented.' Armed with this epistle and accompanied by two commissioners from his own congregation, Barclay proceeded to Newcastie, where he arrived on the 22th October 1773. The certificate of ordination is signed by John Blyth, moderator, minister at Thirsley; Robert Green, clerk; and three others. His return to Edinburgh the new Church was content to receive the new minister called from 'those noble Bereans who professed to search the Scriptures for the whole counsel of God, and to have a conversation becoming the gospel of Christ.' The church at Petercarm was, meantime, found a minister in Mr. James Maclare; and another congregation, which had been formed at Cruikshank, and held its proximity to Muthill, had been touched by Barclay's influence.

The internal economy of the Church in Edinburgh was troubled by these changes. The congregation was divided, The congregation of the Church was divided, and Barclay had never more than £18 a year for his services. He was more concerned, however, about the publication of his views than about the pecuniary means of his support, and of his unwillingness of the outgoing congregations of Petercarm and Crieff to subscribe to a complete edition of his works was the occasion of much anxiety of heart. Amongst all the managers and overseers of the Church in Edinburgh, was sent to those who held the services, in the utmost determent it was to the Berean cause, which is the only Christian cause on the face of the earth, that at a time when the Truth of God was being hopelessly perverted, its cause should fail through their negligence to purchase a book containing 'an express and undeniable confutation of all the heresies of men in the power of the devil.' The arguments used by some of Barclay's followers for giving him no encouragement to publish was an inference from his own central thesis. 'Since we know nothing of any other things which are necessary to salvation, but things which are for the purpose of salvation, why should we be urged, what is the use of publishing theological treatises?' In 1773, when theSFconservative influence of his works was in full operation, there appeared The Psalms, paraphrased according to the New Testament Interpretation, prefaced by a long dissertation in which the author argues that 'Theology is not a science which is susceptible of very much a reproduction and expansion of his earlier work, Refute Eternore. His previous productions had been Without Facts, without God, without Reason an appeal to God in the New Testament, The Truth of the Christian Existence, and a Tractate on the Eternal Generation of the Son, called forth by a phase of the Gissite controversy in 1769, On the Assurance of Faith, On the Observation of the Lord's Supper, and A Letter on Prayer, in 1774. In 1778 these were re-published along with a Treatise on the Sin against the Holy Ghost. In 1783 appeared The Epistle to the Hebrews paraphrased, and later, A Close Examination into the Truth of several received Publications. A new edition of parts of his works was published in 1825, with funds left for the purpose by Mr. James Fettes, for many years a deacon of the Berean Church in Glasgow.

Barclay had the zeal of an apostle. Towards the close of 1776 he went to London on the invitation of some friends who had read his books and sympathized with his views. He meant to stay only a few weeks, but he was so warmly received and attracted such crowds of admiring heeres that he was forced to remain in order to consolidate the movement. Meanwhile he was sorely distressed by the importunities of the little flock in Edinburgh, which rendered his personal influence for the truth so slight together. He sent, as his substitute, William Nelson, a surgeon, who, before his departure, was ordained to the ministry. Nelson was a man of some gifts. He had been educated for the Church of England, but had embraced the doctrines of Whitefield, and had joined the Calvinistic Methodists. While in England, Barclay visited Bristol, where a Berean Church was founded. There is an interesting passage in the Autobiography of Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh which shows conclusively that Barclay made a considerable impression in London. Writing of the year 1785, he says (p. 219):

Upon the submission of this little congregation we were met by such an immense crowd thronging at the gate of the chapel that we could not make an escape without a struggle; and when I enquired what was the matter, I was answered by one of the female sex which seems to predominate in this new assemblage, 'The Bereans, if you please.' The Rev. Dr. Horsely, a few days before, had preached there (at the Bereans, to me, of which I had not heard before. He said it had lately sprung up in the west of Scotland, and he seemed to speak of it as an interesting event and likely to make a figure in the Christian Church. I confess I was rather ashamed to be found ignorant of an event occurring at my own door which seemed to him so important.

The fact that an intellect so acute as that of Horsely, the great champion of orthodoxy against Socinianism, saw possibilities in Barclay's views is sufficient evidence that they were of more worth than they have since received.

Barclay returned to Edinburgh in the fall of 1778, leaving the church there in charge of two ordained presbyters, James Donaldson and Samuel Bishop. He resumed his ministry in Edinburgh, and Nelson was sent throughout the provinces to strengthen the Berean churches that had sprung up in various places. There is a record of congregations in Glasgow, Crieff, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Brechin, and Petercarm. Barclay himself took a keen interest in all these churches. His means were narrow. His stipend from his own church was trifling, and, though he had a small income from property belonging to his first wife, it was spent mainly in publishing his books. His apostolic journeys, therefore, were on foot, and were confined to Scotland—which was one reason why the case in England languished. His exertions gradually impaired his health. He died suddenly, while on his way to church, in a friend's house, on 29th July 1798, and was buried in Calton cemetery, where a monument is erected to his memory. His work was carried on in Edinburgh by Donaldson, one of the London pastors, who had some time previously been transferred to the pastorate at Dundee. Under his charge the church for twenty-five years met with a fair measure of success, but after his death it was split up by internal dissensions and controversies which were one of the causes of its ruin. The Berean churches throughout the country in course of time lost their identity and were merged in the Congregationalists.

2. Doctrine.—John Barclay's theological position is extremely interesting, and ought not to be passed over with the scorn customary with which it has hitherto been treated. In this obscure follower of a dead sect we see a man struggling with a theological environment that was inadequate to contain his thought, and endeavoring to express in the theological terms of his day ideas that are of great importance, and on which we have created our own terminology. His leading tenet is that we derive all our knowledge of God from direct revelation—the revelation given us in God's word. Now this is just the position of Ritschel, and Barclay reached it by a method of thought similar to that of the German theologian. Ritschel had Kant to fall back upon in order to find a metaphysical sanction for his system. John Barclay had to create his own metaphysics on the basis of the principles of the London team, led by Dr. Archibald Campbell. His central thesis he states thus: 'We do not come to the knowledge of God by any fore-going train of reasonings to introduce it, but merely by a sovereign act of God's own power, revealing Himself in our hearts.' In short, reason is totally inadequate to reach the idea of God.
Barclay thus consciously breaks with the Scholastic distinction, held in his day by every section of the Christian Church, between Natural and Revealed Religion. His Scholastic position is that our belief in God is an infrence crowning a logical process. Reason convinces us of the existence of God, but all that reason can tell us of God is the bare fact of His existence. We need revelation to supplement reason, to unveil God's nature, to explain His attributes, and to teach us His relation to man. To believe otherwise is to land ourselves in a logical dilemma. To say that we believe in God because we believe the revelation of Himself He has given us in Scripture, and that we believe the Scripture revelation to be true because it comes from God, is simply reasoning in a vicious circle. We must have an antecedent belief in God before revelation becomes even a rational conception. Now John Barclay in Scotland saw as clearly as Kant did in Germany, and rather before him than after, that there is a deeper fallacy than appears underlying this method. In the first place, suppose reason could prove the bare existence of God, all that reason gives us is a mere abstraction—a mere *capi\'t morta\'n*.

We cannot know the existence of God through ordinary knowledge; we can know substance apart from its qualities. The variety of ethical ideas concerning God shows that there is no unaniimity regarding any one of His attributes, or even regarding the moral or immoral consistency of His character. It was Homer and the pagan demiurg of antiquity who taught that the attributes of God can be known to us only through revelation. If this be so, then the God of Nature, a Being without attributes, is an impossible conception.

(1) What of the theistic arguments themselves? Barclay criticizes them with an acumen worthy of Kant. He takes up the *a priori* proof of Dr. Samuel Clarke, which then held the field, stating it thus: 'No being can produce another being or thing before itself exists. But the world exists, therefore the world behoved to be produced by some other being which must have existed before the world, and what can that being which must have existed before the world in order to produce it be but God?' Barclay points out that the original reasoning of Dr. Clarke is not self-contents. For, if this is not reasoning, and the result of it is not God. And the same holds true of the argument from design: 'If you were to see a beautiful, convenient, and well-contrived house, would you not conjecture that there behoved to be some artist for the builder, and that he were eminent in his way too; you would not imagine that it came by chance.' Again, Barclay with rare acumen and a truly modern ring says: 'There is no argument here. We know men, and we know houses are their works, from experience and observation; but we have no access for experience or observation in the framing of worlds.' Moreover, he goes on to say, we cannot tell the character of the workman directly from his works, which may be fashioned for either a good or an evil purpose. It is in our antecedent knowledge of that character that determines the judgment we form of his works.

No doubt there is much in this reasoning that reminds us of Hume, viz., that we cannot carry our ideas of causation beyond the field of experience and observation, that we cannot argue from the effects to the causes, that is, that metaphysics is a fact as a Divine revelation cannot be reached by argument or established by human testimony. It was rather from Dr. Archibald Campbell that Barclay was impressed with this, and yet the two men were of essentially different natures, and even those of their central tenets were by no means identical. Campbell's polemic is directed against the Deists, and all he seeks to prove is that as a matter of fact and history men never have arrived at a true conception of God by means of reason or the light of nature. He does not assert that reason is incapable of discovering God, but only that reason never has discovered God, and well may never be able to do so. Therefore, if knowledge of the being of God is not obtained by reason, it may be obtained by revelation. And revelation, therefore, may be the logical or rational of revelation, though it has never been an act, an antecedent. Barclay's intellect, on the contrary, is sensitive to the whole of reasoning, and in no way towards an apologeticist or criticism of the reasoning faculty. There is something in its very nature that prevents reason from grasping the transcendental.

(2) But what is revealed truth, and on what testimony is it to be received? To this the answer is that the objective content of revelation is to be found in the Bible, and the Bible is to be received on the testimony of the Holy Ghost. 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. iv. 6). 'The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, to shew to the nakedness of the iniquity of the flesh' (1 Pet. iv. 4). We believe, therefore, the reason of the Bible is the soul to see God in the Bible is a direct act of His grace, administered by the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Ghost gives only the illumination. The knowledge of God comes from without. It is seen in the face of Jesus Christ, of whom the whole Scripture testifies. This assent to the truth of the revelation of God given in Scripture is 'faith.' Faith is not a subjective emotion or personal appropriation of Christ. It is an intellectual act. It is belief in the Bible in its totality as the word of God, on the testimony of the Holy Ghost, i.e., through the light thrown upon it by the Holy Ghost illumining the soul of the believer, 'without any kind of collateral support, or any other evidence or testimony whatever.' There is no mysteries meaning in the theological term 'belief.' 'Belief is our holding of a thing for truth which is told us by another person, merely on account of that person's credibility or authority.' We believe earthly things on human testimony, heavenly things on Divine. Barclay is here doing what all the great theologians have done, but what the moderns have done with his own experience. He saw that all the arguments for the being of God were untenable and inconclusive. And yet he knew that this fact, instead of shaking his faith, seemed only to confirm it. His faith, therefore, came from a deeper source than logical reasoning, or the influence of the Holy Ghost in the illumination of the Holy Ghost. And if he held by the intellectual nature of faith, and made it grasp an objective reality outside of the soul itself, it was because he also saw the extreme danger of allowing his faith to be merged into a mere subjective emotion which might lure him into all the vagaries of mysticism. He refused to separate between the practical and the pure reason, as Kant did. He held rather, with the later idealists, that the postulates of experience were as much intellectually apprehended and held as genuine an objective validity as the inferences of syllogistic reasoning.

(3) And this conception of the nature of faith led to the distinctive tenet which brought him into most direct collision with the theologians and all the intellectual theologians. 'It is to the nature of faith, which, though it was never expounded by him, that he was continually referring. He would have argued, if he lived at the time of St. Thomas Aquinas and had heard the distinction between the philosophical and the theological, that the assent of faith is of a nature similar to that of Hume, viz., that we cannot carry our ideas of causation beyond the field of experience and observation, that we cannot argue from the effects to the causes, that is, that metaphysics is a fact as a Divine revelation cannot be reached by argument or established by human testimony. It was rather from Dr. Archibald Campbell that Barclay was impressed with this, and yet the two men were of essentially different natures, and even those of their central tenets were by no means identical. Campbell's polemic is directed against the Deists, and all he seeks to prove is that as a matter of fact and history men never have arrived at a true conception of God by means of reason or the light of nature. He does not assert that reason is incapable of discovering God, but only that reason never has discovered God, and well may never be able to do so. Therefore, if knowledge of the being of God is not obtained by reason, it may be obtained by revelation. And revelation, therefore, may be the logical or rational of revelation, though it has never been an act, an antecedent. Barclay's intellect, on the contrary, is sensitive to the whole of reasoning, and in no way towards an apologeticist or criticism of the reasoning faculty. There is something in its very nature that prevents reason from grasping the transcendental.

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treme Calvinists in theory, but moralists in their practical teaching. The distinctive doctrines of Christianity formed simply the background of their prelections, and had little vital relation with the ethical life. The 'Evangelicals,' again, were moderate in their Calvinism, insisting, in common with the universality of Christ's atonement, but they made faith a mystic quality which was inquired with the very texture of their religious practice. The atonement was sufficient for the whole race of humanity, but the elect alone were saved; for the atonement meant simply a free offer of the gospel, which became efficacious in the soul of the believer only by an 'appropriating act' of which they could give no clear account. When a sinner became awakened to a consciousness of sin, his great endeavour was to obtain 'an interest in Christ.' This he reached through a soul-struggle in which he passed from despair, through doubts and fears and fervent prayers, to a modified assurance which was chequered, even in the case of the greatest saint, with strange misgivings lost after all he was not in a sense any argument against my simplest as whether he was in a state of grace was his good works; for good works, though powerless to secure salvation, yet necessarily flowed from the 'appropriation' of Christ.

And the antithesis of both of these parties with a vehemence rendered impressive by his large command of the language of invective. The Moderates, in their eloquent litanies of the beauty of virtue, had no need of faith. But the Evangelicals were even worse, for they made God a liar and blasphemed against the Holy Ghost. To believe was to be saved, and belief meant simply faith in the Scriptural record. This faith was, indeed, a gift of God. It was the illumination of the Holy Ghost making the record luminous, and confirming it in the heart as in the understanding and conscience. It came unbidden, and was not to be prayed for, nay, could not be prayed for; for only the prayer of faith was efficacious, and without faith the sinner knew neither what to pray for nor to whom to address his prayer. Barclay repudiated the Mennonite view in which he relied on the religion of doubts and fears and misgivings as the devil. For a believer to doubt of his own salvation was simply to doubt the veracity of the Holy Ghost, and proved that he was no believer. 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born again of the Father of Light: that he is spiritually alive, and life is its own evidence. 'He that believeth hath the witness in itself, as he hath consciousness in himself of life and being, while he is alive and awake.' And again, 'Shall I then doubt or deny that I certainly see and clearly distinguish colours and objects with my own eyes, because another man is unhappy enough to be blind, or must needs be so perverse as to shut his eyes and then affirm that he cannot see the objects which I see and confess I do see? Is his blindness or perverseness so great as to render it impossible for me to enjoy my pleasure therein? I would indeed gladly open the windows of his chamber to let in light. I would set before him all the agreeable objects I myself perceive; but alas! I cannot open the eyes of the blind or convert the perverse.'

It is plain that Barclay is not taking the word 'belief' in a mere conventional sense. It is not the general belief we give to matters we have never thought over, but accept simply as part of the system, without the least concern for personal conviction of a truth that enforces a rule of conduct, such as our belief in causation or the uniformity of natural law. And this belief comes only through the supernatural action of the Holy Ghost. That different feeling, that sense of the Evangelicals in becoming an intellectual act than a subjective emotion; for the 'appropriation' of Christ, which to them alone secures salvation, is essentially subjective in its nature. The difference between the two parties is a very real one, and Barclay is much nearer the modern standpoint than they were. In fact, Barclay is here, with Ritschl, making a 'value judgment,' Jesus Christ has to him the reality of God, and natural piety this is salvation. It is to be within the Kingdom. Barclay realizes it, not through any historical evidence as to the truth of the record, nor through any metaphysical reasoning as to the personality of the Son, but because he looks to him when he accepts it, because the Holy Ghost testifies to his soul and conscience that the fact is so. There is here no room for doubt. He is simply treading the solid rock of experience. He is trusting his own consciousness, and he cannot do otherwise. His assurance is perfect, and it is synonymous with his faith.

(4) And from this position resulted certain other tenets that ran counter to the religious ideas of his age. The sin of unbelief was the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, the impossibility given either under the old dispensation or under the new. For to doubt the testimony of the Holy Ghost, i.e. to obscure the inner illumination, was to be in a state of perdition. So long as that state lasted salvation was impossible. It was impossible. This was evidently the meaning of his teaching, though Barclay takes the old theological words in the old theological sense. Further, it was impossible for a sinner to pray for his own conversion. Barclay knew that for him the light was shining while others were in darkness. He could account for the fact only on the old lines of predestination. The sinner could but wait and be passive till God of His free grace opened his eyes. Prayer was one of the privileges of the believer, who was to pray for greater spiritual grace, and when he obtained it he was to present the recorded account of God's kingdom and kingdom was salvation was but the first step in his spiritual progress. Moreover, the Lord's Supper was not a renewal of the covenant with God—a solemn, mystic rite to be approached with fear and trembling, because Christ was present at a Communion Table as He was present nowhere else. Believers were always to be holy, and required no more special preparation to commemorate the death of Christ at a Communion Table than to commemorate His resurrection on the Lord's Day. In this he could that the idea of covenant-renewal at the Lord's Table, with the mystic sense of a Real Presence hovering around it, led logically to the Romish doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass. His views were those associated with the name of Zwingli.

(5) Barclay's conception of Scripture, in which to his opponents he seemed merely to be setting himself up as the only infallible interpreter of Holy Writ, must be taken in the light of his whole system, and will be found to be an inevitable deduction from his central tenet. To Barclay the testimony of the Holy Ghost is to Jesus Christ as the only Revealer of God. 'God . . . hath shined in the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Co 4). But the knowledge of God through Jesus Christ came to him from the word of God. And the word of God was the Holy Scripture. Here, again, the position is exactly like that of Ritschl, but there is this difference: Ritschl approaches a Bible that has been revised, dissected, and clarified. He can no longer maintain the old theory of inspiration, but he is satisfied that the spiritual process which Scripture records remains unimpaired. That process can be read and understood only through the structure of the Bible, a knowledge of which is life eternal. Barclay, from the circumstances of his time, had
to accept the Bible uncritically. The Bible was a book elec­
ted which God to inspire men, who wrote exactly what God told them, whether they understood it or not. This was the general idea of the age, and Barclay differs from his contemporaries only in holding it more clearly and consistently than they did. The subject of the Bible is Jesus Christ, and how he expressed himself in writing is not to be inter­preted by isolated passages from the Psalms, and it was to the Psalms that Barclay specially devoted his remarkable powers of exegesis. It seemed to him that the Evangelists regarded the Psalms as simply prophetic biographies of the coming Messiah, and this idea fell in exactly with his own. His version of the Psalms is sometimes too in­
tricate, but the pure love which animates it is beautifully expres­sive of the emotions of the penman. If they did, it is clear that their religion must have been dangerously similar to that religion of doubts and fears which he repudiates. They are the expres­sions about the Messiah after he was crucified. He is not the God of the world; he is not the great lover of all people, but he is the God of the world; he is to be the God of the world, and he is to be the God of the world;

BERENGAR

LITERATURE.—The account of Barclay's life has been taken from the records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He has left to his case having been made by the Rev. J. Brown of Hervi, presbyterian clerk, and also from the Memorials of the Eiren­

ANN, by D. Thom of Liverpool in 1830. See also Archibald

BERENGAR.—Berengar (Bérenger) was born at Tours about 1000 A.D. He was educated at Chartres, and was a pupil of Fulbert, the Bishop of Chartres. In 1031 he became Director of the Cathed­

CAMPBELL, Necrology of Reformation, 1729; Autobiography of Dr. John Scott of Oldbury, 1831; Cameron, History of Peter­

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A. MILLER.
were passed on the teaching of Berengar at Councils held at Poitiers in 1075, and at Saint Maixent in 1076. In 1078 a Council was held at Rome under Pope Gregory VII., whose policy both before and after he became Pope was aimed at protecting Berengar by endeavouring to find a furtive words, in accordance with the ordinary belief, which he could accept. At this Council Berengar assented to a statement of much more general character than that which had been required at Rome in 1059. It was in these terms:

"I, Berengar, believe with my heart and confess with my mouth that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are the body and blood of Christ; that the consecration of the bread, which is the body of Christ, in accordance with the Holy Mass, is the real body which flows from the side of Christ."  

In 1079 another Council was held at Rome, and at this Berengar, after some struggles, subscribed a statement which was more explicit than that of the previous year, but without the special kind of language which had marked the declaration of 1059. This statement was as follows:

"I, Berengar, believe with my heart and confess with my mouth that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are the body and blood of Christ. The consecration of the bread, which is the body of Christ, in accordance with the Holy Mass, is the real body which flows from the side of Christ, out, not by way of sign and sacramental power, but in particularity of nature and reality of substance."  

In 1080 a Council was held at Bordeaux, at which Berengar made a statement as to his belief, which appears to have been accepted by the Council as satisfactory. He died in 1088 at St. Cosme, an island in the Loire near Tours.

There is considerable difficulty in forming a judgment upon the opinions of Berengar really were. There is no doubt of his vacillations under persecution; and it is probable that his mind changed to some extent from time to time. Of contemporary authorities who wrote against him, Lanfranc and Durand of Troarn say that he regarded the consecrated elements as being merely figures of the body and blood of Christ; while Witumund of Aversa records a view that he held an opinion that the body and blood of Christ are united with the elements so that, without the breaking of the bread and the cup of wine, the body and blood are present in the consecrated sacrament. In his own treatise, On the Holy Supper, it is quite clear that he denies any destruction or material change or conversion of the bread and wine, and any idea of the elements being changed into the body of Christ; but as to the further question whether he meant that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ in actual spiritual reality or that they are so only figuratively or virtually, there are passages which tell in both ways.

It is not impossible that this difficulty in interpreting his language reflects some degree of uncertainty in his own mind; and such uncertainty may afford part of the explanation of his failure to meet opposition and persecution in any steadfast and consistent way. There appear to have been two schools among his followers, one of which maintained that the consecrated elements are merely figures of the body and blood of Christ, while the other asserted a presence of the body and blood under the consecration of the bread and wine, without any change in the bread and wine themselves.

BERIYA.—See Bepaaya.

BERKLEY.—

1. Life.—George Berkeley, bishop and philosopher, was born on 12th March 1685 at Dysert in the county of Kilkenny, Ireland. At the age of 11 he was sent to Kilkenny school, and four years later, in 1700, left for Trinity College, Dublin, where in the various capacities of undergraduate, graduate, fellow, he was meant to be educated. He left Trinity College, on the half of this residence at Trinity College is, so far as his philosophy is concerned, the most important period of his life. For then he thought out his leading philosophical works and published his chief philosophical works. His later life did not lack opportunities apparently no less favourable to philosophical reflection. He was interested by that time been largely diverted to practical work, and, even as regards philosophy itself, his final philosophical position have yielded to the receptive mood of the meditative scholar.

The next period of Berkeley's life is divided between foreign travel and residence in England; in London, where he seems to have lived, interested in mathematics and philosophy, and, more and more, in natural science, as a discipline with which, and greatly esteemed by, the cultured society of the time, including literary men such as Steele, Addison, Swift, and Pope. At the end of 1715 he went abroad, and spent some years in France, in the service of the embassador brilliant but eccentric Lord Peterborough, and spent nearly a year in travel in Italy. In 1718, he went to Sicily, and spent some years there, regarding what little is known, we find him again in Italy, this time as travelling tutor; and of this tour, prolonged over some four years, we have to-day preserved a record of his travels. In the two years, regarding what little is known, we find him again in Italy, this time as travelling tutor; and of this tour, prolonged over some four years, we have to-day preserved a record of his travels. In the two years, regarding what little is known, we find him again in Italy, this time as travelling tutor; and of this tour, prolonged over some four years, we have to-day preserved a record of his travels. In the two years, regarding what little is known, we find him again in Italy, this time as travelling tutor; and of this tour, prolonged over some four years, we have to-day preserved a record of his travels.

The period of his life which begins with his return to London, at the end of 1720, is marked out by the conception, attempted implementation, and development of the theory of ideas for founding a college in Bermuda. In 1724 he was made Dean of Derry, by the previous year, he had lived in a totally unexpected legacy from a lady to whom, as one of his letters tells us, he was a perfect stranger—Hester Vanhomrigh, better known in connexion with the life of his friend Swift. This improvement in his fortunes enabled Berkeley to devote himself seriously to the realization of his Bermuda scheme. At about the same time, however, Berkeley is said to have sold his horse, the inevitable horse of the eighteenth century, his faithful steed, for a gold ring. It is not impossible that this difficulty in interpreting his language reflects some degree of uncertainty in his own mind; and such uncertainty may afford part of the explanation of his failure to meet opposition and persecution in any steadfast and consistent way. There appear to have been two schools among his followers, one of which maintained that the consecrated elements are merely figures of the body and blood of Christ, while the other asserted a presence of the body and blood under the consecration of the bread and wine, without any change in the bread and wine themselves.

2. Works.—As was said above, Berkeley's most important philosophical works were written in early life. The works referred to are the Essay towards a new Theory of Vision (1709), Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge (1711), and Three Dialogues between Hylas and Phantastes (1712). The last two works were published posthumously. To this period belongs also a discourse on Passive Obedience (1712), which is important as containing a brief statement of his views on the fundamental principles of ethical and political obligation. The concept of some form of duty already defined, according to Berkeley, by universal and immutable laws of nature, by which he means rules of action whose constant observance is plainly seen to be necessary to the general well-being of mankind. The sanction of duty lies in the government of the world as a whole. The exercise of duty in that reasonable regard for our eternal happiness, which should induce us to obey laws of nature so
sanctioned. In the discours Berkeley is more particularly concerned to show (against, e.g., Locke) that unlimited passive obedience to the civil ruler is a law of nature.

Upon this early period of productive activity a long interval of almost twenty years ensued, broken only by the publication in 1721 of a Latin treatise, de Motu, in which motion and causation are discussed. His philanthropic impulse, due to fruitful Continental travel, London society, and his Bermuda project occupied his interests, and, when at length the quieter years of waiting at Rhode Island enabled him to produce a considerable work, he came before the world as a philosopher rather than as an apostle of morality and Christian religion. Aleiphron, or the Minute Philosopher (1729), the longest of Berkeley's writings, consists of a series of seven dialogues directed 'against those who are called Free-Thinkers. Under the somewhat vague designation of 'Free-Thinking,' Berkeley includes practically any tendency of thought which he thinks hostile to the best interests of morality and Christian religion. And the rather undiscriminating zeal which leads him, not merely to condemn the levity of Mandeville, but to assail with somewhat journalistic vehemence the many sections of Shaftesbury, must be allowed to deserve the censure of being 'not without a tincture of clerical party spirit."

The earlier dialogues are admirable examples of that literary form, and are extremely well managed for Berkeley's purpose. Two types of free-thinker are depicted for us, Aleiphron, as confident in his philosophical pretensions as he is devoid of real thoroughness, is capable of taking part in reasonable discussion, but can never anticipate the effects of his own absurdities, and is therefore helplessly to be criticized. His constant recourse to new arguments renders only the more apparent his superficiality of mind. In Lykesic, on the other hand, free-thinking means little more than an absence of moral principle. He is ready to spout the most extravagant views, but will not take the trouble to think them through. It is a principle quite unaffected by criticisms which he cannot answer. The later dialogues, in which Berkeley defends Christianity with the weapons of a new antiquated apologists, are undeniably tedious. Considerations of literary art are too often forgotten, and the natural interchange of argument and answer gives place to instruction and learned disquisition.

In 1733 Berkeley was induced by the misconceptions of an anonymous critic to return, with a tract on The Theory of Vision or Visual Language, Vindicated and Explained, to the argument of his chief antagonist, which he had anticipated in the apologetic purposes in Aleiphron. The next two years saw him involved in a mathematical controversy provoked by his attempt to show that mathematicians have no right to enlarge upon the obscurity and absurdity of the doctrine of Reid, because their own science is in such respects by no means beyond reproach. Berkeley's next published work, The Querist, which appeared in three parts (1735–1737), consists of a long series of brief and pointed questions, designed to call his fellow-countrymen's attention to the social and economic condition of Ireland and the means of improving that condition. The queries give ample evidence, not merely of the very genuine and practical character of Berkeley's philanthropy and patriotism, but of his deep interest in the social and economic conditions, and of the very remarkable grasp of economic truth as to the true sources of real wealth, as to money, credit, and banking, and as to the interaction of moral and economic causes. Finally, in 1744 there appeared an extraordinary work entitled The Analyst, the first authentic promulgation of the Virtues of Tum-Water, better known by the title of Siris, which was prefixed to the second edition. The work was produced primarily to communicate to the world Berkeley's own conviction and experience of the medicinal value of tum-water. But the chain of reflections which is hung on this medical peg proceeds to connect

"..."
example of generalized thinking makes this point perfectly clear:

'Suppose a geometer is demonstrating the method of cutting a line in two equal parts. He draws a straight black line of an inch in length; this, which in itself is a particular line, is nevertheless with regard to its signification general, since if it is there used, it represents all particular lines whatsoever; so that what is demonstrated of it is demonstrated of all lines, or, in other words, of a line in general' (Intro. to Principles).

That is to say, a percei or image may in itself be quite definite and particular, and yet be the vehicle of a general meaning. Berkeley's contention, then, could be expressed by saying that we must distinguish sharply between an image and a meaning, and must place true generality not in images but in meanings. (The recognition by modern psychology of the generic image does not affect the question of principle.) Now, the symbols we use to express general meanings are not the words, and, unfortunately, in his eagerness to avoid unreal abstractions, Berkeley tends to say that generality is simply a matter of the application of names. In the rough draft (first published by Priestley) which made of the Introduction to the Principles he states this view in a very uncompromising way:

'If a man may be allowed to know his own meaning, I do declare that in my language the word "animal" never stood or is to stand for an universal nature, nor yet for a phantom idea, which to me is at least as absurd and incomprehensible as the idea of the word "animal" (in the proper dictionary) is to me an animal) stand for any idea at all. All I that I intend to signify thereby being only this—that the particular thing I call Melampus has a right to be called by the name "animal" (Works², iii. 574).

That this view cannot be maintained is certain. For it is evident (1) that the right to be called by the name animal must be based on certain properties which Melampus possesses in common with other animals; and (2) that these common properties must be made an object of thought. That is to say, there must exist a 'universal nature' (though not an abstract universal nature, or platonic ideal), and we must be able to think that universal nature by means of a general idea (though not an abstract general idea or general image).

It is to this same tendency to let the meaning fall out between the image and the word, that we must trace Berkeley's algebraic theory of general discourse:

'In reading and discussing, names [are] for the most part used for the objects which are to be alluded to, and that particular quantity be marked by each letter, yet to proceed right it is necessary that each letter suggest to your thoughts that particular quantity it was appointed to stand for' (Intro. to Principles, § 19).

The fatal defect of this theory is, that, whereas in Algebra we attend to the symbols themselves, in reading and discussing the symbols, we attend to the words as such, but to their meanings (cf. Stout's Analytic Psychology, vol. i. p. 88).

(2) Metaphysics of Immaterialism. — There were two general ideas more especially, in respect of which men seemed to Berkeley to have become the victims of their own unreal abstractions—the ideas of Matter and Existence. Ignoring or forgetting the concrete applications on which the meaning and value of these general ideas depend, men had come to confuse thought on the mere abstractions another, and actually more fundamental, sort of reality than that possessed by the concrete experiences from which the abstractions are illegitimately derived. 'To on the discovering of nature and meaning and import of existence that I chiefly insist,' says Berkeley in the Commenplace Book (Works², i. 17). Now, if we are to discover this real meaning of Existence, we must keep continually before our view the actual conditions under which alone general perceptions can find particular application. We must not begin, for instance, by making the perfectly gratuitous assumption that there is a real or absolute existence of things, totally distinct from their being perceived or known. By doing so we should obviously be setting up a general idea which is abstract in the bad sense, because in the very nature of the case it cannot find any particular application in experience. Yet this is precisely the conception with which the free and uncritical use of abstract general ideas like Matter and Existence leads men of science and philosophers to make. They wish to assert the reality of things, especially of external or material things, against sceptical doubts. But they choose the very worst possible way of doing so. For they put the real nature of things quite outside perception or knowledge, and thereby remove the only reason we have for asserting their existence or reality at all, viz. that we have actually experienced them. And thus, as a consequence of the misuse of abstractions, we land ourselves in the most absurd contradiction—the supposed real or absolute nature of things is nothing but 'the fiction of our own brain,' and yet we have made it possible to believe in it. (Preface to Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.) We have by our own act delivered ourselves over bound hand and foot to the sceptic. When we are pressed as to what we mean by the absolute existence of things, we have to admit that we have never perceived them; and when thought I had some dilute and airy notion of Pure Entity in abstract; but, upon closer attention, it hath quite vanished out of sight,' Pure being is a 'something in general,' which being interpreted proves nothing' (Dialogues [Works², i. 437).

We must return, therefore, Berkeley argues in effect, from these empty and mischievous abstractions to observe the actual conditions under which we predicate existence. And we observe, in the first place, that the things we affirm to exist are things with which we are familiar, i.e. objects of Knowledge—in the case of the material world, objects of perception—and that the existence we affirm of them is their known or perceived existence. We affirm them to exist in that manner in which we know or perceive them as existing. Take first the case of material or sensible things. When we speak of the existence of material things, we mean their existence as we perceive them. Their esse, as Berkeley puts it, is percipi. Of an existence on our part different from their existence, we cannot in any way have as objects of perception we know, and in the nature of the case can know, nothing. 'If there were external bodies [so existing], it is impossible we should ever come to know it; and if there were not, we might have the very same reasons to think there were that we have now' (Principles, § 20).

To express the fact that the only kind of existence which we can intelligibly attribute to material things is that kind of existence which they have, we have for perception. Berkeley describes them as ideas, i.e. objects before the mind. In view of Locke's use of the term 'idea,' this mode of expression was the natural one for Berkeley to adopt, but it has exposed him to much misunderstanding. To it, no doubt, is mainly due the constantly repeated, but largely unjust, accusation of subjective idealism. Berkeley was quite aware of the danger of what we may call the popular misunderstanding of his terminology. 'It sounds very harsh,' he says, 'because it is not uncommon for philosophers to say we eat and drink ideas, and are clothed with ideas' (see his answer and explanation regarding the use of the term 'idea' in Principles, §§ 38, 39). He was also aware of the danger of a more subtle case of misunderstanding, in attributing to ideas some other kind of relation to the mind than that simply of being objects
before it. 'It may perhaps be objected that, if extension and figure exist only in the mind, it follows that the mind is extended and figures.' His answer is that 'those qualities are in the mind only as they are perceived by it—that is, not by way of mode or attribute, but only by way of idea' (Principles, § 49, and cf. the important passage in Dialogues [Works], i. 470). But the question may be raised whether Berkeley himself was really able to keep himself free from the subtle confusion which he is here trying to obviate. Does not the habit of describing things as ideas tend to make him regard external things as simply modifications, or private possessions, of the imprints of his own perceptions? It is difficult to assume as a matter of course that he did so regard them. And certainly he makes statements which can easily be understood in that sense. For instance, 'What are [material] things but the things we perceive by sense? and what do we perceive besides our own ideas or sensations?' (Principles, § 4). Or again, 'Did men but consider that the sun, moon, and stars, and every other object of the senses, are only so many sensations in their minds, which have no other existence but barely being perceived, (however [that] adorers do) fall down and worship their own ideas' (Principles, § 94). In passages like these he seems to enunciate subjective idealism in its extreme form. But it must be remembered that everything depends on the positions which we take to relate the empirical statements. When the critic, who reads them in the light of his ready-made distinction between ideas and things, sees that things are said to be nothing but ideas, he straightforwardly infers that all reality and objectivity are taken out of them. Berkeley, who entirely denies the distinction in the sense in which the critic intends it, infers no such conclusion. On the contrary, he conceives himself, as we have seen, to be vindicating for our perceptions the reality which has been denied to them in order to be attributed to empty abstractions. As he himself protests, he is 'not for changing things into ideas, but rather ideas into things' (Dialogues [Works], ii. 4633). 'Those immediate objects of perception,' says Phleonous to Hylas, 'which, according to the doctrine of material things, I take to be the real things themselves' (ib.). From this point of view, then, it is much nearer the truth to speak, with Professor Fraser, of Berkeley's Immediate Sense-Realism (Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 357), than will see also the limitation which he is still known to the denial of the two concentric circles). What Berkeley's critics, of course, object to is that things and ideas should be identified at all. But unless the distinction between ideas and things is to be ascertained in that absolute fashion, which leads, as Berkeley himself pointed out, directly to scepticism, the objection is really irrelevant. For any less extreme distinction between ideas and things is, and must be, from Berkeley's point of view, a distinction within ideas themselves in his sense of the term.

For it must be observed that, when we say that, according to Berkeley, the esse of material things is per se, we are by no means giving a complete statement of his doctrine as to their reality. All his arguments are aimed at affording us assurance of the reality of our ideas, but he does not affirm that all ideas are material things. The remainder of his doctrine, however, is less characteristic, and may be stated quite briefly. The important question is how those ideas which are not regarded as real are distinguished from those which are. Berkeley does not say that they are the products of the imagination. The distinction rests, according to Berkeley, on these grounds:

(1) that real objects of sense are independent of our will, (2) that they are much stronger and more distinct than the ideas of the imagination, (3) that they are connected together according to fixed laws (Principles, §§ 29, 30). That fixed connexions of some sort should obtain among our ideas of sense is the condition upon which alone we can regulate our actions for the benefit of life; and without this we should be eternally at a loss. (Principles, § 31). But why the particular laws of connexion which do obtain should be just those and not others we cannot say; so far as our insight goes, the laws of nature are contingent or, as Berkeley is fond of saying, arbitrary.

So far we have been dealing with the reality of material things. But the doctrine of the nature of their reality plainly points beyond them to realities of another order. To say that material things are ideas is to say that they are objects for mind, and we have therefore to develop our doctrine of existence in reference to mind. Berkeley does not, however, develop his doctrine of existence very far under this head, and we can again afford to be brief. It remains true, of course, here as in the case of material things, that the only kind of existence which is in general is that which we find actual particular minds to possess. In what way, then, do we know minds as existing? In other words, what manner of existence do we experience in ourselves? The answer is that there is only one way of knowing minds, viz. (a) as perceiving them, or thinking of them, (b) as willing or acting in reference to them. In both respects the existence of mind is directly contrasted in character with that of ideas. Mind is perceiving, ideas are perceived; mind is active, ideas are passive. To exist, then, in the case of mind, means to be active, whether in the way of perception or in that of volition: the esse of mind is perceper, valle, agere. From this contrast of mind and ideas two consequences follow. (1) that we have, strictly speaking, no idea of mind. We do, of course, have knowledge about mind, but to describe this knowledge we must use some other term than 'idea.' Berkeley himself, in the second edition of the Principles, suggested the term 'notion' (§§ 27, 139, 142). But no distinction is made between things and ideas. (2) Since agency is known to us only as a characteristic of mind or spirit, it follows that any changes which ideas or objects undergo must ultimately be referred to the agency of mind. All that we can observe in ideas is the bare fact of motion or change. For the causal explanation of such motion or change we must invoke the agency of mind or will. While the foregoing doctrine as to the reality of mind has necessarily been developed in the light of our knowledge of our own finite minds, it cannot stop short at the recognition of finite minds. For (1) we assume the existence of many things, which we do not perceive, or have reason to suppose any other finite mind perceives, and (2) we observe many changes which we do not produce, or have reason to suppose any other finite mind produces. The only way, then, in which we can render intelligible such existence of things which are not perceived by any finite mind, and such change in things which is not caused by any finite mind, is to assume an Infinite Mind on whose intelligence and agency the whole order of Nature depends. And so obvious does
this assumption appear to Berkeley, that he argues that
'God is known as certainly and immediately as any other mind or spirit whatsoever distinct from ourselves. We may even assert that the existence of God is far more evidently perceived by the sense of sight than by any other.' Nature are infinitely more numerous and considerable than those ascribed to human agents.'

And among these effects of Nature are the signs by which finite spiritual communicate with each other. So that 'He alone it is who, 'upholding all things by the word of his power,' maintains that intercourse between spirits whereby they are able to perceive the existence of each other (Principles, § 147).

Both in the Principles and in the supplementary Dialogues Berkeley was at great pains to anticipate and reply to such objections as seemed likely to be brought against his Immaterialism. It is hardly necessary to refer to these in detail, because it is evident a priori that any function that can be fulfilled by a perfectly unknown 'Matter' can be equally well fulfilled by Berkeley's intelligent Deity. And, on the other hand, as Berkeley himself points out (Dialogues [Works* i. 468]), it is impossible to use again Immaterialism objections that apply equally against 'Materialism,' such as that no two minds, on Berkeley's theory, perceive the same things. For, if this objection holds against Berkeley (a point on which he does not express himself very clearly, ib. pp. 469-480), it happens in the same way obviously against those whose 'same things' are not 'ideals,' i.e. not perceived at all.

Subsequent criticism of Berkeley has been inclined to take the line that he has no right to assume the existence of that 'Matter,' which Deity which he substitutes for 'Matter,' or even the existence of fellow-men, since logically he is shut up in the circle of his own 'ideals.' The view we take of this criticism will depend, of course, on the view we take of the accusation of subjective idealism. It is a criticism which may be said to come from reading Berkeley too much in the light of Hume's scepticism—a kind of injustice from which Locke too has notoriously suffered. After the manner of Reid—who was frightened out of his original Berkeleyanism by a study of Hume's Treatise that Berkeley had drawn on thought from Locke (or Descaudes) to Hume, in which Berkeley's philosophy must take its appropriate place, however much distortion it undergoes in the process.

The first part of Berkeley's philosophy begin at the point where he himself left off, viz. his inadequately developed doctrines of active mind and of God. Some of the most interesting notes in the Commonplace Book are those which show him struggling with the problem of Will. The problem is not followed up in his published works, and yet it is of the utmost importance for his philosophy on its more constructive side, since with him Will, Activity, and Mind coincide. Reflection soon shows that the eternal volition by which God 'upholds all things' cannot be exercised, as man's finite will is, upon a material given to it from without; and in like manner God's eternal perception of the world is not a perception to which objects are given from without. We have therefore to face this difficulty. By what right do we distinguish God's eternal perception and will from the Order of Nature at all? Berkeley protests (Principles, § 150) against Nature being taken for 'some being distinct from God.' He does not realize that, conversely, there is, so far as our mere knowledge of Nature goes, and with equal difficulty in taking God as a being distinct from Nature. His blindness to this difficulty is no doubt due to the apparent sharpness of the contrast in finite mind between active thought or will and the ideas upon which these operate. But, even as regards finite mind, this difficulty begins with the assumption of the activity of thinking and volition from the ideas which alone make thought and will concrete is one which Berkeley could hardly have retained if he had ever come to develop his doctrine of mind for its own sake.

It is noteworthy that Berkeley's negative philosophy or Immaterialism proper is represented in our own day both in science and in philosophy—in science by thinkers like Mach, in philosophy by the Immanent Philosophy of Schopenhauer and others, which rejects the Kantian thing-in-itself as Berkeley rejected the Lockian substratum or unknown 'Matter,' and adopts a simpler version of the doctrine of Immaterialism. Like Berkeley, the Immanent Philosophy is, of course, accused of subjective idealism, but it may be considered as a parallel form, which, though it adheres more closely to the idea of human thought, which philosophers (who may sometimes say more or less well) are more sympathetic to the common man.

The general aim of the Essay is to discriminate clearly from each other the specific data of sight and touch, and to show how visual data have acquired a tactular significance. Just as a painted page means something different to the painter who has learnt to read, so the patches of colour which are the proper data of sight must have meant far less to us, before experience established a connexion between them and the data of our other senses (especially those of touch and movement), than they do now when that connexion has become firmly fixed. When we look at a picture of a landscape, what is actually before our eyes is a small flat-coloured surface, but this arrangement of colour is significant to us of a great expanse of country. So completely established is this significant character of colour arrangements that it is difficult for any one but a trained artist to eliminate the significance and perceive the mere colour arrangements as such. And in like manner it took the genius of a Berkeley to show that the brilliancy of visual and tactular data, upon which our adult perception of the actual world depends, and to discover the kind of way in which the connexion must originally have been established. The first problem he attempts to solve is that of the perception of distance. He takes it for granted that distance out from the eye is not directly perceived, and that our estimates of remote distance are plainly dependent on experience. The part of the problem of which no proper account had as yet been given was the perception of near distances; for the mode of treatment adopted in geometrical optics was, as Berkeley showed, quite inappropriate in psychology. The question to be answered was, 'By what experience is the connexion between distance and the perception of near movement and near distance as signified to the eye established?' What are the signs of near distance which have brought about the acquired visual perception of it? Berkeley considers three such signs: those which are now known as sensations of convergence and divergence, sensations of accommodation, and diffusion circles. And he shows how, in virtue of the regular connexion of these sensations, on the one hand, with distinct or indistinct vision, and, on the other, with distances as measured by the visual object whose perception brings these sensations is perceived as being at the distance which the sensations signify. E.g. if, in order to perceive an
object distinctly. I have to make my eyes converge, I perceive this object as nearer than that at which I was previously looking; if, next, I have also to strain my eyes to keep it distinct, I perceive it as nearer again; and if, finally, it nevertheless becomes blurred, I perceive it as quite distant. So Berkeley's doctrine is the connexion between the specific visual perception of patches of colour and the acquired visual perception of distance now established, that we find the greatest difficulty in discriminating between them; while the sensations whose work it is to establish and maintain the connexion have never noticed, because our attention is so wholly given to what the sensations mean—viz. differences of distance—that we have none left to bestow on the sensations themselves. Berkeley illustrates his argument from our experience of understanding spoken words:

"No sooner do we hear the words of a familiar language pronounced in our ears but the ideas corresponding thereto present themselves to our minds: in the very same instant the sound and the meaning enter the understanding: so closely are they united that it is not in our power to keep out the one except we exclude the other also. We even act in all respects as if we heard the ideas corresponding thereto as well as the sounds. Thus, if I am asked to count the number of objects, or those which are only suggested by sight, do often more strongly affect us, and are more prominent to the proper objects of the sense; along with which they enter into the mind, and which they have a far more strict connexion with words" (ibid., § 53).

After dealing with our acquired visual perception of Distance, Berkeley proceeds to investigate, in the like manner, our acquired visual perception of true or tactile (as distinguished from apparent or visual) Magnitude; and, next, our acquired visual perception of Situation. In the latter part of the Essay he urges, in all its breadth, the doctrine, already exemplified in dealing with Distance, Magnitude, and Situation, that the true data of vision and of touch, respectively, are radically distinct, and shows how helpless pure vision would have been if it had been wholly deprived of the aid of touch. The developed sense of vision is extremely rich, but its development depends on what it borrows from touch. It is the experienced connexion of purely visual data with tactile data that makes developed vision what it is, and, according to Berkeley, this experienced connexion is essentially an arbitrary one. E.g. it is a fact of experience that, as an object recedes in tactile space, the corresponding visual appearance grows smaller; but the relation might just as well have been the contrary, or in either case we should have interpreted decreasing visual magnitude as a sign of approach instead of the opposite. Of course, whichever relation holds must hold consistently. If vision and touch are to correspond at all, their correspondence must be consistent throughout. But, that they should correspond at all, and in what manner, is, so far as we can see, an arbitrary or contingent fact (see, e.g., § 143). Throughout the whole Essay, Berkeley develops the logical consequences of his general view with great force. Thus he does not, on the one hand, fail, on the other hand, to use such means of verifying his theory as offer themselves. He applies it, for instance, to solve problems in optics, and also such well-known problems as those raised by the larger appearance of the moon at the horizon, and the appearance of the moon in its first quarter.

Berkeley's theory has been both developed and criticized. It left room for development, partly, of course, because it was only a theory of the one sense of vision, whereas modern psychology gives a general theory of the whole of sensation; but partly, also, because it assumed (in accordance with the current philosophy) the atomic distinctness of sensations, and therefore treated the problem of perception as a problem simply of the combination or integration of sensations, whereas in a modern psychology such as Wundt's, which has learned from biology to regard mind from the point of view of development, the problem of perception is seen to be one of differentiation as well as of integration. And perception, of course, develops as a whole: we do not, as Berkeley's treatment might suggest, have tactile perception before we have visual perception, and therefore before any connexion with visual perception begins.

Criticism (not accompanied by misunderstanding) of Berkeley's theory has fastened mainly upon his account of our acquired visual perception of distance. Of course it is to be noticed, because our attention is so wholly given to what the sensations mean—viz. differences of distance—that we have none left to bestow on the sensations themselves. Berkeley illustrates his argument from our experience of understanding spoken words:

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Berkeley's question of the psychological signs of distance, is one with which physiology is less concerned. Finally, it should be observed that physiological inheritance of nervous co-ordinations may greatly shorten the process of the education of vision.

For the historical antecedents and reception of Berkeley's theory of vision see Fraser's Editorial Preface; on the history of the theory of visual perception generally, Sully's Human Vision (1887). The book, itself, is addressed to the medical evidence; for a full statement of current psychological views, James's Principles of Psychology, ix. xx. in vol. i, and his Physiology of vision, chap. iii. "On vision," by Rivers, in vol. iii. of Text-book of Physiology, ed. Schaffer, 1900. On the relation of philosophical to physiological views on "the traciness" of visual signs, and the relative importance of vision and touch in our perception of the external world, there are some illuminating remarks in the chapter on the Theory of Vision in Grote's Exploratio Philosophica, pt. ii. 1900.

Literature.—Fraser's Complete Works of Berkeley is now in its second edition (4 vols., Oxford, 1901); his Life and Letters of Berkeley (Oxford, 1871) contains also an important chapter on the Philosophy of Berkeley; it is supplemented by a smaller biography, Berkeley, 1890, in Philos. Classics, based in part on unpublished notes. As regards Berkeley's metaphysics, the criticisms of Reid, Intellectual Powers (1790), chap. ii. and iii., and the Essay ii. chs. x. and xi. are classical in their way; Green, in the General Introduction, to his ed. of Hume (reprinted in Green's Works, 1892), chap. i., 1855, took up much of Berkeley's arguments against Hume. His Berkeley only puts forward the easiest way for Hume's complete empiricism; J. S. Mill's essay in the General Introduction, that is to say, the Life and Development of Sir W. Hamilton's Phios. (third, 1897, and later editions), chs. xii. and xiii., and Aristotle, chap. i., 1869, and the postulates for their conclusion, as well as of identity with Berkeley's theory; a brief review of the English psychology of external perception in Croom's "Hume and Robinson" (ed. of General Theory, 1850), chap. 180, is useful; in addition to the histories of philosophy see Lyon's "Idéaleum in Anglo-Saxon with an Appendix," 1800; and Adams's Development of the Philosophy (1803), vol. i. pp. 124-137, and 250 ff.; for other literature see D'Arque, vol. iii. pt. ii. (1879-1882), and Uexkühl, vol. i. (1879) and (1897) p. 172; Ueberweg's own German tr. of the Principes is useful for the running criticism given in the notes.

H. BARKER.
BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.—I. Life.—Bernard was born at Fontaines, two miles from Dijon, in 1090 (not 1091; see Vacandard, Vie de S. Bernard, cit. vol. i. p. 16). Bernard's commanding will (April 1117, at Clairvaux), was a knight of experience, gentle but brave, of high birth; his mother, Alith or Alice of Monthard, was of saintly character (for Bernard's noble descent see the 'disturb' by P. F. Chifflet, 1680, PL clxxxv. 1388-1389). Such was Bernard's commandment that at the age of 22 he determined to become a monk, he persuaded thirty young noblemen, including his brothers, to enter with him the most austere monastery of Europe, the famous Citeaux (PL clxxxv. 257), founded in 1098, though not yet fully manned († May 1110), and governed, after Robert had been forced to return to his original monastery (1099), by the real founder, Stephen Harding of Sherborne in Dorset († 28th March 1134; for his life see DVB, xxiv. 333). In 1115, as Citeaux had grown too big, Bernard was selected by Stephen as the leader, or abbot, of a third colony of twelve sent out from Citeaux to found a new home. Bernard struck out for the plateau of Langres in Champagne, and there (23rd June 1115), in a wild valley called Wormwood, he founded the Cistercian monastery of Trois Fontaines, with a rural wooden structure, with chapel, dormitory, and refectory under one roof, long afterwards preserved by the veneration of Cistercians (see Joseph Meiglinger's description of a visit to it in May 1667; Meiglinger, Inf. Cit. in PL clxxxv. 1698). To this rude structure Bernard gave the name of Clairvaux (i.e. Clara Valis, 'Brightdale,' vice Wormwood, Valis Absinthiului, PL clxxxv. 241). Here the discipline and asceticism was of the strictest, and for a time Bernard's health was impaired. But the abbey swiftly grew, and on 11th March 1118 it sent out its first colony to Trois Fontaines near Chalon.

In 1119 Bernard began his correspondence, his first efforts showing abundant vigour but little of the later skill. His activity was indefatigable, and his fame and influence rapidly grew. Miracles were assigned to him, especially the gift of prophecy (for the contemporary evidence on this matter see PL clxxxv. 332-37, 262, 333-50; and, above all, the astonishing diary of Herrama, bp. of Constance in 1446, in PL clxxxv. 374 ff.). At the Synod of Troyes (Jan. 1128) his powerful advocacy gave the King a real victory. Though the Rule of the Templars, commonly assigned to him (Bouquet, Recueil xiv. 232), is by a later hand, at any rate in parts (Labbé, Conc. xxi. 360; Mabillon, Op. Bern. ii. 545, in PL clxxvii. 919). His de Lamo nobis natura magnetismus, as far as can be judged from the Life written by William of St. Thierry (c. 12 in PL clxxxv. 238), was extraordinary, and no doubt, in part, gave rise to the innumerable tales of his miraculous gifts (see above). Equally important was his fearlessness. In his personal humility amid all exaltation he proved himself a true saint, as also in the passion and depth of his piety.

The importance of St. Bernard as the virtual pope of his age cannot be exaggerated. For a few years the centre of Christendom was transferred from Rome to Clairvaux. His influence was generally on the side of the angels, though deduction must be made for his passion as a heresy-hunter (see below), and for a uncertain impatience of contradiction, which led him at times into arrogant writing and polemics (e.g. his dispute with the gentle Peter the Venerable of Clugny with reference to the bishopric of Langres [Bernard, Epp. 166-87, with which cf. Peter of Clugny, Ep. i. 29], which resulted in the election of a prior of Clugny, and at other times his restless vigilance shows a tendency to lead him into meddling with matters that did not concern him, probably, as in the case of William
Fitzherbert, archbp. of York, through the appeal to him of Cistercians looking to Clairvaux as their head.

Some have seen in him the last guardian of the older forms of monasticism. Through his influence the Cistercian order spread into every land. Within his lifetime no fewer than 160 Cistercian monasteries were founded, chiefly through his prestige and influence; of these, those of Cluny, in Jannaeusch, Orig. Civ., vol. i., Vienna, 1877; Vacandad, op. cit. ii. App. C). In England especially, the influence of the Cistercians was very great. Introduced at Waverley in Surrey in 1128, they soon established their influence throughout the country, especially in the wilder parts of Yorkshire (Eng. Hist. Rev. [1839] pp. 625-76: 'The Settlement of the Cistercians in England,' by Miss Cooke; see also article MONASTICISM for the distinguishing features of the Cistercians).

3. St. Bernard's theological disputes.—The indications of the contemporary writers, especially Otto of Freising (Bernard, Gest., i. 47, in Pertz, MGH xx. 376), show that the heresy of which he was accused, and against which he had to plead, was the growth of the semi-Arianism of Abelard.

'Bernard was, from the fervour of his Christian religion, as jealous as from his habitual meekness he was in some measure credulous; so that he held in abeyance those who trusted in the wisdom of this world and were too much attached to human reasonings; and if anything alien to the Christian faith was said to him in reference to them he readily gave ear to it ('de Gest. Friderici,' i. 47, in Pertz, MGH xx. 376).

Hence a want of fairness in dealing not only with Abelard—this perhaps was natural, for the two men were diametrically opposed—but also with Gilbert de la Porte.

The struggle of Gilbert and Bernard has been told us on Bernard's side by his secretary, Geoffrey of Auroure in his Libellus contra Gilbert. Pont., in PL xxr. 1170, and by R.C. views, Vacandad, Abédard, sa lutte avec S. Bernard. Paris, 1881) Bernard was the refuge of a reactionary school destined to be swept away by the rise of Scholasticism. In later years his hatred of heresy became almost a monomania. As quoted by Otto of Freising, of the contemporary writers, it tells us:

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The tangled diplomacy of Church and State down to a theft of pigs. In their constant interest in current events they are a great contrast to the letters of Anselm (see vol. i. p. 558), and reveal the frankness of the two authors. The eloquence of the letters is, at times, admirably long order, and they are of considerable value for the history of the period, as is his Vita Malachies, written in 1149 for contemporary Ireland.

(ii.) DEVOTIONAL AND HORTATORY.—Of these the most important are:

(a) The de Consideratione, in 5 books (PL clxxxi. 727 ff.), composed by Bernard in the leisure moments of many years, but published at intervals (book ii. in 1150, book iii. in 1152; see the references in iii. c. 5, § 29) in their evil days when he followed the return of the second Crusade (de Consid. ii. c. 1). The book is dedicated to Pope Eugenius III. 'Consideration' was treated by Bernard under four heads: (1) concerning oneself, (2) concerning the things which are under one, (3) concerning the things around one, (4) concerning the things above. In this last we see his Mysticism. But the work, though full of shrewd moral reflections, owes its chief interest to its discursive treatment of other topics, especially the matter of Papal appeals (de Consid. iii. c. 2) and other abuses. Bernard held that the Church is an organism without the sanctity of its head. Its plain speaking has made the work a favourite weapon with Protestant controversialists, e.g. E. Brown, Pascæculus rerum Exsistentiarum et Pugniæolarum (1890). But, in spite of its anti-ultramontanism (cf. iii. i. 9), it has also formed a manual for Popes. Pius V. had it read aloud to him daily.

(b) The de Moribus et Officio Episcoporum, written about 1126 to Archbp. Henry of Sens, and the Sermon de Conversione ad Clericam (both in PL clxxvi.) are the basis for comments on the vices of the clergy and the need of reform.

(c) The Sermones de tempore (PL clxxiii. 35-360), de Sanctis (ib. 359-530), and de Divinis (ib. 537-748). The oratory of St. Bernard, though not perhaps of the highest order (see a criticism in Vaucanond, op. cit. i. ch. 16), was remarkable for its effects (e.g. crusades), and in its 'converting' power, especially using 'conversion' in the technical monastic sense. [A remarkable instance of this is given in the Liberrium regni Cistercicorum, ii. 13, in PL clxxiv. 423.] Sermones ad monasterium Cesaris Heisterbach, Dial. Miraculorum (ed. Cologne, 1851, bk. i.)

(d) The de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio (PL clxxxi. 1001 ff., written before 1128, see Ep. 22). Bernard's recognition of prevenient grace as the source of all the good in man had appeared to an auditor to be an eulogy of grace at the expense of human merit and activity. Bernard therefore drew up an account of the relation of grace and freewill. He claims for man after his Fall formal freedom as his distinguishing feature, without which there could be no justification, which is the result of the command to the grace which awakens it. But 'the beginning of our salvation comes from God, neither through us nor with us,' in a constraining influence stimulating voluntary consent. In the union of the two lies 'merit.' But his hard Augustinian doctrine of original sin leads him into the usual difficulties, not lessened by his strong evangelical stress upon God's mercy as our sole 'merit' (e.g. Serm. in fest. omn. Sanct. i. 11, PL clxxvi. 429; Serm. in fest. cons. Cesaris Heisterbach, Dial. Miraculorum, de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, etc., or in Cantico, xxii. 11, in PL, ib. 585), being combined with the usual medieval and monastic conceptions.

(iii.) MYSTICAL.—The most important of Bernard's mystical writings are the Sermones in Cantico Canticorum, PL clxxiii. 780 ff.). To this we must add the later sections of the de Consideratione. Of this series, begun in 1135, 86 had been finished before his death. They were actually preached to the monks of Clairvaux, and still bear the signs of interruptions and other local circumstances (cf. Nos. 26 and 47, § 8). Consideration was thus a favourite starting-place for later imitators. [The continuation by the Cistercian abbot Gilbert († before 1202) of Swineshead Abbey, Lincolnshire, is in Migne, PL clxxiv. cols. 1-251.]

The great importance of Bernard in the history of Mysticism does not lie in the expositive side of his teaching, in which he depends almost entirely upon Augustine. His great achievement was to recall devotional and loving contemplation to the Christology of the Gospels, and to adapt to it the language of the Cistercians, as the 'Tongue of the Soul,' which in the next centuries inspired so much fervent devotion and lyrical and sacred poetry (W. R. Inge, Christian Mysticism [1889], 140 ff.).

Bernard thus gave to the romantic, not to say erotic, side of Mysticism a great stimulus. It is true that he always speaks of the Church and not the individual as the bride of Christ, but the enforced celibacy of monasticism soon led to the transference to the individual of the luscious language of the Canticles (Inge, op. cit. App. D). The symbolism and allegorism of Bernard's methods of Scripture interpretation was, of course, no new thing, and in the Christian Church he had been due to the influence of Origen (cf. Vol. i. p. 315). In his Sermones de Divinis, No. 92 (in PL clxxiii. 714), Bernard gives a threefold interpretation of Scripture—historical, moral or figurative, and mystical. This is further expanded in his Serm. in Cantico, No. 28 (PL, ib. 884 ff.), with a special panegyric of the vision of God which the mystical interpretation gives (op. cit. 893). The mysticism of Bernard is really not systematic, but the outcome of his persuasion that faith receives all truth without being wrapped up (involution). All three stages is to add to a certain strictly limited measure of un wrapping; for the highest knowledge is that which comes neither by intellectus nor by opinio, but by intuition or spiritual vision. Of this there are three stages—consideratio dispensativa, aestimativa, and speculativa, in which last consideratio becomes identical with contemplatio (de Consid. v. 1-4; Serm. in Cant. v. 4, lii. 4, 5).

We see the same mystical principles in his de Diligendo Deo (PL clxxxi. 974 ff.). God is the ground and cause of a love in which the man loves himself. The second is a love of God which is selfish, inasmuch as it is due to suffering and experience. In the third stage he loves God for God's own sake. In the fourth stage is the spirit, 'intoxicated by the Divine love, wholly forgets itself, becoming nothing in itself, and becoming one spirit with Him.' To be thus affected is to be deified ('sic aeterni deificari est,' op. cit. § 28, and cf. Ep. 107, 5 [the expression is a favourite with later mystics])—the annihilation of self in the immense 'in immane lumen unius luminum aeternitatis' (§ 30).

(iv.) POETICAL. Much doubt has been cast upon the authorship of the hymns usually assigned to Bernard, but by none more than by Mabillon, who pointed out (Op. Bern. v. 839) that the Cistercians 'denied themselves the use of metrical forms' (see the statement of Nicholas de Clairvaux, Ep. 15, in Bib. Marc. Pat. xxxii); nor is the ascription to Bernard of very early date. That Bernard composed some hymns and had some distinction as a poet is clear: a manuscript of the hymn 'O facebook' (ad Gratuitam) (from which, it is said, he took the name that he 'neglected metre that he might pay more attention to sense' [Bern. Ep. 398, 3; the Tonalis (PL clxxii. 1151 ff.) owes more to his disciples than to himself (Vaucanond, op. cit. ii. 391-5)] that: And his long to the making of them... If Bernard did not write them, it is not easy to guess who could, are therefore of little value, more
especially as Trench owns the ‘general ascription to Bernard of any poems of merit, belonging to that period, whereof the authorship was uncertain.’ The Salve, mandi salutare, an address in 300 lines to the Virgin in Latin, composed by Bernard, shows the influence of his erotic mysticism (see above, p. 532)."

The section ad faciem, ‘O sacred head once wounded’ (Salve, contemptu) is in all hymnbooks. The Jubilus rhythmicus de nomine Jesu, originally in 42 stanzas (earliest MS, 12th cent., in Italian, but the other stanzas in printed edd. have not been traced earlier than 15th cent.; see J. Meurs, in Julian, Dict. Hyman. 586), is beautiful throughout, in spite of a certain lack of progress in the thought. The translations of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 5th stanzas [Jesus, dulce membra; E. Caswall († 1828), ‘Jesus the lvery thought of Thee’; for other versions see Julian, s.v.] are in all hymnbooks.

It is interesting to note that this hymn was specially arranged by the mystic Henry Suso († 1366) as a office for the daily use of the Friends of Bernard, but that Bernard, who had been an abbot of Clairvaux, was not interested in such a work. He did not adopt Bernard’s style and thought (see Bern. Scm. de Div. iv. § 1, ‘Bonus es, domine, animae querenti te,’ etc.).

**Literature.** I. **Life of St. Bernard.** (a) Sources. We give below a list of the chief works of Bernard which are of the voluminous Letters (see supra § 1 (b)). A critical edition of their order is much needed. Contemporary biographies of value were written about St. Thomas Aquinas (in PL ed. 236 E.), and continued after William’s death by Arnold of Bonnaire (c. 1156), near Chartres (PL ii. 20, 1161), who also wrote 70 letters, 2 books (c. 1156), (b) G. Seeberg, Herbert Bernard (1877, 3rd ed.), in which secretary Geoffrey, who succeeded him as abbot of Clairvaux (iv. cxxv. 205 ff.), also (i) Alain († 1153), bp. of Aixoerre (PL cxxv. 9, 1170), who wrote the above book, and (ii) Louis Miramon (in PL clxxv. 1273 ff.) of the Spanish monk Bernard, who succeeded him as abbot of Clairvaux, (c) Prof. the Vita Bernardi of John the Hermits (in PL cxxv. 553, the Hermits is unknown, unless he be identical, as Vincent, c. 1156, suggests, with the 6th abbot of Clairvaux, (d) the Ead. Bernardi of John the Hermits (in PL cxxv. 553, the Hermits is unknown, unless he be identical, as Vincent, c. 1156, suggests, with the 6th abbot of Clairvaux, (e) the Exordium Magnae Ordinis Cistercianae (in PL cxxv. 606 ff.), written between 1206 and 1212 adds little of value.

(b) **Modern Lives.**—Of these we may mention the Life in the Acta Sanctorum (Aug. iv. 29), the general preface by Mabillon to his editions (see infra); Aug. Neadler, Der heilige Bernard, 1813, 1845, 1888, also 2 vols. ed. S. M. Deutsch, Göttingen, 1889, Eng. tr. M. Weenig, 1889 (Neadler has also given a full treatment of the theology in his Church History); G. Hefter, Der heilige B. von Clairvaux, Münster, 1890, and Die heilige Benedikt von Kreesa, Zürich, 1451, 1897; M. T. Ratisbonne, Histo. de S. Bernard et son ère, 1848 (many later edd.). This last critical work has been followed by a more recent but nevertheless valuable, K. S. Storr, Bernard of Clairvaux, 1892. Probably the best life of Bernard, though full allowance must be made for the angle of vision, is J. C. Murray, St. Bernard, 1887, etc. (many later edd.). The last critical work has been followed by a more recent but nevertheless valuable, K. S. Storr, Bernard of Clairvaux, 1892. Probably the best life of Bernard, though full allowance must be made for the angle of vision, is J. C. Murray, St. Bernard, 1887, etc. (many later edd.). The last critical work has been followed by a more recent but nevertheless valuable, K. S. Storr, Bernard of Clairvaux, 1892. Probably the best life of Bernard, though full allowance must be made for the angle of vision, is J. C. Murray, St. Bernard, 1887, etc. (many later edd.). The last critical work has been followed by a more recent but nevertheless valuable, K. S. Storr, Bernard of Clairvaux, 1892. Probably the best life of Bernard, though full allowance must be made for the angle of vision, is J. C. Murray, St. Bernard, 1887, etc. (many later edd.).

To this add his early studies, S. Bernard Orator, Rouen, 1857, and Abalbb, enbatte avec S. Bernard, Paris, 1851, Kugler, Annales de Claire, c. 1851; Kugler, Annales de Clair, 1878 and 1882; and Neue Annaletien, 1855, should not be overlooked. For a complete bibliography of Bernard, see L. Janschek, Bibliographia Bernardiana, Vienna, 1869.


iii. **Editions.**—MS of Bernard abound (see Pothish, s.n.), and testify to his hold on the Middle Ages. Some of his sermons were printed at Strasburg as early as 1472; and his Epistulae at Basle, by the Brothers of the Commanida, in 1451. The first fairly complete ed. of his works is by Andrew Boccard, Paris, 1569, and was followed by the more complete Lyons ed. of 1599 and many others (c. 1515, 1606, 1657, 1672, 1693, 1699, 1709). These were superseded by the ed. of J. M. Horet, 1835, which is the best standard ed. of the works (2 vols., 1607, 1607, 1719, 1839). The ed. of 1719 is that reprinted in Migne, PL ed. cclxxviii. A new critical ed. of many of the sermons was prepared by J. H. J. Baracin and published by the Biblioteca de Basilea, Vienna, 1891. A more critical ed. of Letters and Works is much wanted, for it is necessary to consult it for French by A. Ravelov, 1855, is in progress; also by Chasardier, Paris, 1888. A 8 vol. ed. of the works and all the Epistola were translated into Eng. by J. M. Horet, 1835, which is important. Add also M. C. and P. Patmore, On the Love of God, 1839, and The de Considerationes in Goldast, Monarchia Rom. Imperii, Hanover, 1812, II, 56 ff. H. B. WORKMAN.
the Deluge agrees even in details with the cuneiform text. No confidence, however, can be reposed in the numbers allotted to his dynasties. In his antediluvian dynasty one or two names can be recognized with some difficulty as being possibly very old; one of these is the Sutum-Pus, who occurs in the inscriptions, e.g. the last two kings—the first of whom, Otiares, has been suggested to Lenormant to be a corruption of Olartes, who appears in the inscriptions as Ubaratatu; while the name of the second, Xisuthros, may be preserved in, or at least suggested by, the Gilgamesh legend. His third dynasty, consisting of eleven kings, seems to correspond with that traced by G. Smith, and suspected by Sayce to be of Arabian origin. The most prominent king in it is the famous Hammurabi (B.C. 2159). His Arabian dynasty, according to Sayce, appears to be the Kassite dynasty of the inscriptions; and if so, both the titles and the figures of 9 kings and 245 years must be corrupt, since 36 Kassite kings are known, covering a period of 576 years. Minor dynasties sequent, though, the kingdom either run together or omitted altogether from Berossus's lists, as a broken tablet which once contained a complete list of Babylonian monarchs arranged in dynasties introduces a number of very short ones. This arrangement of omission may have been the work of Polyhistor or his copyists.

Apart from the chronological value of his work, the main interest of Berossus's History lies in the fragments of the ancient cosmogonic myths of Babylon which he has preserved. The chief of these are the legend of Lillatam and Marduk (Bel and the Dragon); that of the giving of letters and civilization to mankind by Oannes (EA-phan = EA the fish?); a composite being, partly fish and partly man (cf. the giving of letters to Egypt by the composite deity Osiris); that of the building of the great tower and the confusion of tongues; and that of Xisuthros and the Deluge. From the actually existing cuneiform records it is apparent that Berossus's account of these legends practically represents the ancient Chaldean tradition. In particular, his story of Xisuthros and the Deluge has been found to be a fragment of the great Gilgamesh epic.


JAMES DARRIEU.

BESTIALITY.—Bestiality i.e. the possession or exhibition of the qualities or nature of a beast, may manifest itself in human life, and so touch the religion or ethics of a people, in three ways: in eating and drinking, in sexual matters, and in the manifestation of wanton cruelty. Apparently among the Semites, and, in a more limited degree exhibited. It is eradicated only after a considerable intellectual and moral development. The peculiar conditions of Arabia and North Africa, the primitive Semitic and Hamitic homes, although they compelled an advance, if life was to be maintained at all, to a relatively high degree of barbarism, made the development of a high civilization impossible. Human ingenuity was compelled to extract from the osses the greatest possible nourishment, this was the case, not forward; but the hard deserts which intervened between the scattered osses bound the struggling peoples in the fetters of barbarism (see Barton, Semitic Origins, ch. ii.). The constant influx of large numbers of immigrants from these desert conditions into the various Semitic countries through the whole course of history tended to keep alive within them all primitive bestial elements.

1. Bestiality in eating and drinking was probably exhibited whenever an opportunity was afforded for the underfed men of the desert to obtain a plentiful supply of meat. The ordinary Semite was made to admire and detest the idea of eating flesh, although it was considered quite all right to make a little game (see Doughty, Arabia Deserta, 1858, i. 156 ff.; Palgrave, Central and Eastern Arabia, 1865, i. 60; and Barton, op. cit. 75 and 77 ff.). The population was always underfed and afflicted with a gnawing hunger. The Biblical language explains the origin of the method of sacrificing a camel among the Arabs, described by Nerus, c. 400 A.D. While the last words of a chant were still upon the lips of the worshippers, the leader inflicted a wound on the camel and hastily drank his blood. The whole company then fell upon the victim with their swords, hacking off pieces of the quivering flesh and devouring them raw, with such wild haste that in the short interval between the rise of the day-star, at the appearance of which the service was said to have begun, and the death of the camel began, and the meat was never so good. In those of the rising sun, the entire camel, body and bones, skin, blood, and entrails, was wholly devoured (cf. W. R. Smith, Rel. of the Semites, 335 ff.). Even if some allowance is made for exaggeration on the part of Nerus, the method of consuming the sacrifice is the same as that involving an asunder of a carcass by dogs or wolves. As religious customs preserve ancient ways longer than they survive elsewhere, we here have an exhibition of the bestiality of the primitive Semite in eating.

Some passages in the OT indicate that at the religious festivals excessive eating, or more properly drinking, occurred. Thus El (I S 13) naturally thought that Hannah had become drunk at the feast which was just concluded. Again, in the course is made a victim to the noise 'in the day of a solemn assembly.' This noise could hardly have been all due to the waiting, which originally attended the death of a victim, but must in part at least have been due to revelry. Private feasts were accompanied by music and wine (Is 52), and were occasions of hilarity (Am 8:5); and the same was probably true of all religious feasts down to the Exile.

As the Semites moved into agricultural lands and began to cultivate the vine, their excessive drinking led naturally to some drunkenness. A classic instance of this is embodied in the tradition of Noah's drunkenness in Gn 9:21. That drunkenness existed in all periods of Israel's history is proved by l S 29:22, Dr 21:2, and Pr 22:25. Herodotus (l. 60) vouches for the fact that large quantities of wine were also consumed at certain Egyptian festivals, where, no doubt, it produced similar results. Apparently, however, drunkenness among the Semites was a vice not so prevalent as among Anglo-Saxon countries.

2. Among the ancient Semites, as among other peoples at a similar stage of culture, the sexual appetite was strong. The physical conditions, which held them so long in a state of barbarism in their cradle-land, led to the crystallizing of their religious customs about sexual ideas of a primitive character; and as religion perpetuated these customs, certain primitive features bordering on the bestial appear more prominently among the Semites than among other races of antiquity, though they can be traced to some extent also among the Egyptians, who appear to have originated under similar conditions.

In early times sexual bestiality seems also to have led occasionally to actual connexion with animals. In the Gilgamesh epic, Eabani, the
primitiveman, is represented as living a wild life with the animals, and as satisfying his passion with them. It was induced to leave them only after having experienced the superior charms of a woman (cf. KB vi. 125-127). Jastrow (AJSL xv. 207 ff.) holds that this was the primitive Semitic idea of the harem and that this original form of the second chapter of Genesis contained a similar story. Certain it is that such relations continued to exist sporadically until comparatively late times, for such prohibitions as that in Lv 20^22 would never have been made had there been no precedent for them.

Among the primitive Semites the marriage relations consisted of various forms of polyandry, of which Nair polyandry was the most ancient (cf. W. R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, and Barton, op. cit. ch. 11). This type of polyandry, in reality, the lowest kind of marriage, and was accompanied by a good deal of promiscuity. After settlement in agricultural lands this type of marriage gave way to polygyny. Women who adhered to the older type of marriage board at their husbands' houses continued to give them a certain standing. In Israel they maintained themselves down to the reform of Josiah in the year B.C. 621 (cf. Dt 23^18, 2 K 23^18). In Babylonia similar conditions existed. The code of Hammurabi states that a class of unmarried women were connected sacredly with the temple. They might have children, who apparently were frequently adopted by other people (see Code, §§ 192, 193). In many parts of the Semitic world, male prostitutes, called technically "dugs," were also connected with the temples (Barton, op. cit. 188 and 251 n. 2). This is the meaning of the term in Dt 23^18. In Egypt similar ideas seem to have been kept alive by the ithyphallic god Min, whose festal procession is pictured on the walls of the temple of Deir el-Bahr, and elsewhere, and by the god whom Herodotus (ii. 48, 49) identifies with Dionysos. At feasts in Babylonia (Herod. i. 199), in Egypt (ib. ii. 64), and in Israel, loose sexual practices were kept alive, protected by the sacred name of religion. They were condemned, for example, by the treatment accorded by the men of Gibson to a young woman (Jg 19) who was uninitiated bestiality. Similar crimes, however, occur in modern times, especially in countries where, as in the United States, there is a considerable number of backwoods people.

* (This crime, which still occurs sporadically, so that modern criminal codes provide penalties for its suppression, seems to have prevailed among the Greeks and Romans of the later period, as is shown by an extremely famous adventure described in the Metamorphoses of Apollonius, so that the "Aithouso Zoiré forbids the sting of cows in Gentile stalls (Jb v. 601). Equal degeneracy is recounted in the Arabism Nphla (tr. Payne, London, 1852-54, iv. 137-145), and in the High Priestly code, where they are marked as ritual bestialities, with the membra virilia of the sacrificed sacred horse. In mythology, however, the majority of the animals between humans and animals, which were the subjects of the classical and comparative religion is familiar, receive their explanation from bestiality, so that, as MacCulloch observes, "as the speculative conceptions advance, his worshipful spirits and gods assume more and more a human form, but preserve traces of the animal, and the more such traces take their origin" (cf. his admirable chapter on "Beast-Marriages," CP pp. 335-378, and the literature there cited).—Lotus H. Gna).

3. Bestiality was also exhibited by some of the ancient Semites in their orale practices. Thus we are told that the Ammonites up women with child (Am 1^1). Assyrian kings seem to have practised the greatest cruelty upon their captives taken in war. Thus they doomed that they should be cast out and spread their skins on city walls (KB ii. 165), and, to make the case more hideous, tore out their tongues (ib. ii. 257), and also they impaled their victims on stakes (cf. ib. i. 113, ii. 165). Perhaps to future generations the warfare of the present generation will seem as cruel and baseless as these cruelties do to us. See, further, Crimes.


BETROTHAL.—See Marriage.

BETTING.—See Gambling.

BHAGAVAD-GITA (the 'Song of the Blessed') is the name of the celebrated religious and philosophical poem of India, which is inserted as an episode in the sixth book of the Mahâbhârata.

The two nearly related but hostile classes of the Kauravas and Pandavas endured to the last, and were ready for open combat, and advance against one another with the forces and allies on either side to the plain of the Kurus, in the neighbourhood of the modern Delhi. But the being nearly related, have equal claim to the name of Kuru or Kaurava; but the title is usually limited to that side which was arrayed under the leadership of the blind king Bharataja. To him the course of the battle is narrated by his charioteer, the demi-god Bhishma, who has been en owed by Vîrâm, the reputed author of the Mahâbhârata, with supernatural power to discern all the incidents of the fight. Almost the first place in this narrative is given to the dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, the full title of which is Bhagavadagdipanâ, "the secret doctrine proclaimed by the Blessed One," usually abbreviated into Bhagavad-Gita, or simply Gita.

At the sight of his near relatives in the hostile army, Arjuna, the famed archer of the race of the Pandavas, hesitates to begin the fight; and is recalled to a sense of duty by Krishna, who in human form stands by his side as his charioteer. The admonitions and instructions of Krishna are more serious and elevated tone as he proceeds, and in the eleventh book he reveals himself to Arjuna as the one only God, the Lord of all worlds, who has assumed the form of the hero of the Yadava race.

This is not the place in which to enter into the full details of the historical development of Krishna, who in the Mahâbhârata appears at one time as a human being, and at another as the god of the gods (an impersonal form of Viṣṇu), or again as the one only God, and who finally is identified with Brahmā, the All-Soul. The judgment which the author of this article has formed with regard to the lines which this development has followed may be learned from the Introduction to his translation of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, ch. ii. (Leipzig, 1905). The following brief statement must suffice for a due appreciation of the contents of the Gita.

It must be assumed as probable that Krishna was originally the leader of a wandering pastoral tribe of non-Brahman race, and that he lived long before the Buddha. He became the eponymous hero of his people, not only because of his prowess in war, but also probably because he was the founder of the brahmanical religion of his tribe, independent of the Vedic tradition and monotheistic, in which a special stress was laid on ethical requirements. The adherents of this religion were called "Bhâgasvatas," adopting other names later on. As the form of Kṛṣṇa, which belonged to the brahmans, was advanced from the position of a demi-god to that of a god (identified especially with the god of the Bhâgasvats), Brahmanism claimed as its own this popular and powerful representation of the Deity, and transformed it into an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In this way Brahmanism
succeeded in gaining over the entire religious community of the Bhagavatas, and the latter (a still existing sect [see BIARTI-MARGA]) has merged in Brahmanism. The Bhagavad-Gītā was originally a text-book of this sect, and in the course of time has won a position of such significance for the whole of Brahman India that in recent years educational institutions have put it forward as a rival to the New Testament. No other product of Indian religious literature is worthy to hold a place by the side of the Bhagavad-Gītā, in view of the beauty and elevated character of the thought and expression in many passages. On a metaphysical basis there is in the text an architecture of lofty ethical teaching, which we miss in the orthodox systems of Indian philosophy.

It has long been known that we do not possess the Bhagavad-Gītā in its original form, but in a form which is the result of essential modifications. The doctrines, which are here put into the mouth of Kṛṣṇa, present a remarkable combination of pantheistic and monothestic ideas, of philosophical thoughts, and of pure and deeply religious faith in God.

The impersonal God, Kṛṣṇa, manifests himself in the form of a human hero, propounds his doctrines, and demands of his hearer not only the exact fulfillment of duty, but before everything else faith and love and resignation, of which he is himself to be the object. By a special act of grace he then reveals himself in his human but still bodily form, and promises to the faithful, as reward for his love to God, admission after death to His presence, and the prize of fellowship with Him. By the side, however, of this deity, thus conceived in as personal a manner as possible, which dominates the entire poem, there is introduced several times as the supreme first principle the neuter impersonal Brahmān, the Absolute. At one time Kṛṣṇa says of himself that he is the one sole supreme God, the creator and ruler of the universe and of all things therein; at another he sets forth the Vedic doctrine of the Brahmān and of māyā, the cosmic illusion, and proclaims that the supreme end of man is to transcend this cosmic illusion and become one with Brahmān.

But the poetry, the rhetoric and the pantheistic, are interwoven in one another, sometimes following one another closely and without a break, sometimes more loosely connected. Yet the one is not announced as the lower exoteric doctrine, and the other as the higher exoteric; nor is there in the poem the slightest premonitory knowledge, or a type of the truth, and the pantheism of the Vedaṭa the truth itself (see art. VEDAṬA). But the two forms of belief are throughout treated entirely as though there were no distinction at all between them, whether as regards contents or value.

The attempt has been made to explain away the contradictions of the Bhagavad-Gītā, on the theory that no definite system is here intended; that the whole is the work of a poet, who gives utterance and shape to his thoughts, and sets them before him, without heeding the anomalies which are involved in detail.

The fundamental contradiction, however, which permeates the Bhagavad-Gītā cannot be set aside by an appeal to its poetical character. We have on the contrary only the clearer proof that either of the heterogenous doctrines propounded by Kṛṣṇa must be a later addition. Adolf Geimann therefore maintains the view that the Bhagavad-Gītā contains merely a poem of a purely pantheistic nature, which was later modified and adapted to the actual needs of the Vayuṣa, and whose teaching had impressed upon it its present form. This theory also, however, is mistaken; precisely the reverse seems to be the fact. The entire character of the poem in design and style is so entirely pantheistic that we must suppose it to have been from the very beginning of a purely pantheistic character, and to have been gradually modified only from outside and from points of contact with the Vedaṭa philosophy. In the ancient poem Kṛṣṇa speaks of himself, as of an individual person conscious of a personal and conscious deity. In the recession the neuter Brahmān appears in the added portions as the final and loftiest conception, and is occasionally identified with Kṛṣṇa. Briefly stated, then, the real facts are that in the ancient poem based upon the Śākhyya-Yoga philosophy is set forth; in the additions of the recession the Vedaṭa philosophy is taught (see art. ŚĀKHYA-YOGA).

But in addition to this, the doctrines of the Śākhyya-Yoga formed, on the whole, the basis of the philosophical speculations of the Bhagavad-Gītā, and that, as compared with them, the Vedaṭa doctrine is a quite secondary position. Acting on this conviction, the author of the present work has, in his translation of the Gītā, to determine the original form of the poem, and to separate the additions of the Vedaṭa recession.

The doctrines of the true original Bhagavad-Gītā are briefly as follows. They may be defined as the faith of the Bhagavatas, considerably modified by the introduction of elements from the Śākhyya-Yoga. In the following account the author has endeavored to adhere to the line of thought of the poem, which wanders from one to the other, especially in its practical demands constantly intermingling the different recognized standpoints of religion and philosophy.

We begin with the systematic part, and in the first place with the person of God. God is a conscious, eternal, and almighty Being, the 'great Lord of the universe, who is without beginning' (x. 3). He is the object not only of the visible and tangible world, but also from the impenetrable soul of existing beings (xv. 17–19). He is therefore soul in another and higher sense than the souls of all creatures. When it is asserted in vii. 4–6 that God has two natures, one a higher spiritual nature, by which the universe is sustained, and a second a lower and material nature, consisting of all that, according to the Śākhyya, belongs to prakṛti or matter, this statement is not to be construed in the sense that a half of the Divine essence is composed of matter; the meaning is rather that matter is not itself independent, following its own blind impulses, but that its evolution is under the control of God; in other words, that God works in matter, and acts through it. This is clearly expressed in other passages of the Bhagavad-Gītā. God deposits in matter the germ from which development takes place (xiv. 3, 4). He is therefore the father of all creatures, while matter may be compared to the mother's womb (xiv. 4). God superintends the rise, development, and decay of the universe (ibid.), and in this sense He is termed the origin and end of the whole world (vii. 6, x. 8), and is identified with death (xii. 32). The creatures in all their doings and conditions of life have their origin from Him (x. 4, 5); He determines their fate, i.e. recompenses them according to their deeds, and the cycle of life and death is eternal (ix. 1). It is like figures in a puppet-show (xviii. 61). All His acts are solely for the sake of the universe, for He Himself has no wish to fulfill, no end to attain (iii. 22, 24). 'Whenever justice declines and injustice increases,' God, who is yet eternal and impenetrable, re-creates Himself, i.e. assumes new phenomenal forms 'for the protection of the good and the destruction of the evil, in order to establish the right' (iv. 6–8). Because the action of God is due to the nature of which He is the ruler and is never due to a selfish motive, He is not fettered by His action (iv. 13, 14, ix. 9), and can never, therefore, be entangled in worldly existence. The imaginary picture of God in Book xii is a dramatic embellishment, which is intended to touch the fancy, but has little or no importance for the real teaching of the Gītā.

The relation of God to the world of mankind is determined not solely by the stern law of retribution, but by love to those who know Him and are whole-hearted disciples, addressed to Him (viii. 19, xviii. 64, 65, 69), and He delivers from all sin those who take refuge in Him alone (xviii. 66). In this passage already, therefore (and also in xviii. 56, 58, 62, 78), is set forth that confidence in the Divine
grace (prasadā) which we meet with in some Upaniṣads of the middle period (see art. Upaniṣads), and which in consequence holds so important a place in the Indian sects.

Although it is God who guides the processes of thought and action in the Gātā, and who assigns his works to man, his actions are to be ascribed to nature (iii. 27, v. 14, xiii. 20, 29). Out of primitive matter the universe is evolved, and it returns back again into it (viii. 18, 19). This conception of evolution and re-absorption, like the theory of the world-periods, is therefore derived from the Śākyā system; and in general all the views of the Bhagavad-Gītā with regard to matter agree with the doctrine of the Sāṅkhya. The three guṇas play here the same part as in that system (see art. Guṇas); by their influences the soul is ascribed the reality and place (xv. 5), and the consequences of their activity make themselves felt throughout the entire life, as is described in detail in Books xvii. and xviii. Even the physiological conceptions with regard to the inner organs and the senses are those of the Sāṅkhya system (ii. 40, 42, xiii. 5). Notwithstanding all this, however, is the such importance for the doctrines of the Gītā as the fundamental conception of the nature of matter, derived from the Śākyā, which forms the basis of the philosophical discussion in Bk. ii. Matter, it is true, is eternal; for it exists by nature, therefore, as far as consequences are concerned, is equivalent to the asubstence from action of the way of knowledge.

The knowledge which is to be attained by the quietistic way of salvation is described in several passages of the Gītā, precisely on the lines of the Sāṅkhya system (xvii. 23, xiv. 19), as a discrimination of soul and matter; and as a consequence of this discrimination release from the necessity of re-birth is assured to him who knows, without regard to the consequences to be born of his actions. Thus, the universe, with the sentient and the non-sentient, the self and the non-self, are the two sides of this soul, as far as his nature is concerned, and as far as consequences are concerned, is equivalent to the asubstence from action of the way of knowledge.

The second way is salvation, the unselfish discharge of duty, is incessantly enjoined in the Bhagavad-Gītā. It is the duty of every individual soul to follow the path of the Bhāgavat, and to do the work which nature has assigned to him. The performance of duty is the only way to liberation. But the mere discharge of duty would not lead to the goal so long as there is still associated with it any expectation of fruit. What is commanded must be done without passion, with quietness and equanimity, with an even regard for every one, ceasing irreligiously the pleasing or displeasing, pleasant or painful, good or evil fortune, with no trace of desire or personal interest. If a man acts in this frame of mind, without vexing himself with regard to transitory material results (ii. 14), solely according to the precepts of duty and the Bhāgavat, leaving to God the outcome of all his works, his works are not subject to the law of retribution (iv. 22, 23, ix. 27, 28, xviii. 18, 19). The requirements here laid down necessitate the rejection of the Vedic conception of the merit of works, and this is expressed in the original Gītā without any limitation. All the ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇical ritual minister, indeed, throughout to individual desires, and therefore stand in sharp contrast to the ethical ideal of the Gītā. ‘Abandon all attachment, O son of Gītā, it is said similarly, in ii. 42-45, unconcealed contempt is expressed for the promises of the Veda, which take account only of the material world and offer only transitory reward (cf. also ix. 20, 21). Indifference towards the prescriptions of the Vedic ritual is therefore also a preliminary condition for the
attainment of salvation (ii. 52, 53). In this requirement, again, pure Sāṃkhya doctrine is assumed, as will be plain to every one acquainted with the Indian systems of philosophy.

Whether, however, it is the one or the other way of salvation that is followed, a hindrance that lies in the natural disposition must be overcome. When it is said in iii. 5 that ‘the creatures follow their nature,’ and when in xvi. 14 a distinction is drawn between men who are born to a godlike existence and those who are born to the existence of demons, this predetermination is to be conceived as an effect of previous merit or guilt. Nothing is said in the Gita of a future retribution; rather it is apparent that, through the medium of the body, man’s life is determined in the course of his earthly career (v. 27, 28, vi. 10 ff., vii. 10, 12 ff.). Even if a man is not successful in mental abstraction, these yoga observances are not useless, for such a man will be re-born under favourable conditions, and will ultimately reach the supreme goal (ii. 40, iv. 41 ff.).

We now come, finally, to the most important demand which the Gita makes upon those men who stand in need of deliverance. As is well known, the poem is the anthem in praise of bhakti, or believing and trustful love to God. With unerring certainty love to God leads to the goal alike by the way of knowledge and by that of unselfish performance of duty. The entire poem is full of this thought, and it was composed with a view to its exposition. From love to God knowledge of God arises (xviii. 55), and in consequence the believer refers all his deeds to God and leaves their results to Him. To every one, without distinction of birth or regard to his former conduct, bhakti assures deliverance, even to evildoers, women, Vaishyas, and Sudras (ix. 50-52). No transient impulse, however, of love is to be expected. The soul must be filled with unchanging love to God. When this is the case, a man’s thoughts, even in the hour of death, will be directed towards God. Special importance is attached to this point in the Gita (viii. 5, 7). A man enters into that form of existence of which he thinks in the hour of death (viii. 6).

What, then, are we to conceive to be the condition of the soul that has been liberated from earthly existence and has attained unto God? Unconsciousness, in harmony with the doctrine of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga? Does the soul, having been part of the Divine Soul before its separation from it, lose its individuality on its return to its origin? No. Deliverance is conceived as the state of blissful peace of the soul, whose individual nature continues in the presence of God. How, indeed, on the assumptions of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, the soul can lead a conscious existence without entering into relation with the Blessed Gita, is more fully explained in the two preceding verses. The Gita, as it stands here, which dates from the most ancient period of the Bhāgavata religion, and which from antiquity has formed a pillar of this faith; in spite, therefore, of the subsequent introduction of elements from the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, the doctrine remains substantially unaltered, and against this contrived teaching of the two philosophical systems. A confident faith helped to remove the methodical difficulties which must have been the result.

On the whole, however, the religious and philosophical doctrines of the original Bhāgavat-Gītā, as the above account shows, were clear and defined. Their clarity was in a great measure due to the systematic theistic reduction. The form of the poem, as it has come down to us, is full of internal contradictions, seeing that in it at one time the personal God (Krṣṇa), at another the impersonal world-soul (Brahman), is presented as the supreme first principle—sometimes the two are not distinguished; and again, at one time conscious continued existence in the presence of God is put forward as the highest goal of human endeavour, and at another absorption into the world-soul. It is difficult to determine the period of the composition of the work. We shall not, however, go materially wrong if we assign the composition of the original Gītā to the 2nd cent. B.C., its re-daction to the 2nd century of our own era.

In conclusion, a few words must be devoted to the question of Buddhist or Christian influence in the Bhāgavat-Gītā. Buddhist influence may perhaps be traced in the recommendation of the golden mean in Bk. vi. 16, 17; and this idea may be supported by a reference to the occurrence of the word nirvāṇa in the preceding verse. Since, however, the application of the term is not at all limited to the linguistic usage of Buddhism (brahmanirvāṇa occurs four times in the recension of the Gītā), and since the conception of a wise moderation is explained on general human grounds, Buddhist influence must be regarded as very doubtful, or may at best be due to very distant and indirect sources.

The question of the influence of Christianity on the Gītā is more important. Such an influence has often been asserted, and as often disputed. In the case of the original Bhāgavat-Gītā, the state of the evidence on reliable grounds may be assigned to it, for a negative answer. The historical possibility of the author of the Gītā being acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity must unquestionably be admitted; but there are no grounds for regarding this view as even probable, much less certain. No thought is found in the Gītā which may not be satisfactorily explained from the rich store-house of ideas at the disposal of the Indian peoples, or from their characteristic mental disposition. It is not, however, a possible explanation that should be made of the easy way in which the modern Dr. R. von Humboldt, Uber die unter dem Namen Bhāgavad-Gītā bekannte Episode des Mahābhārata, Berlin, 1859; or later works, the translations of K. T. Telang, BE, vol. viii., and E. W. Hopkins, England, 1898, pp. 383 ff.; R. W. Frazier, Literary History of India, London, 1905, pp. 207, 232 ff.; M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, 1. Leipzig, 1906, pp. 360-376. R. Garbe.

BHĀGAVATAS.—See Bhākti-Mārga, p. 540.

BHAIPEVA.—Bhairava is a name of Siva, meaning ‘fearful.’ Originally it was only an epithet of the third member of the Hindu trinity in his ‘fear’ form. As such this word was adopted very early, but the worship of Siva under the special (separate) form of Bhairava is of recent date. Eight, sometimes twelve, forms of this Bhairava-Siva are then recognized, those commonly used being ‘Bhairava the Black’ and ‘Bhairava the Dog.’ Sviṣṭava, ‘he that has a dog for his horse,’ is also a frequent designation of Bhairava. He has a female consort called Bhairavi. All of this side of Bhairava, however, is purely classical,
derived from Siva's epithet. But Bhairava has another side, which is indeed the popular modern side of his character, having nothing to do with the Brâhmânic god. This is derived from the village-god, Bhairava, a peasant personification of the field-god, and often confounded with the bhakti or bhakti form of the earth god. This Bhairava is not distinct from his parent goddess Bhairavi, who passed through the usual stages. First a peasant godling, then made by the Brâhmans a priest attendant of their god, then representing that higher god, and finally, as at present, the only form of the goddess represented by the peasants of several communities, chiefly in northern India. The chance resemblance of name facilitated the identification of the peasant Bhairava with the priestly Bhairava, and the attributes of the great god were transferred by the worshippers of the little god to their own godling. A further identification has already begun with the Brâhmânic hero Bhim, and he is therefore known as the 'club-god,' having taken over from Bhim the weapon associated with that hero. At present it is impossible to distinguish fully the characteristics of the Siva form of Bhairava from those of the Bhairon form. Other forms of the same name are Bhairon and (in middle India) Vitoba. The worship of Bhairava is found in Benares and Bombay, and throughout the agricultural districts of northern and western India. It is the Pânjâb in the north and the Deccan in the south. In the north he is revered chiefly as a black dog. In middle India his favourite image is that of a snake-girded drummer, or simply of a red stone. As a village-deity he is worshipped with milk offerings, in towns, especially in the north, with spiritual sângâga and his attendants and heroes are ignorant peasants in the country and dissolute Yogis of the towns. But as an attendant on Siva he has a recognized though subordinate place in the respectable temples of the great god.


E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

BHAKTI-MÄRGA. 1. Introduction. — Bhakti-Märga (the bhakti-path) is a general name given to those sects of modern Hinduism which lay stress on the importance of bhakti, or devotional faith, as a means of attaining religious objects. Bhakti (bhakti-pätra, karma-märga) and the 'knowledge-path' (jñâna-märga) are the two main forms of religious belief in modern India. The doctrine of bhakti is the foundation of modern Vishnuite Hinduism, and is professed by at least 150 millions of the inhabitants of India. The only other book-religion of modern India, whose beliefs and practices are not directly connected with the bhakti-märga, is Sâivism. The latter is confined mainly to special localities; and even here, not only are there also many Vaiṣṇavas, but several Saiva sects teach the doctrine of bhakti as directed to Siva. The strong hold of Sâivism may be taken to be that part of India which lies east of the longitude of Benares. All India west of that line may be taken, so far as Hindus are concerned, as the whole Vishnuism.

The word bhakti, with the allied words Bhagavat and Bhagavata, is derived from the Sanskrit root bhaj, 'to possess, to regard.' (It should be noted that bhakti, therefore, has the primary meaning of 'adoration, while Bhagavat means 'the Adorable One,' and Bhagavata 'a worshipper of the Adorable One.' As a religious term bhakti is defined * as 'an adoration by one in the Lord'; in other words, 'faith,' the word 'devotion' (or bhakti) itself is further defined as that particular affection (raññi) which arises after (ann) a knowledge of the attributes of the Adorable One.

The official account of bhakti is contained in the Aphonmas of Sâdulîya, a work of unknown date, but modern, which, with a commentary, was translated by Cowell in 1877. After defining bhakti, as above explained, the writer further states that it is not knowledge, though it may be the result of knowledge. Even those who hate the Adorable may have knowledge of Him. It is not worship, etc. These are merely outward acts, which need not always accompany bhakti. It is simply and solely an affection directed to a person, and not a belief in any sense. There is a promise of immortality to him who 'abhides' in bhakti. 'Abhides' in bhakti means 'having bhakti.' Bhakti is not a wish. A wish is selfish. Affection is unselfish. It is not a 'will' or a 'wish,' but a 'faith.' Whatever we do, with or without our will, being all surrendered to thee, we do it as impelled by thee. Good actions, done for the good reason that they proceed from bhakti, do not merely produce bhakti, but are bonding.

Bhakti, it may be well to state, is 'faith,' not 'belief.' That may be merely subsidiary to ceremonial works. Not so bhakti. Belief is at best merely a subsidiary preliminary to bhakti. We may see that bhakti is a term which signifies something other than 'faith,' for belief is not true. Bhakti is the terminus. We cannot know bhakti, we can only recognize it— a term which implies previous knowledge.

It is by his signs or 'fruits' that we know that bhakti is thoroughly confirmed. Such fruits are respect and honour paid to the Adorable, sorrow for sin, devotion of every object but the Adorable, celebration of His praise, continuing to live for His sake, considering everything as His, regarding Him as in all things, resignation to His will, and the outpouring of anger, envy, greed, and impure thoughts.

The highest of all bhaktis can be directed only to the Adorable in His highest form, but also to any of His incarnations, such as Krsna, Sâmanda, and so on. The object of the Adorable in becoming an incarnation was perforce to bring the Bhakti sense. No earthly compassion is purely disinterested. His alone is disinterested. He became incarnate, and descended from His high spiritual abode to actualize the Bhakti sense.

So far Sâdulîya. As a religious technical term, bhakti is a most difficult word to translate. Probably 'faith,' in the sense of 'devotional faith,' and not of mere 'belief,' is its best representative in English, but unless 'faith' is taken in this special sense, the word is apt to be misleading. 'Devotion' gives an idea as incomplete as 'faith'; for, though devotion is a necessary element in bhakti, it does not imply the after effect which is insisted upon by the teachers of the cult. It is devotion arising after the acquirement of belief. In the present article, the word 'faith,' understood as above, will be employed as the equivalent.

(c) Signification and Indian origin of the word 'bhakti.'—The use of the word bhakti as a religious technical term is comparatively late in Indian literature. This was to be expected, for faith requires a personal deity as its object, and for many centuries after Vedic times all Indian religious literature was confined to one form of thought. Only in the centuries immediately preceding our era, and was subsequently freely used in all Sanskrit literature, both sacred and profane.

Devotional faith implies not only a personal god, but one God. It is essentially a monotheistic attitude of divine and religious sense. Therefore, we assume that the word bhakti, as a religious technical term, cannot be traced to a period earlier than the 4th cent. B.C., it is important to inquire how far back we can trace the feeling which it represents. This feeling was very old in India. We occasionally find the term itself used to distinguish from bhakti even in Vedic hymns, especially those dedicated to Varuna. But this incident monotheism fell still-born from the singers' lips. The untangled multitude adhered to many gods, and the genius of the nature-worship of their Vedic ancestors, while the Brâhmans—in that part of India the sole reposi-
tories of the learning of their time—carried their speculations into the region of pantheism. The origin of the monotheism from which bhakti sprang must be sought elsewhere than among the Brāhmaṇs of Northern India.

The migration of the Aryans into India was a long process, extending over many generations. The earlier comers were separated from the later ones by differences of custom, religion, and language. There were internecine quarrels among them, which ultimately resolved themselves into one group of tribes establishing itself as the most powerful. This history of the Kura tribe, as told by the Kura inhabitants of the Madhyadesa or ‘Midland,’ and corresponding to the country near the modern Delhi and to its immediate north. It was the Aryan language spoken in the Midland that in later times developed into Sanskrit. It was in the Midland that the Vedic hymns were collected and compiled, and it was here that the Brāhmaṇs consolidated their priestly power and gained the social supremacy which subsequently extended over the whole of India, and which has never since been lost. All the Vedic religious literature which has come down to us has retained its origin, at least its publishing centre, in the Midland.

(b) Indian monotheism and its probable origin.—The word ‘Midland’ suggests an ‘Outland,’ also inhabited by tribes which were not Aryans, in the East, South, and West. In those days, besides the Brāhmaṇs, the Aryans had another leading class—that of the Kṣatriyas, or warriors. In the earlier times these shared with the Brāhmaṇs the religious activity which in the Midland was afterwards monopolized by the latter. It has long been recognized that the Aryans of the Outland were, not in later Vedic times, so thoroughly subjected to the religious influence of the Brāhmaṇs as their kindred of the Midland. In the Outland the thinkers belonged rather to the Kṣatriya class, to whose learning and critical acumen witness is borne even in contemporary Brāhmaṇical writings. It was in the Outland that the old atheistic system of philosophy—the Śāṅkya—took its birth, patronized and perhaps founded by Kaśyapa. He was, however, later on, the real founder of the Śāṅkya, Śāṅkycārya, Śāṅkya-sūtra, and Mahāvīra, both Kṣatriyas, founded respectively the Buddhist and the Jain religions; and here, during the thousand years that precede our era, while the Brāhmaṇs of the Midland were developing their pantheistic Bhāgavata faith, the leading spirits of the Kṣatriyas thought out their monotheism.

Śāṅkya Śīnha and Mahāvīra were by no means the only Kṣatriyas of the Outland who were celebrated for their learning. Janaka, the famous king of Mithila, was not merely intimately connected with the origin of the Bhāgavata religion, but also took a prominent part in philosophical discussions with Brāhmaṇs of many varying views. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (iii. xxi. 26), even Kapila, the founder of the Śāṅkya system, was a young student of the Kṛṣṇa-Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa (i. i. 1 ff.) both tell us that Gārgya, a Brāhman of the Outland, was actually taught by the Kṣatriya Ajñānātra of Kaśi. To the east and south of the Midland lay the country of the Pāṇchālas. Here lived the Kṣatriya Jaivali, who, according to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (i. viii. 1. and iii. i. 1 ff.) put the Brāhmaṇs to silence and taught the Brāhmaṇa Gāndha. He even (v. iii. 7) claimed that his system of religious thought belonged to the Kṣatriya class alone. Again, in the same work (v. xi.) we find ourselves in another part of the Outland, the Kaikyā country of the western Panjab. Five great theologians come to a Brāhmaṇ with hard questions, which he cannot answer. So he sends them on to a Kṣatriya, Śrīvaṇpati, the king of the land, and they come to him. The learning of the Kṣatriyas. On the contrary, when they got a chance, they ridiculed it. Thus this arrangement is made short work of by the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (v. xi. i. 10), who contemptuously compares it to the ‘words of a Kṣatriya.’

We have no literary evidence as to the train of reasoning by which this doctrine of monotheism was reached, but it may fairly be supposed that it was more than probable that it was a development of the sun-worship which was the common heritage of both branches of the Aryan people—the Iranian and the Indian.

All the legends dealing with the origins of the Bhāgavata religion are connected in some way or other with the sun. According to the Mahābhārata, a celebrated Brāhmaṇical reformer, taught the religion to the seer Nārada, who taught it to the other Brāhmaṇahs, and thus to the Aryan world. Many legends are told about Draupadī, the wife of the five Pandavas, but in the Adi Parvan of the Bhāgavata, the story of the Bhārata-mahāta, only the last part of the astronomical legend is preserved. It is connected with a miracle performed by Kṛṣṇa with the aid of a marvellous cooking-pot given to Draupadī by the city of Satara. Kṛṣṇa’s father-in-law, was a sun-worshipper, and received from the sun a jewel that became the subject of many stories. One of the very earliest hymns recorded in Brāhmaṇical literature was Śāyānakhyā. According to the Gṛṣṇa Parvan (iv. ii. 26), he refused to obey his preceptor’s command to join in worship with the Nārsinhas, and was therefore driven from the city of Veda as he had learnt from his teacher. He then departed and worshipped the sun, who imparted to him a new and eschatological Vedic king-panegyric of Dropti. With this he betook himself to the Janaka referred to above, a famous king of the Outland, and the legendary father-in-law of Rāma-chandra. The Bhāyadāryako Upaniṣad (v. 1) tells how he discussed religious matters with Janaka and converted him, and how he disputed with and silenced orthodox Brāhmaṇas. According to Bhāgavata philosophy, the saved soul first of all passes through the sun on its way to the Adorable after death. Nimbarka, the earliest of the Bhāgavata sects, attributed this to an incarnation of the sun, and to have started his career by making the sun stand still. Even at the present day the sun is given the title of ‘Veda’ by the people of the Outland. In modern language Bhāgavat Śūrya, the Adorable Sun, becomes Sūrya Bhagavat. Finally, in the later stages of the Bhāgavata religion, the Adorable is identified with the Brāhmaṇahs, who, under the name of the Bhūsabājavatas, or ‘Worshippers of the Adorable,’ were the people of the Upadān, who had previously been the people of the Pāṇchāla. In the older parts of the Mahābhārata he appears in the twofold character of a mighty warrior and of a religious reformer. He called the object of his worship the Bhāgavat, or Bhūsabāj, and his followers, who called themselves Bhāgavatas, as the world, was called the Adorable. The religion was first advocated by the people of their own tribe, and gradually spread over the greater part of the Outland. Before the 4th cent. B.C., as the case of many other religions, it was himself given Divine honours, and under his patronymic of Vasudeva became identified with the Adorable. In its original form the religion was strongly mono-

* Chāndogya Upaniṣad, m. vii. 4.
theistic. Vásudeva taught that the Supreme Being was infinite, eternal, and full of grace, and that salvation consisted in a life of perpetual bliss near him.*

The history of Bhāgavata religion.—i. FIRST STAGE.—There has always been manifest in India a tendency to combine religion with philosophy, and, this being fostered by the speculative inclinations of the Kṣaṭriya class, it followed that, as time went on, and as interest in philosophical questions spread amongst the people of India, monotheism, as expressed by the Bhāgavata religion, was given a philosophic basis. The pantheistic Brahminism of the Midland was altogether opposed to this monotheism, and the Bhāgavatas naturally turned to those systems of philosophy which had sprung up in the freer atmosphere of the less Brahmanized Outland. There were two of these systems—the ancient Sāṅkhya (g.v.) and its daughter, the Yoga (g.v.). These two systems influenced not only Bhāgavatism, but also two other important religions founded by Kṣaṭriyas—Buddhism and Jainism.

The Sāṅkhya system is based on pure atheism. It categorically denies the existence of any Supreme God. Moreover, it does not concern itself with ethics. The Bhāgavata religion, on the other hand, renounced a godly way of life, and strongly ethical in character. The bridge between these two opposing conceptions was afforded by the Yoga philosophy. The belief in the power acquired by the practice of yoga, or concentration, was adopted by the Bhāgavatas, and this became a branch of philosophy in its own right. When the acquired power was intended to be utilized for the obtaining of the knowledge demanded by Sāṅkhya. The Yoga teaching inculcates morality, and the ethical tendency of Brahminism led it to amalgamate with this development of Sāṅkhya rather than with the parent system.

A system of philosophy, as distinct from a religion, is a matter for the learned alone, and the doctors of the Yoga system readily accepted an alliance with a religion, such as that of the Bhāgavatas, which brought the popular beliefs to their side. They paid a price for it. They added a God to the Sāṅkhya system, and Yoga became theistic. The God whom they accepted had nothing to do with the Sāṅkhya god. Sāṅkhya was added on from outside without organically affecting it. On the other hand, the philosophy supplied the Bhāgavatas with a number of technical terms, not the least important of which was the word yoga itself. With them the word gradually changed its meaning from 'concentration of thought' to 'devotion to God.' It thus approached the meaning of bhakti, but did not include the idea of love, which is an essential part of the signification connoted by that word. We shall see that in later times this confusion of terms led to further development. Another technical term which the Bhāgavatas borrowed from Sāṅkhya-yoga was a frequently used title for 'God,' viz. Puruṣa, or the 'Male.' This was the word employed by the Sāṅkhya for the human soul. According to the Yoga system, the shadowy God which existed in India for centuries, and which became a branch of philosophy when the acquired power was intended to be utilized for the obtaining of the knowledge demanded by Sāṅkhya. The Yoga teaching inculcates morality, and the ethical tendency of Brahminism led it to amalgamate with this development of Sāṅkhya rather than with the parent system.

The incorporation was, in short, carried out in exactly the same way as the Brahman, which we see Brahminism extending its frontiers at the present day. The process is going on now before our eyes. Local or aboriginal deities are discovered to be identical with Siva or some other member of the Brahmanical pantheon, and the distinction of caste is confounded upon the converts. Usually they are declared to be Rājputs, or, in other words, of the Kṣaṭriya class. The aboriginal customs and beliefs are at first left untouched, and in a couple of generations no more ardent supporters of the new faith are found here than those who are still fetish-ridden savages. In much the same way the Bhāgavatas became a sect of Brahmanized anti-Brahmanists.

The treatise of peace is found in the older parts of the celebrated Bhāgavata-pitaka (which see). All the noblest, most saintly, and most clairvoyant of the Bhāgavatas were of the sect of Bhāgavatism, and the deathly desire to win eternal bliss. They were greatly admired by the sectarians of the sects into which the religion was divided.

* In the above, and in what follows, the present writer has freely utilized the valuable conclusions of Prof. Garbe, whose conclusions have been amply borne out by his own inquiries. It must, however, be explained that some Sanskrit scholars would not accept these conclusions in their entirety. It may be noted that Bhāgavatás are often called Pāṣkarās, and properly speaking, the name of one of the sects into which the religion was divided, was merely a particular soul possessed of supreme knowledge and power. To Him was given the title of the Puruṣa sar: ēkṣaye, and this name was

* The present writer is unable to follow Prof. Deussen in his theory that Sāṅkhya is a development of Vedsatism. It was adopted by the Bhāgavatas as an alternative name for the Adorable. As time went on, other names were also applied to Him, such as Nārâyana, a patronymic from Nara, the Primal Male, and, as already explained, Vásudeva. These bring down to the end of the first stage of the development of the Bhāgavata religion, which we may roughly fix as coinciding with the conclusion of the 4th cent. B.C.

ii. SECOND STAGE. — (a) Its absorption by Brahmaism.—The second stage is marked by the capture and absorption of Bhāgavatism by the Brahmanism of the Midland. It is most probable that the immediate cause of this fusion was, as Prof. Garbe suggests, the life and death struggle between the Brahmanas and the adherents of the other great religion of the Outland, Buddhism. With Buddhism the Bhāgavatas had nothing in common. In Brahmanism there was at least a shadowy Pantheos. The Brahmanas were thus enabled to win over the Bhāgavatas to their side in the contest, but, like the teachers of Yoga, they had to pay a price for the alliance. That price was, first, the identification of the Adorable with an ancient Vedic sun-god, Viṣṇu (Vishnu), still a popular object of worship among the polytheistic lower classes of the Midland, and, secondly, the adoption of the ritualistic religious devotions and practices of the Kṣaṭriya monotheism. The process was an easy one. Legends were discovered of Brahmanas who performed Kṣaṭriya functions, of Kṣaṭriya families that became Brahmanas, and even of the great Brahmanas, who had become Kṣaṭriya by birth, who had become incarnate merely for the destruction of Kṣaṭriyas. In consequence of the alliance with the Bhāgavatas, the Brahmanas had now to confess that this hero who was ultimately defeated by the first Kṣaṭriya incarnation, that of Rāma-chandra. In the official Brāhman account (Rāmāyaṇa, i. xxxv. ff) the unpleasant fact is slurred over, but it is nevertheless fully admitted.

The incorporation was, in short, carried out in exactly the same way as the Brahman, which we see Brahmanism extending its frontiers at the present day. The process is going on now before our eyes. Local or aboriginal deities are discovered to be identical with Siva or some other member of the Brahmanical pantheon, and the distinction of caste is confounded upon the converts. Usually they are declared to be Rājputs, or, in other words, of the Kṣaṭriya class. The aboriginal customs and beliefs are at first left untouched, and in a couple of generations no more ardent supporters of the new faith are found here than those who are still fetish-ridden savages. In much the same way the Bhāgavatas became a sect of Brahmanized anti-Brahmanists. The treatise of peace is found in the older parts of the celebrated Bhāgavata-pitaka (which see). All the noblest, most saintly, and most clairvoyant of the Bhāgavatas were of the sect of Bhāgavatism, and the deathly desire to win eternal bliss. They were greatly admired by the sectarians of the sects into which the religion was divided.
many times since repeated, and Bhagavatism fell more and more under the sway of the Brahmanas. We see this earliest in the later parts of the Bhagavat-Gita, which belong to the first two centuries after our era. In Northern India, where the influence of the Mīland was most predominant, the Bhagavatas even admitted the truth of Brahmanism and identified the Pantheons with the Adorable, although they never made pantheism a vital part of their religion. It never worked itself into the texture of their doctrines, but was added to their belief as loosely as the Telephone had been added to the Yoga philosophy. In the later Bhagavata scriptures it is proclaimed and recognized, or silently ignored, according to the passing mood of the writer. At times we come across a misty divinity, personal and gracious it is true, yet of whom they can say in Brahmanist language that He is the great ‘Who’*, and regarding whom they can only postulate that He is neither being nor not-being:† At another time, within the same work, the Deity is represented and named books are deliriously written. At one time He is said never to have been seen by mortal eye, and at another time He reveals Himself in bodily form to some favoured saint. The text-books of this Brahmanized Bhagavatism are the latter part of the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata, known as the Vāyanayika, and the famous Bhagavata Purāṇa.‡

(b) Worship of incarnations.—This alliance with Brahmanism had one general effect. It removed the Adorable farther from His adorers. He became less definite, and we can well believe that even in those days true believers began the cry which has become the creed of a sect in later years, ‘See ye the Unseeable’ (see Alakhnamis). Bhagavatism thus began to fail to supply the craving felt in every human heart for a personal object of adoration, and the need was met by a development of the theory of incarnations. The Adorable was represented as becoming incarnate in various forms, on various occasions, and for various purposes. To these incarnations, instead of to the Adorable Himself, the Bhakti of the Bhagavatas now became directed.

The idea of a god becoming incarnate is very old in India (see art. INCARNATION). We find legends on the subject in Vedic literature. Here, sometimes one god, sometimes another—Brahma, Visnu, or Indra, or some inferior god or demi-god—is said to have taken on the shape of a tortoise, or been shown in the likeness of a Tortoise, or as the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, and so on. Then heroes, first semi-Divine and then wholly human, were added to the list, such as Rama-chandra and Krishna, or even the Buddha. The list of incarnations is said to be drawn up by Brahmanical orthodoxy contained ten instances; and two of these, that of the Kṣitriya Rāma-chandra, and that of the Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa, were late additions, almost certainly added to the list in obedience to Bhagavata susceptibilities, just as the name of the Buddha may have been added to draw weak-kneed Buddhists into the Brahmanical fold. We have already seen how the Kṛṣṇa of the incarnations bore the personal name of Kṛṣṇa (as, for instance, the "Sun Race," was also a famous Kṛṣṇa-hero of the Outland, and was son-in-law of the Janaka prince."

* Ka (Vṛṣṇiśvīṃa Bhakti-vānī, l. 2).
† Mahābhārata, 21, 180.
‡ The Bhagavata Purāṇa is a very late work, and perhaps should preferably be classed with post-reformation literature. See below.
powers or functions in order to carry out His will.

All this time the Bhagavatas, while they were stopped from denying the truth of Brahmanist pantheism, werefor a time, absorbed in the Sāṅkhya-Yoga. The result was a series of attempts to unite the opposing lines of thought—one an un-systematized pantheism founded on the idea that everything is part of the One, the other a systematized dualism based on the essential difference between a higher and a lower spirit. The result of their endeavours are to be found in the latest parts of the Bhagavad-Gītā. Attempt after attempt, given forth under the authority of highly honoured names, such as that of the Sāṅkhya teacher Pañcaśākhīda, of the learned Bhāgavata king Jānska, or of a female ascetic named Amulanā, appears in the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata, and these finally settled down into the form in which we find them in the third book (section xxiv ff.) of the Bhagavata Purāṇa. It is impossible to consider this result as a system of philosophy. The opposing lines of thought, each intelligible in itself, could no more combine than oil and water, and this so-called 'Pañcarāṇik Sāṅkhya' can be described only as a medley of unrelated and mutually contradictory conceptions.* It has nevertheless exercised the greatest influence on the unenlightened minds of India, and has to be reckoned with in dealing with the religious history of that country. Its influence is most strikingly manifest in the change that it has brought about in the meaning of the word yoga. We have already seen that the meaning had changed from the concentration of thought to 'devotion.' Even in the Bhagavad-Gītā this term became subdivided into karmayoga, or the disinterested practice of duty, and jñāna-yoga, the purely theoretical side of religion. It is true, under the influence of the 'Pañcarāṇik Sāṅkhya,' we meet three kinds of yoga. Karmayoga is now no longer the disinterested practice of morality, but has become attendance to religious ceremonial obligations. These give purifıcation, and lead to jñāna-yoga, which is now the concentration of the mind on the Adorable, and this finally to bhakti-yoga, in which the devotee is full of nothing but faith, and sees nothing but the Deity.†

This brings us down to the end of the millionyear cycle of the 9th cent. A.D. The celebrated pantheistic philosopher Śaṅkara gave system to the ancient Brahmanism of the Midland, and created the Vedānta (q.v.) philosophy. His system, far more rigid than the Brahmanism on which it was founded, compelled him vigorously to attack the Bhāgavata monotheism, hitherto grudgingly recognized as orthodox. His assaults resulted in the Bhagavatas not only assuming a position of defence, but also taking up two differing lines of counter-attack. On one line they remained faithful to the old alliance with Brahmanism, and contented themselves with combating Śaṅkara's arguments only so far as they were incompatible with their interpretation of Brahmanist teaching. On the other line, the alliance with Brahmanism was finally broken, and a return was made to the old Sāṅkhya-Yoga doctrines which had been abandoned, or partly abandoned, in favour of Brahmanism. The dispute culminated in the 12th cent., the leading representatives of the two lines of counter-attack being Śaṅkara and Madhva, both inhabitants of Southern India.

iii. Third Stage. Tenets.—With the appearance of these two great reformers commences the third stage in the development of the Bhāgavata religion—the modern Bhakti-marga. It will here, therefore, be convenient to consider the tenets of the Bhagavatas as the successors fixed by the reformers at the commencement of this third stage of their development. Our materials are (1) the Bhagavad-Gītā, (2) the Nārāyaṇiya section of the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata, and (3) the Bhagavata Purāṇa, as the old authorized scriptures, and the Bhākta-vidyā and Adorālīya, and the first endeavours at what might be called the 'New Testament' of the Bhāgavata religion. An account of the pre-reformation doctrines will be found in the article BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ.

(1) Monotheism and a God of grace.—There is one and only one God, named the Bhagavat, the Adorable; Nārāyaṇa, the Son of the Male; Puruṣa, the Male; or Vāsudeva. He exists from eternity to eternity. He is therefore defined as 'the Endless' (ananta), 'the Imperishable' (achyuta), and 'the Indestructible' (anubhūti). He is the creator of all things out of matter, to which is given the Sāṅkhya-Yoga name of prakṛti, pradhāna, or the 'indiserets' (aryakta). The original belief about matter seems to have been that He created it out of nothing, but in the mixed philosophy of the Bhāgavatas this view becomes hallowed. The 'devotion' as agreed by the dualistic Sāṅkhya-Yoga theory that prakṛti has existed independently from all eternity. From God issue all souls (jīva), which henceforth exist for ever as distinct individuals and are indestructible. He has created Brahmā, Śiva, and the countless subordinate deities to carry out His orders in creating and ruling the world, and to promulgate the true religion. He generally leaves the burden of ruling the world upon their shoulders, but, as occasion demands, from time to time He comes in His own person to support the struggle, and becomes incarnate to relieve the world from sin or His followers from trouble. The greatest and most perfect of these incarnations (avatāra) are those of Rāma-chandra and Kṛṣṇa; but there have been twenty-three in all, and one is yet to come. That is to say, the Adorable, the Father of God—to the Bhāgavatas.

(2) Process of creation.—The principles according to which creation is held to have developed resemble those of Sāṅkhya-Yoga (see SĀṅKHYA), but, owing to the influence of the Bhāgavata-Yoga, they are more complicated. The Adorable, who in this connexion is usually called Vāsudeva, is represented as passing in succession through three vyūhas, or phases of conditioned spirit. Vāsudeva first produces from himself prakṛti, the indeterminate primal matter of the Sāṅkhyas, and at the same time passes into the phase of conditioned spirit known as sākṣarāṇa. From the association of sākṣarāṇa with prakṛti there springs manas, corresponding to the Sāṅkhya buddhi, or the intellectual faculty, and at the same time sākṣarāṇa passes into the phase of conditioned spirit known as pradyumna. From the association of pradyumna with manas springs the Sāṅkhya ahāṅkāra, or consciousness, while pradyumna passes into a tertiary phase of conditioned spirit known as aniruddha. From ahāṅkāra and aniruddha spring the Sāṅkhya mahābhūtas, or grosser elements, with their respective qualities, and also the deity Brahmā, who from the elements fashion the worlds and all the visible universe.

(3) Bhakti and salvation.—Bhakti directed towards the Adorable is the only means of salvation. It must be directed to Him or to one of His aspects.†

* So also Garbe, Sāṅkhya-Philsophie, 52 ff. The Bhagavata Purāṇa probably belongs to the 12th cent. a.n.
† The doctrine of pradaiva, or grace, has been the essential part of the Brahmanist religion so far as the Bhāgavatas' literature is concerned.
‡ For further details see Colebrooke, Essay, i. 143 ff., and Barnett's translation of the Bhagavata-Gītā, p. 49 ff.
of His incarnations, and to no other. The religion in this respect is strictly monothelistic. This is partly hidden by our translation of the word _deva_ by ‘God.’ By a Bhágavata, the word _deva_ is used with exactly the same meaning as the Hebrew word _šem._ The latter sometimes signifies the Supreme God and at times ministering spirits. In our versions of the OT the distinction is shown by translation, but this is not done by English writers on Indian religion, who always translate _deva_ by ‘God.’ The word _deva_ is applied not only to the Adorable God, but also to His ministering spirits, Brahmá, and so on. These ministering _devas_ may, it is true, be objects of worship, but this is _dása (‘veneration’), not _kara (‘adoration’), which latter is reserved for the Adorable alone. The Bhágavata scriptures over and over again insist that the true believer must be a unitarian monotheist—an _akhinti_.

(4) _Works and salvation._—The question then arises as to how far works (_karma_) are necessary for salvation. This has been as much discussed in India as in Europe. The Bhágavatas solve the problem by stating that work that is done is said to _be_ ( _sakacti_). Every work, good or bad, has its result, or, as they say, its fruit (_phala_). A good work, done for the sake of its fruits, may result in giving the soul a life of felicity in some other world, but this fruit, if any, is temporary and as soon as the fruits have worked themselves out, the soul returns to this world, and to the weary round of birth and re-birth. But if a work is _mukta_ or disinterested, i.e., is not performed for the sake of its fruits, but is simply dedicated to the Adorable and laid before His feet, He accepts it and considers His immortal nature upon its fruits. Then the Adorable Himself enters the heart of the doer and begets therein the virtue of bhakti, and it is this _bhakti_ that finally gives eternal salvation. _India thus owes the preparation of the doctrine of Faith to the Bhágavatas._

(5) Immortality of the soul.—We have seen that the individual soul was considered to be a part (_ahaka_) of the Adorable, emitted by Him to a separate conscious existence. Once so emitted, it exists for ever as a separate conscious entity. Agreeably to the universal Indian belief in the doctrine of transmigration, the soul is chained to its round of births and re-births until it is saved by _bhakti_. A soul, like those of certain Divine beings, may be free to be either in the way of salvation or in the manner of a heavenly state, as _mriga-muktak_, ‘saved from the snares,’ but the ordinary human souls are not of this nature, and are classed under four heads. These are (a) _baddha_, those who are ‘tied’ to things of this life, and who are not in the way of salvation; (b) _mrmuka_-, those in whom there has been awakened a consciousness of the want of salvation, and who ‘desire it,’ but are not yet fit for it (we should call these ‘awakened sinners’); (c) _korda_, or _bhakta_, the pure in heart, who are ‘only devoted’ to the Adorable; (d) _mukta_, those in whom there has been awakened a consciousness of the want of salvation, and who ‘desire it,’ but are not yet fit for it (we should call these ‘awakened sinners’); (e) _korda_, or _bhakta_, the pure in heart, who are ‘only devoted’ to the Adorable; (f) _mukta_, those in whom there has been awakened a consciousness of the want of salvation, and who ‘desire it,’ but are not yet fit for it (we should call these ‘awakened sinners’); (g) _korda_, or _bhakta_, the pure in heart, who are ‘only devoted’ to the Adorable; (h) _mukta_, those in whom there has been awakened a consciousness of the want of salvation, and who ‘desire it,’ but are not yet fit for it (we should call these ‘awakened sinners’) and remain in everlasting bliss. _India thus owes to the Bhágavatas the belief in the Immortality of the Soul._

3. The four churches of the reformation.—Since the revival of Bhágavatism in the 12th and following centuries, the Bhakti-marga has been divided into four Sampraddáyas, or churches, viz. the Sra-sampraddáya, founded by Ráma-rámanuja, the Bráhma-sampraddáya founded by Madhúva, the Rdrú-sa-sampraddáya founded by Viṣṇuvánman, and the Sankará-sa-sampraddáya founded by Nimbáditya.

(1) _Attitude of each to the Vedánta._—The Bhágavata school recognizes the essential difference that is to be seen in the attitude which they assume towards the Vedánta philosophy of Saúkara. It is specially stated by Bhágavata writers that they form really one church, and that the differences are only apparent. Further, each church has become divided into sects, but none of these is opposed to its mother-church. It has been given a name and a separate recognition only on account of the preferences ( _ruchi_ ) of particular teachers in laying emphasis on particular points.

The Vedánta doctrine is fully described elsewhere (see _Vedánta_), and here it will be sufficient to devote a few lines to the discussion of the particular points objected to by the Bhágavata reformers. Being purely monistic, it is generally known as the _vadin-sa-sampraddáya_, or doctrine of non-duality. Its professors claim to be _smártas_, i.e., ‘holiers to tradition,’ or ‘orthodox.’ The Bhágavatas allow them the title and condemn the tradition. An essential part of its teaching is the doctrine, usually stated to be an invention of Saúkara himself, of _máya_, or illusion. To this the Bhágavatas raise the strongest objection, and one of their commonest nicknames for a follower of Saúkara is that of _máya-vadin_, or declarer of _máya_.

* e.g. by Hari-chandra in the _Vaibhavav-sastra._
illusion. Śaṅkara’s Supreme Deity (Brahma*) is an absolutely impersonal, quality-less being who can obtain an eternal existence only through association with māyā. The soul is really a part of Brahma individualized by association with māyā. When released from māyā, the soul is again merged in Brahma and loses its identity.

All Bhāgavatas agree in rejecting the entire doctrine of māyā, with all its consequences. The Supreme Deity, the Bhagavat, is personal by nature. The soul, as already said, is also personal and individual by nature, and, once emitted, lives for ever. It is never merged in the Bhagavat.

The Śrī-saṅprāśadīya is the most important Bhāgavata sect hiding from Śaṅkara’s Vedāntism, remains faithful to the alliance with the old Brahmāism. The Bhagavat, identified with the Pantheos or Brahma of the Upaniṣads, is a Pantheos, but a personal Pantheos in whom everything that exists, and who is endowed with every imaginable auspicious quality. Matter and soul alike proceed from Him, and He pervades all things as their antaryāmin, or Inward Restraint.

The doctrine of this church is therefore also monism, but, to distinguish it from Śaṅkara’s, it is called vāda-dvaita-mata, or doctrine of qualified non-duality. The teaching of this sect is said to have been communicated by the Adorable to His spouse, or energetic power, Lakṣmi, also called Śri. Hence the name of the Saṅprāśadīya. She taught a doctrine, Vighosha, which inspired Nārāyaṇa, Śiva, and his spouse, in kopa, and eighth in descent from the last named, in succession of master and pupil, came Rāmānuja, who flourished in the 12th cent. A.D. For particular see RĀMĀNUJA.

Madhva’s Brahma-saṅprāśadīya represents the other line of defence of the Bhāgavata religion. He broke the alliance with Brahmāism and returned to the old dualism of Śaṅkhyā-Yoga. His teaching is therefore said to be a dvādaśa-mata, or doctrine of duality. The sect describes Śaṅkara’s Vedānta as disguised Buddhism, and lays particular stress on the five eternal distinctions, viz. (a) between God and the soul, (b) between God and matter, (c) between the soul and matter, (d) between one soul and another, and (e) between one particle of matter and another. Although in other respects proprietary, the Bhagavata doctrine of Madhva prefers to call the Supreme ‘Viṣṇu,’ rather than ‘Vāsudeva’ or ‘Bhagavat.’ His followers call themselves Madhvas or Madhvaśāṅkaras (g.v.), and claim to have received the doctrine originally from Śaṅkara, while in descent from whom, in succession of teacher and pupil, came Madhva. Hence the name of the Saṅprāśadīya. As may be expected, the rupture with Brahmāism brought upon them vigorous attacks from the followers of Śaṅkara, and in his work, entitled the Pāṇḍūapa-chapāṭebhāka, or ‘Slap in the Face of Heretics,’ they are all, as a body, genially consigned to the utmost torments of hell.

The Rudra-saṅprāśadīya is the most modern of all the sects. Viṣṇuvāsupīlina lived in the early part of the 12th cent. His followers, in order to give the authority of age to his opinions, state that he had previously existed some 4000 years earlier, and that it was then that the doctrines were first pronounced by him. They were originally communicated by the Adorable to Rudra, or Śiva, who passed them on to mankind. Viṣṇuvaśīn, being fifteenth in descent from him in the line of teacher and pupil. His family belonged to the south of India, and his converts were mostly made in Gujrāt. One of his pupils, Lakṣmāna Bhaṭṭa, * care should be taken to distinguish between Brahma (Bṛhpa) (neat) the impersonal Pantheos of the Upaniṣads and Śaṅkara, and Brahmā (or Brahmā) (mas.) the personal god of the well-known Hindu triad (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva).

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* The dvādaśa-mata is referred to in the Prabhāchāndraśāstra, a work of the 11th cent. A.D.

1 Haricandha, Vaiṣṇava-avacana.
never been very popular in Northern India. Rāmāṇāja had died before the movement reached its height. But drinking being bound by the most minute regulations. We hear also that in the centuries immediately following our era the faith of this sect continued to be adhered to by Nārāyaṇa Himself, but to one of His numerous incarnations. Rāmāṇāja did not confine his followers to any particular one of these, but the whole world of humanity. A disciple of his was Śatārūpa, a sannyāsi, who moreover had married a girl. Some of Śatārūpa's disciples, looking upon Śatārūpa's guru. Mīra now as above the other, and sometimes the other, and sometimes both conjointly. The clergy of the church marry and live comfortable lives, and their example is followed by the laity. This sect, therefore, has mainly consisted of the opulent and luxurious members of society. Another very well defined form of worship, especially among the poorest, is that of the Śrī-spandāya, or Śrī-kṛṣṇa. The cult is widely extended over Northern India and the Bombay Presidency, and also in the Punjab and Rajputana century by Mīrā Bī, a famous princess and poetess of Rājpūtāna. Here the special object of worship is Keśa-Bānapoṣṭh (see above the Śrī-kṛṣṇa-sapndāya).

The Bhāgavatas of Bengal profess much the same tenets as those of the Vālāka-pārśā, and Vālāha himself was Chatuyāna's father-in-law (see above under the Brāhma-spandāya). The Rādhā-vallabha, another sect which worships Keśa and Kṛṣṇa, are also akin to the Vālāka-pārśā, but they are counted as belonging to the next, or Śrī-kṛṣṇa-sapndāya.

(4) The guru.—A striking characteristic of modern Bhāgavatism is the extravagant respect shown to the spiritual teacher, or guru. The first line of the Bhakta-māla gives as the essentials of religion bhakti, bhakta, Bhāgavanta, guru (faith, prayer, tithes, and respect for the guru, and in the last named, 47. Homilizing the importance attributed to the last-named. Any one will admit that the first three are essentials, but few Westerners would think of adding the fourth. The rule that respect be shown to a spiritual teacher is very old in India. In ancient times, perfect obedience was required from his pupil. He was the pupil's second father, more to be venerated than even his natural progenitor. Once, however, the state of pupilage was over, the obligation of obedience ceased, and only respect was due to the guru. His voice is declared to be the voice of God, and the fullest devotion in word, act, and deed must be rendered to him. Some sects go further than others. The devotion is carried to incredible extremes among the Vālāka-pārśā. The devotee of this sect offers his body, soul, and fortune to the deity of the sect, and to the Gūrū (properly 'Gōsī'), i.e. the guru, is in the later works of the sect identified with the Deity, these are in reality dedicated to him. By the act of dedication, a man submits to the pleasure of the Gūrū, as God's representative, not only the fruits of his wealth, but also the virginity of his daughter or of his newly-married wife.** It is fair to explain that few sects go to this length, and that in most, although the guru is revered, no such extreme, or conventional influence is extolled only to the sphere of morality. This is one more example of the tendency in India, as elsewhere, to deify the founder of a religion. The first Bhāgavatas deified Vasudeva, and their successors deified, in their turn, the great men who founded the various churches of their sects.

* Gouvea, Matheus, p. 266.**
Lastly, they took the further step of defying their spiritual directors.

(5) The mantra.—No Hindu can become a member of a sect without the permission of a guru belonging to the sect. He is at first in the position of a candidate. But when the guru considers him fit for admission, he whispers into his ear an initiatory formula (mantra), corresponding, as Mr. Growse points out, to the In nomine Patris, etc., of Christian baptism. These formulas are generally kept secret; but we know that the earliest, distinctly recorded, religious reformation times, was the ‘twelve-syllabled’ Oṁ nāmo Bhagavate āvānandaya (‘Oṁ! reverence to the Adorable Āvānanda’). In later times, as sectarian differences increased, the Supreme became differentiated into His incarnations. Thus, the mantra of the Rāmānūja is the ‘six-syllabled’ Oṁ Rāmaṇa namaḥ (‘Oṁ! reverence to Rāma’), while that of the Vallabhāchāris is the ‘eight-syllabled’ Śrī-Kṛṣṇa śārvaṇaṇa mama (‘the holy Kṛṣṇa is my refuge’).

(6) Sūtravāna works.—Each sect is distinguished by certain marks placed by the more pious members upon the forehead or other part of the body. Thus the Rāmānūja has two perpendicular white lines, with a transverse streak connecting them near the center. This is a perpendicular streak of red. In the Dvātisanhāprādya, a yellow spot is substituted for the red streak, and special marks are also branded on the shoulders and breast. It may be mentioned that worshippers of Śiva also put sectarian marks upon their persons.

As another distinguishing mark of the followers of the two religions, we may say that, as a general rule, while the essential parts of the Bhāgavata marks consist of perpendicular lines, those of the Saiva sects are horizontal.

4. General aspects of the Bhāgavata reformation.—Nothing is more striking in the history of India than the rapidity and completeness with which the Bhāgavata reformation of the Middle Ages was accomplished. At first sight it almost seems as if a new doctrine, coming from some unknown land, had suddenly been revealed, and had swept with irresistible force in one mighty wave across the peninsula. Great modern scholars, men like Lassen and Weber, were found declaring that the only possible explanation of the sudden rise and spread of bhākati arose in India as a more or less direct reflection of Christianity. The late Professor Cowell himself, when writing in 1878 the preface to his translation of the Bhākti-sūtras, confessed that the date and history of the origin of the doctrine were unknown, and, in fact, it is only within the last few years that we have been able to pierce the cloud of mystery that surrounds it. The first to throw light upon the subject was Professor Blauumark; and though the conclusions arrived at by him in the year 1887 have been disputed, his labours have been the foundation of all subsequent inquiries. The next important step was not taken till the year 1905, when Prof. Garle fixed with approximate certainty the date of the Bhagavad-Gītā. We can now be as sure as we can be of anything in the history of Indian literature, that portions of this poem are pre-Christian; and, as bhākati is taught therein, we can safely assert that the doctrine, however Christian may be its appearance, is of indigenous Indian origin.
note. It had its ritual and its five solemn sacrifices, and was therefore a religion of the wealthy. As has more than once been remarked, official Vaishnavism is a costly religion, while Saivism is a cheap one. Bhāgavatism, after the ideals of the Bhāgavata with Viṣṇu, can hardly have been a religion generally represented as the poor. In other words, it was not a religion of the people. The alliance with Brahmanism still further parted it from the lower orders. The theory of absorption peculiar to that form of belief, but now obscured by Bhāgavatism, was nothing in common with their hopes or fears. As Hopkins rightly says, the ordinary mortal is more averse from the bliss of absorption than from the pleasures of heaven. At this time, and during the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian era, the needs of the common people were amply supplied by two other religions of the Outland,—by Buddhism and, for those who craved for a personal God, by Saivism. Bhāgavatism in its pure form came to be professed by fewer and fewer, and from the 9th century onwards, it fell under the spell of the genius of Saṅkara, it practically disappeared. Only at rare intervals do we come across references to it in literature and inscriptions. Saṅkara himself mentions bhakti only once in his great philosophical work, and merely to dismiss it with contempt, as being the result of his saintliness. The last flower of Bhāgavatism was kept burning, though with but a feeble light, and it was in the South that it revived through the teaching of the four great leaders whose names have been mentioned. Then arose Rāmānanda, and within half a century, Bhāgavatism became the leading religion of India. Yet there is as great a difference between the monothistism of the Bhāgavad-Gītā and that of Rāmānanda as there was between the teaching of Plato and that of St. Paul. It now became as fully the religion of the despised classes, of Musal-mans and of unclean leather-workers, as of people of repute. From Rāmānanda’s time it was to the poor that the gospel was preached, and that in its own language, not in a form of speech holy but unintelligible. No one who reads the Indian religious literature of the 15th and 16th centuries can fail to notice the gulf that lies between the old and the new. We find ourselves in the face of the greatest religious revolution that India has ever seen—greater even than that of Buddhism in the time of Asoka. It was the present day. Religion is no longer a question of knowledge. It is one of emotion. We visit a land of mysticism and rapture, and meet spirits akin, not to the great schoolmen of Benares, but to the poets and mystics of mediaeval Europe, in sympathy with Bernard of Clairvaux, with Thomas à Kempis, with Eckhart, and with St. Theresa. In the early years of the reformation the converts lived and moved in an atmosphere of the highest spiritual excitation, while over there hovered, with healing hand, the great apostle of love, smoothing down inevitable asperities, restoring breaches, and reconciling conflicting modes of thought. Northern India was filled with wandering devotees devoted to poverty and purity. Visions, trances, raptures, and even reputed miracles were of every-day occurrence. Rich noblemen abandoned all their possessions and gave them to the poor, and even the poorest would lay aside a bundle of sticks to light a fire for some chance wandering saint. Nor were these converts confined to the male sex. Of devout and honourable women there were not a few—Mirā Bāī, the queen-poet of Udaipur, who gave up her throne rather than join in the bloody worship of her husband, and Rāmānandī, the devoted wife, who could not be tempted by a purse of gold; the chaste Surasuri with her tiger guardian; Ganeśa Derāṇī, the queen of Madhukara Salī of Orchha, who hid the wound inflicted by a mad ascetic, lest her husband should take indiscriminately vengeance upon the innocent Magdalen of Delhi, who gave her life and the only art that she possessed, her dancing, to the service of the deity in whom she had taken refuge; and many others. Of men, there were Hari-dāsā, the sweet singer, to hear whom Akbar disguised himself as a mendicant and travelled far; Nanda-dāsā, the hynmpewriter, whose last words were a prayer that his soul might stand ‘very, close and near’ the Adored; Chaturbhuja, the apostle to the savage Gonds, who taught that right initiation meant ‘being born again’; Gopālī, who when smitten on one cheek turned the other to the smiter; Vilvamāṅga, who looked after a woman to lust after her, and, because his eye offended him, made himself blind; the unnamed king, who for the same reason cut off his right hand; the lady of the house of Sura-dāsā, the blind bard of Agra; and, most famous of all, perhaps the greatest poet that India has produced, Tulasi-dāsā, the teller of the deeds of Rāma. The question naturally arises, whence did Rāmānanda receive the inspiration that produced this marvellous change; and an attempt is made to answer it in the following paragraphs.

5. Influence of Christianity.—The question as to how far Christianity has influenced the Bhākti-mārga has been much discussed. We have seen that it must now be taken as settled that the idea of bhakti is native to India, and that the existence of Bhāgavata monotheism can be traced back to very ancient times. It is still, however, open to us to consider the possibility of post-Christian Bhāgavatism being an acceptance of the magnetic teachings of the Western form of belief. The facts appear to be as follows:

Large colonies of Nestorian Christians and Jews migrated to the Malabar Coast in the 1st cent. A.D., and Christianity spread to the Malabar region of the present day. The former have been there ever since. They had a bishop at Kūlyāṇa on the Malabar Coast in the 6th cent., and another of their settlements was at the present shrine of St. Thomas, near Madras. There is a respectable tradition that the Apostle Thomas actually preached in North-Western India, and at any rate it is certain that the parts of Asia immediately adjoining had many Christian inhabitants. Not only was there in the early centuries of our era free and natural intercourse between the two parts of the world, but, by the 9th cent., and the West, both by sea and overland, but during the same period India was more than once invaded from the North-West. In the year A.D. 639 the famous Indian King Śiśūṭa of Kanauj, a patron of the Bhāgavatas, received a party of Syrian Christians, headed by the missionary Alopen, at his court.† The author of the Dātistān,
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which was written in 1645, describes (iii. 324 f.) how, when travelling in India, he had ‘greatly frequented the meetings of Hindus, Jews, Magians, Nazareans, and other people known to the Vedantists,’ and says (ii. 45) that every one who pleases may derive from them arguments in favour of his particular creed, whether that creed be ‘Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, fire-worship, the tenets of the Sónites, or belief in the Maháyana, etc.’

Finally, there were the Jesuit missions to India in the latter part of the 16th cent., and their arrival at the court of the Emperor Akbar in the year 1580. They had churches in Agra, Delhi, and Lahore till Shah Jahan came to the throne in 1628. Delhi chivalry prevailed till the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. We thus see that from the first centuries of our era Christianity has always been present in India, and that, both in the North and in the South, Hindus had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with its tenets.

Although there are many remarkable verbal coincidences, it is improbable that the latest parts of the Bhágavad-Gita contain passages suggested by our Scriptures. As for the earlier portions, chronology renders it impossible. But in one of the last chapters of the Mahábhárata, written at least three hundred years after Christ, if not considerably later, there is an account of a visit paid by three saints to a ‘White Continent,’ where the people were of fair complexion, and endowed with powers of which that did not exist in India. A description is given of their worship which certainly suggests reminiscences of a Christian religious service, and many believe that the passage is based upon the tales of travellers who had come across Christian communities in those parts of Asia which lie north of the Hind Kush. Besides this, there are other passages in the later parts of the Mahábhárata which it is difficult to believe are not borrowed from our Gospels, especially from that of St. John. These have been collected by Hopkins (India Old and New, p. 145 f.). Two of his examples may be cited here. Krśna, the incarnate Deity, is described as ‘the unborn (i.e. the eternal) and ancient one, the only son of God, born of a virgin, very part of God’ and again, it is said of him that ‘He, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the air, the world, consented to the death of (himself and) his race that he might fulfil the words of the seers.’ A striking innovation, dating from about the 6th cent. A.D., was the divinity attributed by the Bhánatis (followers of Bháno) to Kṛṣṇa, as if he had been a religious teacher and a warrior, regarding whose childhood, as is usual in such cases, legends not essential to his character had accumulated.

But from the 6th cent. onwards the greatest prominence is given to his childless miracles and woes, and to his adolescent pastoral life in the country round Mathurā. It is the infant god, the bábino, brought up among the cowherds of Gokula, who is now a favourite object of worship. His mother Devaki, hitherto hardly mentioned, is now portrayed, like a Madonina terracota, sucking the infant Krṣṇa. His birth coincides with a massacre of the innocents, and we have other and new legends of ‘the restoration to life of a woman’s son, the healing of a cripple, and the pouring of a box of ointment over Krṣṇa’ (Hopkins, op. cit. p. 163). Kennedy (J.R.S., 1907, p. 351 f.) suggests that all this is a Hindu adaptation of the Christian stories brought into the Gántaca Duḥb by Gánar immigrants from the North-West. Whether these legends have been borrowed or not may possibly be doubted, but all instruction vanishes when we read the orthodox liturgy of the festival of Krṣṇa’s birthday. The old legends of the birth and childhood are perfectly well known, but, as long ago and as well as St. Thome, the Vedantists restored them. It actually alters the story in material facts to make it agree with the narratives of the nativity as contained in the early chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Vallabha found this child-worship current in Mathurā, and adapted it to the name of his own Krṣṇa-bhakti. As Hopkins (p. 167) says:

‘So decided is the alteration and so direct is the connexion between this later phase of Krishanism and the Christianity current in the early centuries of our era, that the whole is a fantastic and extravagani fancy but a sober historical statement that in all probability the Hindus of this cult of the Madhvas and Child-worship in India, though unutteredly, have been worshipping the Child-child for a thousand years.’

The religion of Rāma presents other aspects of the case. We have seen that the modern worship of the incarnate Rāma commenced with the teaching of Rāmānuja, and was spread over Northern India by Rāmānand and his followers. In Rāmānuja’s time the Christians of St. Thome had become paganized. They had given up baptism and worship, they retained a kind of mixed, or rather joint, worship, half Christian and half Hindu, had established itself in the ancient shrine. That Rāmānuja and his followers imbued much of this teaching admits, to the present writer at least, of but little doubt, and owing to this, and the great value of facts such as ‘faith’ and bhakti, it would indeed be extraordinary if the two religions, once brought into contact, had not influenced each other. That the Hinduism influenced the Christianity has been established as an historical fact, and that alone shows the probability of the converse also being true. According to Indian tradition, Rāmānuja was born, brought up, and spent the best part of his life near St. Thome. In his early years he was a Vedántist, and while he was still a young man it was in this neighbourhood that he became converted to Bhágavatism, thought out his systematized qualified monism, refuted in a famous discussion his old Vedántist teacher, and suffered much persecution. Much the same as in the case of Krishanism, Christianity, it is to Rāmānuja’s persecution and flight from Conjeevaram that bhágavatism owes its acceptance over the greater part of India. Except the sects founded by Vallabha and Hari-vánśa, the conditions of which were altogether peculiar, the other churches have been comparative newcomers, established in the regions in which they arose. But the Śrī-saṁpradāya had within it a driving force that carried it all over India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Its special characteristic was the importance given to faith in a personal God, and particularly to Rāmāchandra as an incarnation of the Adorable, still retaining the same personality in heaven, remembering and sympathizing with the sorrows and trials of humanity. It is true that bhakti also played a prominent part in the other churches, but it has not, with the exception of the two sects just mentioned, acquired the supreme importance in them that it has gained in the Śrīsaṁpradāya. That this is owing to the view taken of the personality of Rāma-chandra is self-evident; and though it cannot be said that the attributes with which he has been cloathed are strange to the old epic accounts of him, still Christian influence may reasonably be claimed for the stress laid upon them to the comparative exclusion of others. This is the reason why the two sects which are most generally acknowledged to be Christian.

The names of the cases of Rāmānuja and Madhva are worth noting. Both were converted from Vedántism, and both were within reach of Christian influence. Madhva was a man of the village of Udipti, close to Kaljaya, where there was an old Christian bishopric.
Deity has been profoundly modified. The noble and pious hero has become a God of love (śukānanta), and a mere loving companion of the Vaisnavas. The love, moreover, is that of a father for his children, not that of a lover, as in the ardent bhakti of Vallabha and Hari-vānśa.

Another point of coincidence is worth noting—the institution of the mahāpradāna, or sacramental meal. Such meals are found in many religions, but the procedure of those partaken of by the members of the Śri-sahajpradāya shows points of agreement with the Christian Eucharist that cannot be mere matters of chance. The consecrated elements are even reserved for administration to the sick, and the communion, which is shared by all, is a token of the love which the Deity feels for those who feel themselves worthy, is followed by a love-feast attended by all members of the sect present at the time.

But it is in the literature of the church that we find the most evident reminiscences of Christianity. Kabir, one of Rāmānanda’s twelve apostles, speaks of the Word in language which is but a paraphrase of the opening verses of St. John’s Gospel, and quotes sayings of our Lord almost verbatim. The authorized text-book of all believers—the Bhākta-māla—also contains numerous parallels to the New Testament, and attention has been drawn to several of these in the preceding section, and they need not be repeated. Here we may notice another alteration of an old legend—an alteration to make it agree with an occurrence of the most solemn hour of Christian history. In the Māyā-bhārata, Kṛṣṇa is represented as washing the feet of Brahmans. The story, as altered by the Bhākta-māla, makes the incarnate God wash the feet of the disciples. In another story, which is specially mentioned as ‘beloved, but hitherto not well known,’ an attention has been drawn to a passage in Sākara and Rāmānuja, for the personal Deity was Īśvara, the exact equivalent of the Greek Κύστπ. This may possibly be a pre-Christian coincidence. In early Christianity there was the same human heart. It was an act of kindness that we have observed in Bhāgavatism. According to the Dīdache, such a teacher was to be known as the ‘Lord.’ In both religions there was the same extravagant belief in the mystic power attached to the name of the incarnate God. Thomas à Kempis speaks of the ‘holy utterance, short to read, easy to retain, sweet to think upon, strong to protect,’ just as Tulasi-dāsa praises ‘the two gracious syllables, the eyes as it were of the soul, easy to remember, satisfying every wish, a gain in this world and felicity in the next.’ In both religions there are the same discussions as to the relative efficacy of faith and works, and as to the truth of the opposing doctrines of ‘irresistible’ and ‘co-operative’ grace. The change in the Indian ideas of sin is also a parallel of those in Western Christianity. Sin was disobedience to the rules of religion laid down in text-books, and was to be avoided as entailing certain consequences in a future life. Since then it has been defined as anything not done in faith. Sin is sin because it is incompatible with the nature of the incarnate God of love, and, as quoted in the abstract of Śāntīlīla’s work given above on p. 559, even good works not done in bhakti partake of sin.

Each of these instances of agreement taken singly might be an accident, but their cumulative effect, combined with the whole style and tone of the modern bhakti literature, is irresistible.

The political history of India at this period must also be taken into account. India’s resistance to the seventeen invasions commenced in A.D. 1001. He was succeeded by dynasty after dynasty of Muslim conquerors, broken in 1398 by the terrible suffering entailed by the invasion of Timur. Not till Akbar ascended the throne was there a chance of the Hindus peace, and a century later the oppression was renewed by Aurangzeb (p. 5). For more than five centuries, from 1001 to 1556, India lay prostrate and bleeding under the feet of conquerors of alien race an alien religion. This was the period of the reformation.

To sum up the foregoing—it is certain that in the early centuries of our era Christians visited India, and were received at a royal court. It is extremely probable that the inhabitants of the countries of Northern India, which had been in contact with Christianity of Bactria and the neighbouring parts of Central Asia, that they greatly respected it, and that they admitted that its professors possessed bhakti to a degree more perfect than that which ever existed in their own country. It is possible and perhaps probable, that the worship of the infant Kṛṣṇa was a local adaptation of the worship of the infant Christ introduced to India from the North-West, and the ritual of Kṛṣṇa’s birth-festival has certainly borrowed from Christian authors. But it was in Southern India that Christianity, as a doctrine, exercised the greatest influence on Hinduism generally. Although the conceptions of the fatherhood of God and of bhakti were indigenous to India, they received an immense impetus owing to the beliefs of Christian communities reacting upon the medieval Bhāgavata reformers of the South. With this leaven, their teaching swept over Hindustan, bringing balm and healing to a nation gasping in its death-throes amid the horrors of alien invasion. It is not over exaggerating the case to say that in Southern India re-discovered faith and love; and the fact of this discovery accounts for the passionate enthusiasm of the contemporary religious writings. In them we behold the profoundest depths of the human heart, and a sincere and unfeigned freedom from self-consciousness unsurpassed in any literature with which the writer is acquainted.

6. Muhammadan influence.—The syncretism of the Bhāgavata religion has not stopped at Christianity. The later reformers, some of whom were converts from Islam, also imported into it the elements of Sūfism, which will readily be recognized, and are universally acknowledged. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a particular sectarian doctrine was borrowed from Christianity. Sūfism itself has been influenced by Christian mysticism, and the doctrine of Divine love which is its distinguishing mark is so akin to the teaching of the reformed bhakti-churches that it could hardly fail to influence the lovers of Śāriṅgara whose youth had passed in a Musūlim atmosphere. But Sūfism did not influence Bhāgavatism until it had reached Northern India, and, being little known in the South, it never inspired the ground doctrine or any one of the four doctrines.

7. Bhakti directed to Śiva.—It may be stated as a broad rule that all the followers of the Indian bhakti-mārga are Vaishnavas. Śiva, the other
great deity of Indian worship, is associated with ideas too terrible to suggest loving devotion. There are, however, in Southern India, Saiva sects which practise a bhakti cult. We have seen how, partly influenced by the school of Veṇu, partly led by the Bhagavata, the latter sect and their adherents infected with Brahmānism in the few centuries of our era. In Southern India the stricter Bhagavatas, who desired to retain their monotheism intact, began to direct their devotion to Śiva in preference to Viśnu, who was now, in the North, partly identified with Śiva and partly with Śrīdharma. It is most probable that in this way there arose the Siva-bhaktis now sometimes met with in the South. Śiva was even provided with incantations, such as Virāhādara, in imitation of these of Viṣṇu, to whom the love and devotion could be directed.

It may here be mentioned that all Indian sects agree that Saṅkarā, the promulgator of Vedāntism, was an incarnation of Śiva. Bhagavata doctors got over the difficulty by explaining that, when the world was filled with Buddhism and other heresies, the Bhagavat directed Śiva to become incarnate and to preach a false doctrine invented by himself, so as to turn people from the Bhagavat, and thus manifest his glory by the consequent destruction of unbelievers. In other words, for the Bhagavat, the Bhagavat was a greater deity for the greater glory of a gracious and merciful God.

The Sittars (q.v.), a Tamil sect, may also be noted in this connexion. Although nominal Saivas, they are a sect of monothelites, who teach that ‘God and love are the same.’ There are other instances in Southern India of attempts to reconcile Saivism with Bhagavatism. The most important of these is the Brahmān-smārāpādā, founded by Mṛdhvan, already described. Regarding itself as the true inheritor of the crowning glory of Śiva’s incarnation, Śiva’s or his incarnations, very little is known, and the subject deserves more study than it has hitherto received.

**LITERATURE**—The official Sanskrit text-books of the Rāmāyaṇa are the Sāndhiya Rāmāyaṇa, and the Nārada Bhārati- sūtras. Both are quite modern works. The text of the former was edited by J. R. Ballantyne in 1861, and translated by E. B. Cowell in 1886. The latter is one of the works in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Harisīrdhara (see below) wrote a Hindi version of the Śandhiya work under the title of the Bhāratī-vāda. An English version of the latter is given by the Translator of the Tāwīḍā-sārvasa. A short work dealing with the subject as a whole. The earliest account of the doctrines of the Bhagavatas is that given by Colebrooke, read in 1827, and published in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the R.A.S. Like everything that came from his pen, it is scholarly and accurate, and in some particulars has been the foundation of all subsequent accounts of the Bhagavata religion. It was re-published in his Miscel- laneous Essays, 1857 (L. 437 ff.). The history of the origin of this form of belief was first given by R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the Year 1832-33 (Bombay, 1837) p. 68 ff., and, more fully, in ‘The Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata or Pancharatra Systems,’ in Verhandlingen des VII. internationalen Orient- aristen-Kongresses (Arische Session) (Vienna, 1888), p. 101 ff. His work was afterwards amplified and corrected by his disciple Garbe in the Introduction to his German tr. of the Bhāgavatādīti (Leipzig, 1865). L. Barnett, in the Introduction to his Eng. tr. of the second work, has dealt at length with the independent and shorter account of the cult of Vāmadeva, in which much valuable information will be found that lay outside the lines of Garbe’s work. An abstract of the Nārada-sūtras, with an Introduction by G. A. Grierson, will be found in the I.A. 1905.

*Ch. Hopkins, *Religions of India, p. 438.*
they may seem about to seek work; they must be distinguished by the badges of the Rājā, and they must carry out the corpses of any who die without kindred. They should always be employed to play those whom the law sentences to be put to death, and to rub their clothes with the ashes of the slain, their beds, and their ornaments.

The word Chāngā, probably a Dravidian term, but sometimes derived from the Skr. chanā, "evil," "credul," "mischievous," is also sometimes used as a contemptuous sense. The Chāngā caste of Bengal call themselves Nāmāśūdrā; and their higher subdivisions, with characteristic jealousies, apply the title Chāngā to the upholders, who are their turn, caste of the Dom. In short, the title Chāngā may have been a generic title for the meaner Brahmin races, who at an early period were reduced to servitude, and compelled to perform the more onerous duties in the Aryan commonwealth. But at the present time the viler duties assigned to the Chāngā caste— the conveyance of corpses and the task of acting as public executioners—have passed to the Dom, and the Bhângâ now owe their social degradation to the performance of the duties of scavenging. The rise of the present Bhângâ caste seems, from the names applied to the caste and its subdivisions, to date from the early period of Muhammadan rule, and their appearance indicates that they are a mixture of various races, with some reason or another having incurred social ostracism.

1. The cult of Lâl Bég.—The Lâl Bég, or Red-clad, is, in the Gawât and rites of worship centre round the person of their saint, Lâl Bég, about whom many wonderful tales are told. From the mass of folklore connected with him little can be definitely ascertained.

It may be supposed that, in the belief of the Bhângâs, Lâl Bég is the demon, Arûpakarāt, and as Arûn in Skr. is a title of the sun, and Lâl in Persian means 'red,' some connexion has been traced between his cult and earlier Hindu deities. Others would connect Lâl Bég with the lâl Bâkâ, or red-clad monk of Buddhist times; and he is also in some inexplicable way mixed up with the cult of Vâlmiki, the poet-sage who compiled the epic of the Râmâyâna, and who has also been adopted as their patron deity by low castes like the Aherî (q. v.) and Bahelî (q. v.).

It is clear from the tribal sections some vague indications of totemism appear, but these must not be pressed too far.

2. Other Bhângâ deities.—The Bhângâs, as might be expected from the mixed origin of the caste, follow a combination of different faiths. The basis of their religion is the Buddhist Animism of the Dravidians, but to this they have added elements derived from other sources. In the United Provinces a large number of them worship as their patron saint Lâl Bég; and with him is combined or confused by the Bhângâs themselves, the Pânchàon Pîr, or five saints. In Central India Lâl Bég has no temple, but is often represented in villages by a flat stone upon which two footprints are carved, and over them a rude mud shelter, marked by a red flag, is often erected. In Rajputana, when sacrifice is being offered to him, they cut the throat of the fowl victim in Musulmân fashion (halâd).

Higher up the Ganges valley their favourite saint is Gâgâ, or Zâhîr Pîr, who, they believe, possesses the powers of Musulân, the dead, lepers, and lepers, and bestowing offspring upon barren wives. His shrine is a small round building with a courtyard, decorated with flags hung from the neighbouring trees, and provided with poles, one of which is appropriated as a perch for the deity whenever he attends in answer to the prayers of his devotees. The offering to him is a leaf or branch of a sacred tree and some grains of millet. The cænothos is rubbed with sandalwood, which imbues the powers of the saint, and is broken, with the relics and incense, for the maladies. Sometimes a goat is offered, and the meat is consumed by the worshippers. Another favourite Bhângâ saint is Gâhâi Miyyâ, supposed to be a Musulân hero slain in one of the early invasions of Ooût. His marriage-dolls are most important, and there seems some reason to suspect that it is a survival of the rite of symbolic marriage of the earth, the Mother, with her male counterpart, the object of the rite being the promoting of the fertility of the earth, one of the leading features of the Dravidian religion. The Bhângâs venerate these a little idolised ghosts or spirits, generally those of the locality in which they happen to reside. Those who are professing Muhammadans add to the monothestic creed of Islam a number of beliefs derived from the more primitive Animism.

3. The religion of the Halâlkhors.—The creed of the Halâlkhors has less Musulân admixture, and more closely resembles that of the Dom and his kinsman the Bânsghî (q. v.).

4. The religion of the Panjâb Châhhrs.—The religion of the Châhhrs is of a valuable element in the Indian army. They, like all converts, are particularly scrupulous in religious matters, but most Sikhs of other castes keep them at a distance. When a Châhhr is circumcised and becomes a Muhammadan, he is ordinarily known by the title of Châhhr, or the righteous, or Rôtân. But the faith of Islam sits lightly upon such people, and their religious fervour largely depends upon the price of grain. When times are good, the Châhhr adopts Islam, and is admitted to the privilege of smoking with Muhammadans. When times change for the worse, and he is in straits to find a living, he often relapses into his original Châhhr beliefs, because he thus gains a wider range of diet, being allowed to eat carrion and lizards. If times improve, he again becomes a Muhammadan (ka- lau), and becomes again a Musulân.

BHARHUT or BHARAHUT (the proper form of the name seems to be Barhut, but some write it Bharhatt and Barahat).—A village situated in Bijnor thana in the spot of Vaidhabhakti and Bhartis, known in the Middle Ages, especially in the 13th century, as Bhartis, was taken possession of by the Western Turkis and it is known in various records as Bharhut. It is a portion of the territory of the Western Turkis and is mentioned in the Chronicle of the Turks as Bharhut in 1753. The stūpa, circular in form, was surrounded by a splendid carved railing with four openings towards the four cardinal points. It was thus divided into four quadrants, each of which consisted of sixteen pillars, joined by three crossbars, and covered by a massive stone coping. At each entrance the railing was extended, to form, as Cunningham believed, a gigantic swastika, or mystic cross. On each side was a splendid ornamental arch, or torana. The medallions of these pillars are filled with most interesting sculptures—compositions of lotus and other flowers, and a number of scenes derived from Buddhist legend and history. Many of these scenes represent scenes taken from the Buddhist canon and identified by Subhuti, Rhys Davids, and Hultzsch. Perhaps the most interesting of all is that of the Jeta-Javana monastery at Sravasti, recording the purchase of Jeta's garden by Anathapindika, who covered the soil with pebbles. (Hultzsch, 'Buddhist Sculpture in Northern India,' 1870, p. 219; Kern, 'Manual of Indian Buddhism,' 1884, p. 29). One has-relief appears to represent a scene in the life of Rāma, which is supposed by Cunningham to be by far the earliest notice which we possess of the great solar hero and his wife. The sculptures, which extend over about a century, are particularly interesting as illustrating the dress and social and domestic life of the people of Northern India in the period after the death of Alexander the Great. They have been discussed by Grünwedel ('Buddhist Art in India,' 1901, 23, 40 ff., 141).

Images of the Buddha are wholly absent from the older sculptures at Sānchi and Bhartis. 'Even in cases where the presence of the Lord must be presumed,' it is indicated by symbols—footprints, a wheel, a seat, or altar, above which is an umbrella with garlands. A scene from the life of Buddha is that of the famous Anjaliṣṭhamata Ajatashatru kneeling before the footsteps of the Lord, whereas the inscription distinctly says: 'Ajatashatru pays his homage to the Lord.' (Kern, op. cit. 94).

Among the numerous sculptures, there are no naked figures, as at Sānchi and Mathurā. All, and especially the women, are well clad, and their heads are generally covered with richly figured cloths. One gateway and a portion of the railing have been removed to the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

Cunningham assigns the stūpa to the Aśoka period, sometime between B.C. 230 and 190. Hultzsch reads an inscription mentioning the Sunga, successors of the Maurya dynasty, on a pillar erected by Vatsi or Vaiśākhiputra Dhanabhāti, which gives a date in the 2nd or 1st cent. B.C.


BHĀT, ČHĀRAN (the former from Skr. bhātta, a respectful term applied to a Brahman or man of high caste, probably connected with bhārati, 'bear,' 'magen,' 'a wanderer,' 'a singer')—The latter, Skr. čhārana, 'a wanderer,' 'a singer.'—The two words are of very early use and panegyrics, found throughout Northern India, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 385,993, of whom 52,104 were described as Muhammadans, and the remainder as Hindus, with a small minority professing the Sikh and Jain faiths. Tod com-

presses them with the Belgie genealogy of Gibbon who 'votes in all the lust of fiction, and spins from his own bowels a lineage of some thousand years.' The Bhāts are most numerous in the United Pro-

vinces, but they are found in smaller bodies all over Northern India, and are said to have penetrated as far south as Hyderabad. The Census of 1901, numbering at the same Census 74,014, are practi-

cally all Hindus by religion, and are mostly con-

fined to the Presidency of Bombay and the province of Rajputana.

Bhāts are generally supposed to be descended from a re-

ny triya father and a Brahman woman. They have been con-

nected by Neefield with 'those secularized Brahmanas who frequented the court of the Emperor and the campaigns, bringing praises in public, and kept records of their genealogies.' But to this Bihari objects that if the Bhāts of the present day are descended from a class of degraded Brahmanas, it, in other words, they are a homespun offshoot from the priestly class, is difficult to understand how they come to have a number of sections which are not Brahmanical and which appear to resemble rather the territorial groups common among Rajputs. There is no exact parallel to this supposed case of Brahmanas, however degraded, shedding their characteristic series of epi-

nymous sections, and adopting those of another type. On the other hand, the admixture implied in the confederation of Bhāts also may have become too hard to the chiefs of their tribe, and Čhārān is inclined to regard them as a heterogeneous group made up of Bhāts and Rajputs, etc., and his position is Accordingly, as by virtue of their exercising identical functions. He grants, however, that the invisibility of the Bhāt's person, accepted in Western India, who is the end of the life of the 'real' Bhāt in favour of their Brahmanical origin, 'while the theory of Roth and Zimmer, that the upper class of the Brahman caste is to be sought in the singers of Vedic times, may perhaps be deemed to tell in the same direction.'

1. Religion of the United Provinces Bhāts.—In the United Provinces those Bhāts who profess Hinduism are Hindus of the orthodox and the non-orthodox kind, being by sect generally Vaishnavas or worshippers of Vishnu, or Saktas, followers of the Mother-goddesses. But in addition to the god peculiar to their sect they worship other gods—Siva in the form of Gauripati, i.e. 'lord of Gauri,' the white cow' (a title of his consort Pārvatī), Barī Bhāt, Mahābūr, and Sārāk Barī Bhāt, 'the great hero,' seems to be the ghost of some defiled worthy of the tribe. He is honoured by making a plastered square in the courtyard, and placing within it a lighted lamp. Mahābūr, 'the great hero,' is another name for Hanumān, the monkey-god. He is worshipped by painting a representation of him with red lead upon a brass tray, before which cakes, sweetmeats, and other bloodless offerings are laid. Sārāk is a corruption of the name of the Goddess Sārākta, the patron of the tribe, and her eloquence, who naturally is worshipped by a caste of bards. Side by side with this worship of the orthodox kind they have adopted some of the local Aministic beliefs, as is shown by the cult of Bīrā (through whose worship they employ a priest from the degraded Chamār or carrier caste, who sacrifices a young pig, buries the head in the earth, and carries off the rest of the flesh as his purisique. In other districts of the same Province they wor-

ship the Mother-goddess, Bhātānī or Devi, particu-

larly when the disease is supposed to be mostly Sakti-worshippers. In Bengal, as in the United Provinces, they retain traces of primitive Animism in the worship of minor gods, who are propitiated with sacrifices of he-goats, with masks of masks of masks, and vermilion, the pesable portions of the offerings being divided among the members of the household.

3. Involution of Bhāts and Čhāranas.—One peculiarity common to both Bhāts and Čhāranas is their inviolability—a belief based on the combina-
tion in them of the duty of herald with that of bard, a principle as old as the days of Homer, who
Odyssey spares Phemius, the bard (ἀσπιος) (Od. xxii. 331). It is principally from West India that
the stories come of what is called त्र्योग, that is to say, the custom of self-wounding or suicide performed by members of this caste when exposed to attack while in charge of treasure or cattle, or
with other responsible duties. In almost every part of Kāthiawār, at the entry of villages, are
to be seen the पल्लय, or guardian stones, erected in honour of Chāran men and women who killed
themselves to prevent the capture of cattle, and which are supposed to enforce their restoration by the predatory Kāthi tribe. The names of the victims, with the date and circumstances of their death, are recorded on the stones, and a rude sculpture shows the method in which the sacrifice was performed, the man generally killing himself on horseback with sword or spear; the woman transfixing her throat with a dagger. In this part of the country the Chārans have now somewhat fallen from their high estate on account of permitting widow remarriage, and are worshiping the local Mothers, Khand-
ŷar, 'the mischievous one,' or Asāpur, 'that which accomplishes desires.'

**Literature.—** For Bengal, see Risley, Tribes and Castes, 1501, l. 101; for the United Provinces, Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, 1898, l. 59, Caste in India, 477; for Bombay, Wilson, Indian Caste, ii. 179 ff.; for the Madras branch of the caste, North Provinces and Queer, ii. 07.

W. CROOKE.

**BHILS.**—1. Introduction. The Bhils (Skr. Bhīlas, which Caldwell [Dravidian Grammar, 464] believes to represent the Dravidian Billa, 'bowman,' from vīl, bīl, 'bow') are one of the non-Aryan races of India, usually included under the unsatisfactory name 'Dravidian,' inhabiting the hilly country in the West and Central parts of the Peninsula. They seem to have been the chief of a group of tribes occupying a large portion of the hill country, now included in Mewār, Malwa, Khandesh, and Gujarāt. In the early Sanskrit writings they appear to be included under the names of Vīlinda and Nībbhila, who may have belonged to the non-Aryan races when they came in contact with the lighter-coloured race from the north. They have been identified with the Phyllitai (Φυλλίται) of Ptolemy (vii. 1. 66; McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, 1591, l.), a term which, like the Skr. Ṛṣis, or priests, and the Dravidian name, denotes the 'leaf-clad' non-Aryan tribes, now represented by the Juangs of Chotā Nagpur, in the Vindhyā and Sātpura ranges, which stretch westward from the Gulf of Cambay to the lower Ganges valley. Their predominance during early times in W. India is implied in the fact that in many States in Rājputāna, Malwa, and Gujarāt, when a Rājput chief succeeds to the throne, his brow is marked with blood drawn from the toe or limb of a Bhil, by which he secures blood-covenant with the goddess of earth and protects his priesthood against the local evil spirits. The right of giving the blood is claimed by certain families, and the fact that the person from whose veins the blood flows is believed to die within a year fails to dampen their zeal for the maintenance of the custom (Trans. R.I.S. i. 09). At the Census of 1901 the Bhils numbered 1,198,843, of whom 569,842 were found in the Bombay Presidency, 347,798 in Rājputāna, and 269,006 in the Central India. Of these the three principal groups, differ to some degree in religion, custom, and culture, and may be conveniently treated separately.

2. Legends of origin.—As a whole, the Bhils seem to have possessed little tribal tradition; and, of course, they possess no tribal literature. Their legendary beliefs, which find it, is intended to explain their present degraded condition. The most common account of their origin tells that Mahādeva (Siva), sick and unhappy, was one day reclining in a shady forest, when a beautiful woman appeared, the first sight of whom affected the god with a complete cure of all his maladies. The intercourse between the god and this stranger resulted in the birth of many children. One of the sons, who was from infancy distinguished alike by his ugliness and vicious habits, slew the favourite bull of his father, an angry deity cursed him and expelled him from the haunts of men to dwell in the woods and mountains. His descendants have ever since been known as Bhils and Nishādās—terms that denote outcasts (Malcolm, Mem. of C. India, i. 518 ff.; A. K. Forbes, بیہ Bāliya (1878), 78 ff.).

3. Bombay branch.—These clans are found in various parts of Gujarāt, as well as in the wild region of Khandesh and the Dāng forests, where they form one of the most widely-spread and characteristic of the tribes of Gujarāt, which is typical of the tribe in other districts, that of peasants, labourers, woodmen, and watchmen. When they cultivate, they follow the custom of periodically burning down patches of jungle, and sowing coarse grain crops in the ashes; others increase their Byams by cattle, and produce, while the women gather fruits and wild berries as food. Many of them still maintain their reputation as thieves and cattle-lifters, which is often noticed by the Muhammadan historians and by the writers of reports in the early period of British rule (B.G. ix. pt. i. 300, iii. 219, vi. 27). It is said that the Bhil is more truthful than the high-caste Hindu; but this is doubtful. In Gujarāt, when a Bhil is being sworn as a wit-
ness, he is seated with his face towards the sun, with a handful of grain bound in the hem of his garment, and a handful of dust laid on his head; he must then walk twice or thrice round the horse-image of the god Bābā, and swear by the cushion on which the chief of his clan sits (ib. xi. pt. i. 300 n.). Their system of agriculture and the dread of witchcraft prevent the establishment of settled villages; and their rude, sometimes round, huts are scattered through the jungle which they occupy. Their dress is extremely scanty; but the women ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces, and have their hair tied in a thick braid. The women of Khandesh and the hill Bhils are catholi-
cal in their diet, eating various kinds of grain, vegetables, forest fruits and berries, fish, goat's flesh or mutton, carrion, animals that have died by a natural death, and probably in remote places the flesh of the cow (ib. xii. 85).

They fall into two main divisions: (1) those who are partly Rājput, inhabit the plains where they have in some cases acquired Rājput status, and adopt Rājput names for their clans; and (2) the more or less pure Bhils, who occupy the more inaccessible tracts (ib. ix. pt. i. 295). This distinction of culture affects their religion, that of the Rājput Bhils corresponding to the Hindu rule, that of the jungle branch preserving more of the primitive animistic beliefs. Thus, in Khandesh the wildest clans worship only Vāgdevī, the tiger-god, who, under the kindred titles of Bāghesvar (Skr. वृक्षगर्भ-िवरा, 'tiger-lord') or Banārāj (Skr. vana-niraj, 'lord of the wood'), is worshipped by the allied tribes in the hill ranges west of the Rājput country (P. B. de Bligny). Some who are more influenced by Hinduisim worship Mātā, the Mother-goddess, and Mahādeva or Siva; while some, again, who are more civilized, worship the ordinary local Hindu deities, such as Khandelā, Sitālā Mātā, the smallpox Mother-goddess, and
others (ib. xii. 93). In Gujarāt the branch of the tribe which claims kinship with Rājputs worship specially Kālkā Mātā, the Mother-goddess, in her most feminine aspects. The inductions of Pārśu worship hardly any of the orthodox deities, except Devī, the impersonation of the female energy. But when he visits her temple, contrary to his usual practice, he releases, after dedication, the victim which he offers to her. According to Enthoven, the Mātā, or Mother-goddess, are represented by symbols rather than by images—by wooden posts, earthen horses, wicker baskets, and winnowing fans (Bombay Census Rep, 1901, i. 63). This appears to be a local development, as the cult of the horse is not widespread among the descendants of the ancestors. The jungle Bhil respects Muhammadan shrines, and makes offerings to Muhammadan saints. Besides this, he retains many of the primitive animistic beliefs. He reverences the moon and swears by it; but he chiefly worships spirits and ghosts. This worship is usually performed in high places, the shrine consisting of a pile of stones on the summit of a hill, where he occasionally makes a blood-offering to appease the spirits of evil. In the forest, near an old tree or spring, offerings are made with the same reverence, by which he believes to be the haunt of spirits, he offers rude earthenware images of horses, jars, and beehive-shaped vessels. The horse-images seem among the non-Aryan tribes to be intended as steeds on which the spirits of the dead may ride to heaven; and the jars and other vessels are regarded as the abodes of spirits. We thus find a crude ancestor-cult attached to the animistic beliefs. The ritual of the death rites shows that the tribe recognizes, in a vague way, the existence of the soul after death. When the rāyal, or death prayer, comes to preside over the death feast, by which food is conveyed to the souls of the dead, he brings with him two small brass images, one said to represent the horse of the moon, the other a cow and calf. The latter having been placed in a pool of milk, the death chant is sung, after which the cow-image is laid on the ground. The horse-image, which is usually made out of the anklets of the widow, is presented to the rāyal at the close of the obsequies (BG ix. pt. 1. 304 f.). The horse-images are said to be intended that the cow and horse, by a process of magic, may be placed at the service of the ghost of the deceased. When the spirits of the forest are being worshipped, beams are raised, poised on two uprights sometimes 12 ft. high, which the Demoiselles toasts to a goat or a cock (ib. ix. pt. 1. 301). This form of 'ladder sacrifice’ is found in other parts of India. It is used by the Musahars of Bengal in the worship of the bir, or malignant spirits, and by the Dosadhis of the United Provinces in eclipse observations (Risley, Tribes and Costes, li. 117; Crooke, Tribes and Costes, i. 335). In Upper Burma, a man who aspires to become a diviner has to climb a ladder and sit on a platform set with sharp spikes; if he receives no injury, his powers are recognized (J. Anderson, Mandalay to Momen, 1876, p. 81). In Khāndesh the Bhils suppose that spirits reside in stones, which are smeared with red lead (a substitute for a blood-offering) and with oil. An animal sacrifice and an oblation of spirits are sometimes made at such stones. The Bhil is thrown into fire in the belief that the demons delight in the sweet savour, after which the worshippers and their priest consume the flesh and liquor (BG xii. 93). Animal-worship, except the reverence paid to the horse, is common. Ghorā DeV, the ‘horse-god,’ is the general object of worship. Gujarāt, if a prayer has been granted, clay images of horses are made, and placed round the shrine.

4. Festivals.—In Gujarāt their festivals are chiefly connected with the ancestor-cult. The only regular Hindu festivals which they observe are those of the spring equinox (Holi, Shingha), the first full moon (Divalī), and the anniversary of the light-festival (Divālī) at the full moon in October-November. The first two, which are in origin forms of sympathetic magic to promote the growth and ripening of the crops, are accompanied with rude merriment and indecency (BG viii. 306). At the Holi they celebrate, possibly with the rites of expelling evil spirits, a mock fight between men and women—an incident witnessed and described by Bishop Heber among the branch of the tribe in Central India (Narratives of a Journey, 1861, ii. 216 f.; GodByExample, 1901, i. 22). The same feast some clans, as is the case in N. India, practise the rite of walking through a trench filled with burning embers, without, it is said, injury to the performers (BG vi. 29, xii. 93 n.; PR ii. 317).

At the Divalī the light-festival, they go to the gods near the shed of the cattle, the protection of which is the main object of the feast. The ground near the shed is cleansed and the sacrificial meal is made while the bulls and cows are placed on seven leaves. A fire is lighted and fed with butter. A man, generally the house-master, lays the fire on five charred, or thrown over, and, and offers them, saying, ‘O Dhama Indra! We offer this sacrifice to thee! ’ During the coming year keep our cattle free from disease, increase them and be kind!’ At the same time another man cuts the throats of the fowls. A third man sprinkles spirit over the earth on the ground, saying, ‘O Dhama Indra! we pour this spirit to thee!’ The cattle, with their horns painted red, are then let out of the shed, those of the headman leading the way. All are driven over the body of a Bhil, who lies on the ground face downwards. This is probably a survival of an actual rite of human sacrifice. The invocation of Indra shows the influence of Hinduism; but the rites are part of the primitive Animism.

At the Dasara feast they sew barley in a dish full of earth, and keep it watered and tended for nine days, after which it is offered to the goddess Devi—a magical rite found in other parts of the world. It is described by K. F. Stewart, in his book ‘The title of’ ‘the Gardens of Adonis’ (BG ix. pt. 1. 305 ff.; Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 164 ff.).

When it is offered and scarcity is feared, the women go with bows and arrows to the shrine of the village-goddess, abuse her, smear her image with filth,* and reap and dance; finally, they raid a neighbouring village, seize a buffalo, the owner of which is the god of the village. They take a piece of ground (an unnatural act intended to call the attention of the gods to their troubles), and a small cart is placed before the shrine of the god who is supposed to have been offended at some neglect, and then driven before the cart. The cart is then believed to move of its own accord, and accompanied by a seepa animal, a goat or buffalo, carries the plague beyond the limits of the village (ib. ix. pt. 1. 311).

5. Priests and Deities.—Except among those clans which are subject to Hindu influence, Brahmins take no part in the public or domestic rites. The exorcist, whose duty it is to propitiate the malignant gods

* For a remarkable case of obscene ritual cursing of a goddess, see the account of the Ganga-nabha festival in Malabar (Bulletin Madras Museum, iii. 307 i.).
and spirits, is known as the bhogat (Skr. bhaktu, ‘worshipper’). His reputation depends on his occasionally becoming possessed by the Mother-goddess, when he mutters and shakes, foams at the mouth, eats raw flesh or drinks blood, and pretends to know both the past and the future. The Bhils of Barwani, near Bhopal, and the Bhole, or Bhil king, holds a feast every twelve years in honour of a god known as Bābā Dev, ‘divine father’, on the Devgād hill, when a Bhil bhogat becomes possessed by the god, and foretells the condition of the crops and fortunes of the Raja’s family (ib. vi. 29 f.). The duties of the bhogat are to consecrate household gods, to prepare tribal and family rites, to secure the fertility of the crops, to heal the sick, and to thwart the machinations of enemies. In cases of sickness, he places grains of black gram (Phasolus mungo) or rice on a leaf, which he passes round the head of the patient. By examining the grains, he decides whether the sick man has been attacked by an evil spirit or by one of his offended dead ancestors. The latter usually appears in the form of a bird or a toad, or in that of a bear or other wild beast. When their worship is neglected, they show their anger by throwing stones or sticks at their descendants, or by pinching them at night. They can be appeased by making an offering at their graves. The attack of an evil spirit is treated by means of incantations and striking the patient gently with the branch of a tree. The bhogat is also the witch-finder; and in former times, before the period of British rule, witches were subjected to cruel ordeals, tortured, or even killed. The Bhils also believe in an outer world where the spirits of removed ancestors are the rāvī (Skr. rājakula, ‘royal family’), a title, like that of the bhogat, obviously of Hindu origin, replacing the name of the original medicine-man. His chief duty is to preside over the funeral feast, and to propitiate the deceased ancestors. The dead are buried in deep graves or under stone cairns, the intention being to prevent the return of the ghost. On the return from the grave a fire is light in the house of the dead man, and into it some woman’s hair is sometimes dropped (cf. Frazer, Pusaunas, iv. 136 f.). The death taboo is finally removed by the burning of the hands and feet through fragrant smoke, and by washing the shoulders of the corpse-bearers with a mixture of oil, milk, cow-dung, and cow-urine (BG xii. 91 f.).

In the case of the death of a Bhil of importance, it is not unusual for relatives or friends in which he has an interest to be opened some two months after burial, the opening being only symbolic. The remains, usually placed under a rag-covered earth cage, thus brought to light are anointed with red lead in the same manner as the irregular shaped stones which are common objects of worship among this primitive people. After anointing the deceased is worshipped, and the grave is then re-closed. Without this ceremony the full rights of ancestorship are not, it is alleged, obtained. The worshippers are by no means necessarily relations of the deceased (Bombay Census Rep. 1901, i. 65).

6. Central Indian branch.—These inhabit principally the wild hilly tracts which separate Madhya Pradesh from Nīrār and Gujarāt. According to Malcolm (Memoir of Central India?, ii. 181), their religious rites are confined to ‘propitiatory offerings and sacrifices to some of the Hindu infernal deities’, especially Sītālā Mātā, the smallpox Mother; they also pay reverence to Mahādeva, from whom they claim descent. The Barwānī sept, which is one of the most primitive, is said to have a well-defined system of sept totems, each sept reverencing a special tree or animal. If the totem be a tree, they enshrine it; if it be an animal, they keep it as a pet, and women veil their heads. The tribal totem, however, is said never to be a representation of the totem. Luard (Central India Census Rep. 1901, i. 197 ff.) who gives this account, adds, ‘as a rule, some spirit is supposed to live in the tree or other object.’ It may be suspected that we have here an instance of confusion between totemism and tree- or animal-worship.

7. Rājputāna branch.—The religion of this branch has been fully described by T. H. Henty (J.R.A.S. xiii. 1877, ii. 350, 351; Col. Kincard, Excavations in Rājputāna, 1876-7, ii. 397 ff.; E. E. Luard, Cent. India Census Rep. 1901, i. 127 f.).


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8. Language.—Bhils are usually credited with possessing a special language of their own, which has been named Bhili. It is probable that these wild tribes did once speak a language belonging to the Dravidian or to the Mundā family, but they have long since abandoned it. At the present day they speak a mongrel form of the Gujarāti spoken by their more civilized Aryan neighbours to their west. Their speech varies according to locality, and, in the District of Khāndesh, in the Bombay Presidency, has become mixed with Marāthī, the fusion of the two main languages resulting in a well-marked and interesting dialect known as Kond. The general Bālī jargon has some peculiarities of pronunciation which it shares with the dialects of North Gujarāt and, through them, with other languages of the extreme North-West of India, from Sind to the Hindu Kush. These are the pronunciation of s as a rough ə, as in Kānd (Kānd), ‘gold’; the tendency to dissipation and to harden soft
BhilSA

BHILSA.—Bhil is the name of a village in Cempena, and the name of the tribe by which Cunningham in the title of his book, The Bhilsa Topes, to the whole district, about 24° N., by 77° E., in which the village is situated. It is a hilly, well-watered district of considerable natural beauty. Cunningham, for instance (p. 320), speaking of the Sathihara Hill, says:

"The hill on which the tope stands forms here a perpendicular cliff, beneath which flows the Basul river through a deep rocky glen. The view up the river is one of the most beautiful I have seen in India."

He then describes the view; and has similar remarks (p. 342) on the beauty of the view from the Andheri Hill. As the principal summit was called Chetiyia-Giri, 'the Shrine Hill' (Mahadevasiri, xii. 2), and Sanchi, a large Buddhist shrine, it was probably already, before the Buddhist movement, the site of one of those sacred places on the hill-tops where tribal festivals used to be held. If that be so, this may have been one of the reasons which led the Buddhists to choose the place as of approximately the same height, and of their religious and educational establishments.

This main summit is now called Sanchi (q.v.). Remains have also been found at Sonari, Sathihara, Bhojpur, and Andheri. At Sonari there are two large square terraces, one on the top of the hill, the sides of which are each 240 ft. in length, and one a little lower down, the sides of which are 165 ft. in length. The centre of the larger terrace was occupied by a solid hemispherical dome, or tope, 45 ft. in diameter, rising from a cylindrical plinth 4 ft. in height. At the height of about 30 ft. the top of the dome was level and surrounded by a stone railing now broken away. The remains of it were found by Cunningham at the foot of the dome. Cunningham sank a well 50 ft. deep and found nothing. The original height, including that of the ornamental structure which occupied the centre of the levelled space at the top of the dome, must have been about 50 feet. Outside the S.W. corner of this square terrace on which the dome stood was a solid square pile of masonry, level at the top, from 12 to 15 ft. high according to the undulations of the ground, and measuring 36 ft. along each side. A flight of steps 44 ft. wide leads from the hillside to the summit. This was evidently the approach of some sacred edifice constructed entirely of wood, as nothing remains to show for what purpose it was intended. Round the foot of the dome ran a paved procession pathway enclosed by a carved stone railing, with gates at the four cardinal points. Both this and the railing round the top were of white stone brought from a distance. The tope itself was built of the claret-coloured stone found on the Sonarli Hill. There are short dedicatory inscriptions on portions of the lower railing, cut in Pali characters, and they are cut in the 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., giving the names of the donors of those portions.

The dome which occupied the lower terrace of 165 ft. square was of a slightly different construction. It was solid like the other, built of stone without mortar, 274 ft. in diameter, rising from a plinth 4¾ ft. in height, the plinth resting on a cylindrical foundation 12 ft. high. The level top of this foundation was reached by a fine double flight of steps, 25 ft. in breadth, leading on to a circular pathway, 6 ft. broad, running all round the dome. The height of the whole had been about 40 ft. from top to bottom, but is now much reduced by the removal of any stone railing. On a shift being sunk down the centre of the dome five relic-caskets were found, each inscribed with the name of the person of whose funeral pyre portions were enclosed in the casket. Two of these are named of missionaries who, according to the chronicles of Mahavir, viii. 10, and Mahadevasiri, xii. 421, were sent to the Himalaya regions after the close of the Council at Pata, held in B.C. 254.

The discovery of these names was of the utmost importance for the criticism of the Buddhist chronicles written in Ceylon. They are given in the inscriptions as those of missionaries to the Himalaya. Some centuries afterwards they are found in the chronicles in the list of the missions sent out, as those of the men who were sent to the Himalaya. The inscriptions, buried in Northern India, were, of course, unknown in Ceylon. The traditions handed down in the island were sufficiently well guarded to have preserved these details accurately throughout this long interval of time.

Besides these two great topes, there were on the top of the Sonarli Hill six smaller ones arranged in two rows to the south-east of the largest terrace. These had all been opened before Cunningham's visit in 1852, and he found nothing in them.

On the Satthihara Hill, three miles across the valley from Sonarli, there are seven topes remaining on as many terraces. The largest of these solid domes was no less than 191 ft. in diameter, and its height must have been approximately 75 feet. Nothing was found in it. There were three of the solid basements, such as the one found at Sonarli, on which must have stood other buildings probably made of wood. In a second, much smaller tope, 230 ft. in diameter, at the foot of this huge pile, were found two caskets, empty, but inscribed with the names of Sarpituta and Mahâ Mogallâna, the two principal disciples of Gautama, the Buddha. A third tope had a diameter of 24 ft., and contained relic-caskets, but no inscription. Four smaller ones, all of which had been previously opened, contained nothing.

The topes at Bhojpur, which are very numerous, stand on the southern end of a low range of hills on the opposite side from Sonarli and Satthihara of a broad valley and have been carefully examined. The largest stands in the centre of a levelled terrace, 252 ft. long by 214 ft. broad, and was 61 ft. in diameter. The next in size had a diameter of 39 feet. In a third of only 31 ft. diameter the relic-caskets bore names otherwise unknown. Cunningham examined 33 other topes on the slopes of this range of hills, but they had been previously opened; and nothing of importance, and no inscriptions, were found in them.

The Andheri tope are perched on the northern decliv of a range of high hills, and command a fine view of the whole valley of the Betwa. The height of this huge pile facing Bhojpur across another valley. There are on the very edge of the cliff, about 500 ft. above the plain; and the position is a very fine one, commanding a wide outlook over the BihJsa district with its dome-surronded peaks and fertile valleys. The tope are 215 ft. in diameter, 19 ft., and 15 ft. in diameter. At each of them inscriptions were found, of some of the names re-currins also at Sanchi, and belonging to contemporaries of Asoka. One of them is Moggali-putta, who made the tope 123 cent. B.C., giving the names of the donors of those portions.

In the book of the BudJhst Canon, and the only book in it which is ascribed to a particular author.
Asoka, when on his way to take up the vice-
royalty of Ujjain during the last years of his
father's life, stayed in the Bhilsa district, and
married a local lady Indra (vii. 43. 12). In this
Vedisa named Deva. Three children were born
there, and then Asoka succeeded to the throne on
the death of his father. As the marriage was a
misalliance he left his wife behind, and she brought
up the children. Two of them, Mahinda and his
sister, became famous missionaries who, with the
famous missionaries who carried Buddhism to Ceylon.
It is recorded how Mahinda, before he departed on
the mission, went to Bhilsa to take leave of his
mother, and stayed there at a vihara she had left.
(Mahabharat, xii. 1-14; Saramata Pandita, p. 318 ff.; Mahabodhi-
vansa, p. 115 f.).

It is sufficiently clear from these notices that the
district was, in the 3rd. cent. B.C. and probably
early, an important centre of Buddhist activity.
The massive terraces and solid temples are identical in
form with some other where the plan is used, it may
be assumed that even as a singular the word has a
powerful force. Indian tradition, however,—to
anticipate a little—interprets the sing. bhrigu as
denoting the ancestor of an ancient race of seers,
and the plural, as denoting his descendants.

In the Rigveda the Bhrigus are associated
mainly with the legend of the acquisition of fire
by the human race. The Bhrigus, having dis-
covered Agni in the bosom of the waters (i. 4. 2;
x. 40. 2), or having received him from Matarisvan
(i. 4. 5. 10, x. 46. 9), introduced him amongst men (i. 56. 6, iii. 2. 4), deposited him in
wood (vi. 15. 2), and caused him to become luminous in
that substance (iv. 7. 1), bringing him forth
by friction (i. 127. 7, x. 46. 9, i. 143. 4) or
lighted their songs (x. 29. 5).

In two passages (iv. 16. 20 and x. 39. 14) the
Bhrigus are referred to as waggon builders:—
We have composed a song for Indra (or, for the Avisus
[as skillfully] as the Bhrigus [build] a waggon.
§ Roth's conjecture (Pet. Woorerb, s.v., 'Bhrigu'), that
the word that stood originally in these passages was
ribbavo, finds some support in Sayaana (on x. 39. 14:
karmanyagad ribbava bhagavato utgnate), but the
present writer believes that we have here the
primitive nucleus of the legend, i.e. that bhrigu was
originally the name of a metal worker, one of those who,
working with wood, might naturally be the first to discover
that that substance could be ignited by friction.

The other Rigveda passages are rather colourless.
They appear as the sacrifice of remote antiquity,
and along with the Aigrasces and Aitareyas and
Atharvangas (x. 14. 6); people invoke Agni in the
same manner as did the Bhrigus, Angiras, and
Mann (viii. 43. 13). In the 'Vedas' the Bhrigus, as far
as we know, have helped the Bhrigus and the Yatis (viii. 3. 9,
6. 18; cf. 3. 16). They stand on an equality with the
gods in viii. 35. 3 and x. 92. 10. A more
important aspect is shown in x. 101. 13, where
people are advised to drive away the niggarly
Bhrigu. As the Bhrigus are [drive away] the Makha, but we
possibly fear no further information regarding this
Makha. We seem to have a historical reference in vii. 18. 6, where the Bhrigus,
along with the Druhyus, are spoken of as vassals of
King Sivas.

In the Atharvaveda bhrigu is mentioned four
times—once (xvii. i. 58) in a strophe identical with
one in the Rigveda. In iv. 14. 5 it is
indefinable, merely saying that sacrificers should go
to heaven along with the Bhrigus. In ii. 5. 3 it is
said that Indra clove the Yasa asunder as Bhrigu
nom.) conquered his enemy intoxicated with soma; in
the same strophe the Yatis are again referred to
(cf. above, Rigv. vii. 3. 9 and 6. 18), but,
strange to say, it is stated here that Indra
killed Vritra with the Yatis (acc. to passages
(xv. 19. 4), however, is most interesting one:
Srijayyas, Vaitahayyas perished because they
injured Bhrigu. We shall return to this
information below.

In the later Vedisa, as also in the epic literature,
Bhrigu stands forth as the progenitor of a celeb-
trated family of priests; many of his posterity,
the Bhrigus—and Bhravas, 'sons of Bhrigu'—
are mentioned individually by name, and for
the most part they enjoy a great reputation. Bhrigu
himself was held to be of Divine origin, as is
attested by so ancient an authority as the Aitarea
Brahmans (cf. iii. 33-34): the seed of Prajapati
was cast into the fire by the gods, in order that
it might not be spoil'd; from that which first flamed
forth arose Adivya (the sun); from the second
(flame) came Bhrigu, who was adopted by Varuna,
and hence Bhrigu is a son of Varuna; that which
the third time flashed brightly forth (addict)
became the Adivyas, and that which the coals
(auguras) were become the Angiras, etc. The
twofold story is told in the further passages
(i. 4. 5. 13) regarding the origin of Atri.
Yaska ( Nir. 3. 17) combines the two legends, saying
that the first to arise from the beam (archis) of the
fire was Bhrigu (then Angiras from the coals (auguras),
and thirdly Atri from the ashes of the fire.
The Bhrigus (x. 97-100) gives a similar version.
In the Mahabharata (xii. 95. 96 ff.), Bhrigu, Angiras, Kavi,
Marichi, Kasyapa, Atri, etc., are said to have
sprung from seed of Brahma which had been cast
into the fire. According to the Mahabharata
then Angiras from the coals (auguras), and thirdly
Atri from the ashes of the fire.

That Bhrigu was adopted by Varuna is intimated
also in the Mahabharata (xii. 66. 41), Bhrigu was generated from the heart of
Brahman, while in the Bhrigvada Purana (xii. 12.
23) he is said to have issued from Brahan's skin.

That Bhrigu was adopted by Varuna is intimated
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23) he is said to have issued from Brahan's skin.

Bhrigu is the singular.

In the opinion of the present writer, as vassals by
calumny.

Here derived from bhrfjati, 'to roast': bhrifikamano na
dhe. Aitareya tripiyam richakti yuchu tasmad Atri
(Satyapatha, i. 4. 5. 13, atren pandi jtu).

Cf. x. 16. 5. 15 (Arjunas bhrigus pitron angurukilu
vignime). The interpretation of this verse is
questionable. It is possible that Bhrigu sprung from a third part of Indra's force, is a mere
teleological speculation, designed to supplement
Bhrigu must have been present as Bhrj at the festival in question.
Anuk. to the Rigveda, which speaks of him, or Jaimaliga, as the composer of Rigveda i.x. i.5, and of him, or Chayavana, as the composer of x. 10 (both of these individuals being of Bhrigu's line). Beyond this, the later Vedic texts add relatively very little to our information regarding Bhrigu. All that is worth mentioning is the legend just alluded to (Satap. xi. 6. 1. 14*). It is narrated here that Bhrigu deemed himself wiser than his father Varuna, who, observing this, sent him upon a pilgrimage, on the understanding that on his return he should relate what he had seen. By Varuna's instructions he journeyed to all the four quarters of the earth. He met with dreadful things on every hand; he saw men cutting their follow-men in pieces, and then distributing and devouring the fragments. When he asked them why they pursued such a course, he always received the same answer: 'These men dealt thus with us in the other world, and we now deal with them in the same way.' He also inquired if there was no possible reconciliation, and received the reply: 'Certainly, your father knows of it.' He comes at last to the land of the East and the South,† where he sees two women, one beautiful, the other passing beautiful, and between them a black man with yellow eyes, and with a stick in his hand. Bhrigu is terrified, and returns home. Concerning the latter part of the legend we have no accounts; he has 'seen,' and then (Sil.) shows him the meaning of what he has seen. But the explanation is certainly a disappointing one from our point of view, being simply a piece of absurd symbolizing in regard to certain features of the Agni-lotrata festival.

Amongst other references to Bhrigu in the Brahmana literature we ought to mention Kāṇāṭakī Brāhmanā, xxx. 5, where the Aitaśayanas are spoken of as the worst of the Brāhins.§ In the case of the Agiṅgetas, Brāhmanas and Cāndīs are closely connected, and bṛhgyaṅgetaranuk═indeed is actually used as a title of the Atharvaveda.¶ They are likewise often found together in the Mahābhārata and the Parāśāyas. Apart from these notices, Bhrigu is mentioned, along with Atri, Angiras, etc., mainly in the list of Brāhmaṇas and patriarchs. It is in these texts, of course, that he at length stands forth as in all respects a Rṣi of primitive times, while in Mahābhārata, i. 99. 6 and xii. 3. 19 he is even exalted to the Devayuṣya. The Devayuṣya is the Mahābhārata (i. 5. 7. 5, ii. 47. 17-22, xii. 343. 55) that Bhrigu, incensed because his wife Pulōna had been betrayed into the hands of the Rākṣas Pulōman by Agni, cursed the latter, and ordained that he must suffer the penalty of consuming everything, no option being allowed.†† Agni rebels against this, resigns his function,‡‡ and hides himself. God and men, however, find him indispensable, institute a search, and discover him at length in his retreat. But Agni resums his work only after having pronounced a redemptive sentence, containing words, and given the assurance that he is to be:

† The passage is not altogether clear.
‡§ Aśīktśāyata, according to Śkaṇḍavana = aśīktśāyata, 'one whose womb is past.
§ Bṛhiṅgavāṁśīpīgāvāḥ.
¶ See Brounoff, 'Hymns of the Atharva-Veda,' SBE xii. P. xxvii.
* See the catalogue in Wilson, Vīdūḥa-Paṛṣāṇa (ed. Hall), i. 116. ii. 301. iii. 627. iv. 839. *Bṛhiṅgavāṁśa in the Pāṇāḍe-perian.
* I. i. 6. 1: vareṇahakṣaḥ kṛihara-vpiśati; ii. 47. 22: sarenahakṣaḥ ca ārunāctvā yābhu; xii. 43. 6: sarenahakṣaḥ kṛihara-vpiśati. 
| | 11. i. 7. 12: chakre saṁkaraṁ utmaṁ (ib. 16: kṛihara-vpiśati).
 |
| *** His hiding-place, let us note, was the asatmakāra, i.e. an asatmakāra-tree which grew in a sāmi (cf. i. xiv. 47. 17)—the tree whose wood was commonly used for producing fire by frictio.
It is alleged, however, in these passages that the original cause of the feud was that King Kârta-vyâra (or his sons) had stolen a calf of the sacrificial cow of Bhrgu, and that Mûru, who happened to be abroad at the time, learns of the atrocity on his return, and kills Kârta-vyâra with an arrow. The sons of the avenge his death by slaying the aged Jamadagni. Then Pana-rûma takes an oath that he will extirpate the entire race of the Kûśâs, and, seven times told, he did clear the earth of the Kûśâ race.†

† Here, once more, the crime perpetrated against the offspring of Bhrgu is a seizure of their property, and the culprits are again descendants of Kârta-vyâra. Now the latter are quite distinctly spoken of as the Nîlgha-s, a word which, according to the Nîlghas, and the pottori of Kârta-vyâra, however, include also the Tâlajâghas, who the Bhrgus are reported to have conquered, as the Áhirgrases conquered the Nîpas, as Bhiradâvâ the Vai- tâhavas.‡ But the narrative in Mahâbhârata, xiii. 30,§ says that the Vai-tâhavas, too, belonged to the Hâilayas. Let us now examine the passage in Atharv. v. 19.1: bhrguûn hinistob shrîrijagâ vaitâhavâh pârdhâhan. The idea at once suggests itself that the incident recorded here should perhaps be connected with the epic legends just referred to. In this case, however, the cele- brated song in Atharv. v. 18, immediately preceding the passage before us, appears in an entirely new light. We cannot here discuss the matter in detail, but we may at least quote the stanza. +111: +

† They who ruled over a thousand, and were themselves ten hundred, the Vai-tâhavas, when they devoured the cow of the Brâmâna, perished (11). The cow herself, when slaughtered, came down upon the Vai-tâhavas, who had roasted for them- selves the last share of Kesarâ-prâbhadh. If this interpretation be correct, then the bhrgun of v. 19.1 should be regarded as meaning the Bhrgu-family, while Kesarâ-prâbhadh (v. 18.11) might perhaps be identified as the wife of Jamadagni.‡

‡ As regards the etymological explanation of the word bhrgu, we have already noted that Yâsaka (Nîr. iii. 17) connects it with bhirjîti, 'roast,' while according to Mahâbhârata, xiii. 85. 105, it is derived from the onomatopoeic bhrgir, the 'crack- ling' of fire. Macdonnell §§ suggests that bhrgu-shinga considers the Bhrgu-myth of the Rigveda to be merely a developed form of the tradition regarding the descent of fire, and identifies Bhrgu with Agni. According to A. Kuhn and A. Barth, ¶ the Bhrgus are personified in the Rigveda as the 'heavenly fire.' This view is in accordance with the opinion of Bleek, and is confirmed by the use of the term bhrgi in the Rigveda, v. 13.13ff. 24.14 ff. on the assumption of the linguistic equation bhrgins = bhrgins, tried to harmonize the Greek myth regarding the descent of fire. Moreover, bhrgi is one of the objects of reverence in the Veda. A. Weber §§ had previously called attention to the affinity of bhrgi and agni, and proposed the theory that the tradition (Satapatha, xi. 6.1) outlined above is a relic of primitive Indo-English translation and parallel passages see Wilson, Vîshki-Purâna, 1.19 ff.

§ According to Bhârgota-Purâna, i. 15. 26, both calf and cow.

¶ Cited iii. 117. 9 (Wilson, op. cit. 93).

† See, e.g., Hariv. 1890, Bhûg. Pur. ii. 23. 23 ff.

‡ Here King Vitâhavah, by favour of Bhrgu, becomes a Brâmâ- man. Hariv. 1903, and Bhûg. Pur. ii. 29. 23 call Vîthâves the Bhrgu and the Vai-tâhavas the Hâilayas.

§ Bloomfield’s tr., SBE xii. 170.

¶ Who in the epic is called Pana-rûma.

‖ Etymologically the word bhrgi means “shining,” from the root bhr, “to shine.” See also his subsequent references to works treating of the interpretation of the Bhrgu-myth.

§§ Religions sédàque, 1878-83, i. 52-56.


†† Les Religions de l’Inde, Paris, 1855, 8.

‡‡ See also Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 190. 19.
must have arisen, or at least have been re-named, under Hindu influence.

2. Religion in the United Provinces. — In the United Provinces the Bhuiyas have advanced a further form of Hinduism than their brethren in Bengal. Their chief deity is Kâlî, who, as in the case of Thakurâni Mâta, has probably succeeded some aboriginal goddess, such as the Pauri or Pahâri Devî of the Bhuiyans of Sântlu. Kâlî’s shrine is a rude thatched hut, in which a mound of earth raised on a platform represents the shrine of the goddess. They also worship, by the agency of the bâgîû (wh. sec), the dîh, or village gods, and the Earth-goddess Dharth Mâta, with a sacrifice of goats, young pigs, and fowls. Another heroine is the Lahâng Bir, who is propitiatory by the rite of fire-walking. The worshipper, possessed by the spirit of the hero, is said to sustain no injury by walking over burning coals or by rolling his body among thorns. An instance of tree-worship appears in the rite at the Anant-chandâs festival in the rabari, when a dance round a branch of the Karonna tree (Anthocapaphus cadamba) is made for the occasion licence and rude debauchery. A man killed by a tiger becomes a dangerous ghost, and is worshipped at the retreat of the kindred at the place of his death. The field-deity is Harîyân Devî, ‘the Mother-goddess of greenery,’ and to her the bâgîû offers a sacrifice of fowls and an oblation of spits at the end of the harvest season. They are careful to prevent the dead by making offerings of food to them. This is done simply through fear lest the ghosts, if neglected, may come back and vex the living. It thus does not amount to ancestor-worship in the true sense of the term.


W. CROOKE.

BHUTAN. — Bhutan is a long, narrow, mountainous country occupying the southern slopes of the Eastern Himalayas for a length of about 220 miles. Its breadth from the Tibetan border to the Indian plains averages about 90 miles. It is bounded on the north by Tibet, on the west by independent Sikkim and the Darjiling District of Bengal, on the south by the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and on the east by the border of Tibet and the territory of semi-independent tribes. This art. will sketch the life and ethics of the Bhutânese. For their religion see next article.

The origin of the people is uncertain. The most likely theory is that the country was originally inhabited from the north by Tibetans, and was conquered some centuries ago by invaders from Tibet, who drove from the mountains the old dwellers, except those who were made slaves by the conquerors. The present inhabitants bear unmistakable traces of close affinity in appearance with the Tibetans, and this is more striking the farther north they live. Those who inhabit the more southern parts give evidence of intermingling with the darker peoples of the plains, and of the influence of more unhealthy regions. Compare with the Bhuiyas, a few Bhutânese are to be found on the outer ranges abutting on the plains. These have of late years been largely occupied by Nepali immigrants, whose habits and customs must much resemble the same as those of their land of origin (see Nepals). The country is sparsely populated. No certain information is available as to the population, though an estimate of 110,000—30,000 Bhutânese, 30,000 Nepalis (with a few hundred Lepchas from Sikkim) is given rather than under the mark.

There is no written code of laws in Bhutân. The inhabitants say that they have no written code, but it got lost in the course of their frequent fightings. The poverty and lawlessness of the people are expressed by a Tibetan proverb: ‘In Bhutân there are no handles to the pots, and no law in the land.’ Might is right. The Government officers are usually unsalaried, with the inevitable result of extortion and injustice. The country has been priest-ridden in the extreme by the Lamas, who, it is asserted, give the worst of examples from the moral point of view. The population has declined. The unsettled political state of the country has accounted for this to some extent, but polyandry and other vicious customs have probably had greater influence. Polyandry is more prevalent in the northern parts, where the connexion with Tibet is closer. It is excused on the ground of poverty, and is probably on the decline. A woman who marries the eldest brother often becomes also the wife of the other brothers. Polygamy, too, is practised by some. Government officers sometimes keep wives in different parts of the country, but the practice is being prohibited by the British rulers. The marriage tie is loosely held. Chastity has been almost unknown, and the proportion of the people suffering from venereal diseases is appallingly large. Woman naturally holds a freer and more independent position than in India, and does more than her share of the work of the house and the field. As a whole, the men are indolent and addicted to strong drink. Physically they are robust and muscular. Their chief amusements are archery and quoits. In character they may be described as plucky, hot-tempered, truculent, avaricious, and unforgiving. While cruel to their enemies, they are of a kind and charitable towards their friends. The better classes are courteous in manner. Slavery or serfdom is prevalent, and on the Indian frontier is a village largely inhabited by escaped slaves. Punishment for thefts is severe—usually the thief in theft the penalty is to lose the right hand and the left foot. Capital punishment is inflicted by drowning in a river. Religious exercises are well attended to. The people are superstitious and ignorant. Education has made little or no progress, and is unknown outside the monasteries. Personal cleanliness is sadly neglected. Judged by present-day Western standards, the Bhutânese are certainly not an attractive people.

There are many indications, however, that a better day is dawning in Bhutân. A few of the boys are showing a desire for Western education. The strong character and higher ideals of the present Mahârajâ, and the notable change which has come over a few individuals who have been influenced by contact with European civilization, are hopeful signs. The recent transfers of power in the hands of the Mahârajâ bodes well for the political future of the land, and its consequent more settled state will beneficially affect its moral condition. The people are a sturdy stock, and are so far opened out by intercourse that energy and exclusiveness, and delivered from the domination of the Lâmas and the evils of polyandry, there is every prospect of their becoming a strong, independent, and forceful race, and of the country entering upon a career of prosperity before unknown. During the late war with Tibet, the rulers eventually threw themselves enthusiastically on the British side, and they are more amenable than ever to the advice of the Political Agent.

LITERATURE.—See the literature referred to at the end of next article.

J. A. GRAHAM.

BHUTAN, BUDDHISM IN. — Bhutân, or more correctly ‘Bhotin’ (i.e. the end of Bhot or Tibet), the Sanskrit name by which this country is known to Europeans through the Himalayas of the British Indian province bordering it), is a large independent principality situated in the south-eastern Himalayas, wedged in between Tibet and Bengal. It is 300 miles long, and its valleys are sparsely peopled by the semi-savage Mongoloid tribe which calls itself ‘Duk-pa’ (spelt hBrug pa), a term which is also employed to denote the form of Lâmaism that is professed in
the country. The Duk-pa Buddhism, as found in Bhotān, where it appears to be the sole recognized form of religion therein prevalent, is very different from the primitive unformed type of Lāmāism in Tibet. It is very thickly overlaid by aboriginal animistic cults and the gross worship of malignant deities, so as to be scarcely recognizable as Buddhism at all, save for a few externals in the way of symbolism and a little deeply-embodied ethical teaching of Sakyayi the Master.

Buddhism appears to have entered this country for the first time about 300 years ago, when in the beginning of the 17th cent. A. D. a Lāmā from the adjoining border of Southern Tibet invaded Bhotān and, forming a band of Tibet soldiers and forcibly occupied the country. This Lāmā, named Z’a-bdra-nag-dba nam-rgyal, established a hierarchy, somewhat on the model of that of the Grand Dalai Lāmā of Lhāsa, and it still survives. Nominally, this Bhotānese Grand Lāmā, or high priest, is literally a priest-king, who bears the Indian title of Dharma Rāja, or ‘Religious King,’ and combines in his hands both the spiritual and temporal rule, whilst his succession is arranged on the re-incarnation theory. On his decease, his spirit is supposed to transmute into the body of a newly-born male child, who is to be sought for and identified by monks and supernatural portents. The regulation of the succession in this way is kept in the hands of an ‘elder priest, who was educated both at Lhāsa and Central Tibet. During the minority of this re-incarnated priest a regent is appointed for the management of the temporal concerns, and is called Dej-Rāja, or ‘Provincial Regent or Governor,’ and he seems usually to be a secular chief. The pretentious and divine nature claimed by the Grand Lāmā of Bhotān is evident in his full title as given on his seal: ‘Chief of the Realm, Defender of the Faith, Equal to Sarasvatī [the Hindu goddess of learning] in learning, Chief of all the Buddhists, Head Expounder of the Commentaries, Caster out of Devils, Most Learned in the Holy Laws, God incarnate, Absolver of Sins, and Head of the Best of all Religions.’

Technically, the Duk-pa form of Lāmāism is an offshoot of the hermit section of Lāmās called Duk-pa. Indeed, this Duk-pa sect was probably founded by a Saint Millamapa in laying special stress on residence in caves as a means of gaining magical powers; though otherwise the doctrines are generally similar to those of the old unformed Lāmāism of the West. The sect dwells in the rocky Tibetan hills which border upon Bhotān, and on its establishment in this latter country it adopted a fictitious so-called inspired ‘revelation’ alleged to have been unearthed by a Lāmā named San-gyas-glin, by means of which the priests were enabled to relax still further the Buddhist obligations, whilst admitting of the retention en bloc of the popular spirit-worship and witchcraft. Amongst the monks only a few profess to celibate, but it is doubtful whether any even of these are really so. The distinctive hat is of a red colour, and that of the head Lāmā bears as a badge a vertical cross formed by two thunderbolts, with reference to a legend of thunder-dragons (Duk) which is related in explanation of the etymology of the sectarian title 'Duk-pa.' The Bhotānese lāyits as well as the priests, unlike the Tibetans, shave their heads.

The monasteries and temples are of the general shape and appearance of those in Tibet, but roofed over with wide wooden gables which fall in this climate. The largest monastery is at Tashi-chho, which is the residence of the Dharma Rāja and the capital of the country. It has been visited and described by Manning, Bogle, Turner, and others, and is said to have about 1000 monks, though other accounts place it at 12,000. In the British Bhotān there are small Duk-pa temples at K밤-pong and Pedong near Darjiling. The total number of Duk-pa priests cannot be stated with certainty; but it has been estimated at about 5000, or about 1 to 10 of the population. Only about half reside in cloisters, the remainder being employed as State officials and traders. There are also a considerable number of hermits and a few nuns.


L. A. WADDELL.

BIBLE.

[W. SANDAY.]

The word ‘Bible’ has come to mean substantially a sacred book, with great slight variations in meaning, for Jews and Christians. That book is the Bible of Moulmannadans. When we speak of ‘the Bible,’ we mean the sacred book of Christians. But this is a derived sense. Our English word comes from the Greek through the Latin. The Greek original meant simply ‘books’ in the plural; τὰ βιβλία, a collection of sacred books, or more strictly of rolls. In this sense the use of the word goes back to the prologue to Ecclesiasticus (c. 130 B.C.); cf. 1 Mac 12. When the Greek βιβλία was transmigrated into Latin, it came to be treated as a singular and a feminine.

The earliest extant of the books known to the writer is that given by Sir James Murray, OED, &c.; it occurs in a library catalogue of the 9th cent. (Becker, Catalog. Biblioth. Antiq., 42, ed. p. 172); and occurs in the name used by the Geographers in the East (Du Cange, &c.); an expressive designation of the ‘divine library’ compressed into a single volume; and this term occurs frequently in the catalogues of the 9th and 10th cents. (Becker, op. cit. pp. 4, 13, 16, 17, 24, 43, 59, 60, etc.). The word characteristic of Cassiodorus (c. 480-580) is pandectes; we remember that Justinian published his Pandectes in 533, and Cassiodorus his Institutiorum ab 544.

At the time when the books which we call the Bible were written, the usual form for a book to take was the roll. After the invention of writing, the material of books somewhat varied with time and place. The Babylonians employed a square pine and a sharp point on clay. The Hebrew collection that we call the OT was written mainly, if not entirely, on skin. With the natural conservation which obtains in such a material, the Jewish law to this day makes use of leather and of the roll form for the sacred volumes. The graphic creation of the Hebrews, the Jihokim cut to pieces and burns the roll that had just been read to him will give an idea of the outward appearance. The Greek books that go by the name of NT are a variety of this, and a different and more advanced civilization, that of the Greek-Roman commonwealth. By this time the material commonly used for books was papyrus (2 495); and it is probable that most of the books of NT were originally written on papyrus (though parchment is mentioned in 2 Ti 4). But alike in the case of the OT and of NT the form adopted was that of the roll, with the text written in slender vertical columns. The volume was held in both hands, with one or two columns exposed to view at a time, and was rolled up with the left hand and unraveled with the right as it was read.

There was a distinct national size for the roll, which determined roughly the length of a book. It was for this reason that the Twelve Minor Prophets were written on a single roll and counted as a single section of the Old Testament. In the oldest Hebrew tradition, as given in the Talmud (baba bethri, 14) and still observed in German and French MSS, the order of the twelve books is that of length: Jer, Ezek, isa., Min. Proph., corresponding to each other as 21: 21: 19: 17 (Houelle). In like manner in NT the usual order of the New Testament Epistles is roughly that of length. From the custom of writing more than one shorter book on the same roll has arisen, quite innocently, the attribution of some writings that were not without merit to strong authors, e.g. several anonymous compositions that now go under the name of Isaiah, a similar anonymous composition (or compositions) added to the prophecy of Zechariah, etc.

The Christian Bible then was a double collection of rolls. That is its external description, but only external. It is of more importance that both volumes consisted of collections, and that both
these collections were regarded as sacred. We shall have to follow the line of inquiry thus suggested for both OT and NT. And when we have done our best to sift and weigh the testimony of the Bible, which is the final authority, or ought to be regarded, at the present day. In other words, the main treatment of our subject will naturally be historical, but the final summing up will be rather doctrinal; and the history should take such a form as to explain the doctrine.

It should be explained at the outset that in what follows the broad results of criticism, as at the present time widely accepted, are presupposed. That is to say, the usual literary analysis and criticism of the OT and the Historical Books, and so much of the criticism of the Prophets and other books as is common to the best writers, are taken for granted. It is also taken for granted that the levitical line in practice is practically the history by the promulgation of the Book of Deuteronomy in the OT; these portions of the literature which assume the single authorship of Moses, and the fully developed hierarchical system of Priestly Levites, being placed after that date, and these which do not make those assumptions, being placed before it. These fundamental principles of criticism have now been accepted for the world so long, and they have been so widely and severely tested in the daily work of so many competent and able scholars, that at least in the opinion of the present writer they must be regarded as verified and established. The standard for most English students is substantially that of Driver, Introd. to the Literature of the Old Testament (1900).

The oldest presentation of the other (more completely conservative) side is Dr. Orr's Problem of the OT (from 1906). The present writer has no personal sympathy with Dr. Orr's view of the religious character and use of OT; indeed, it is part of the purpose of this art to show that a view not essentially different, but more extreme, appears to some from critical scholar, to line with that of Driver and most at least of his English allies, though it is no doubt true that a different construction is put upon the facts underlying the OT by a more liberal scholar on the Continent. It is also probably true that there is still room for controversy, and perhaps even for critical theory. But as a whole the writer finds it impossible to think that Dr. Orr's position is permanently tenable, or that the main lines of the controversy need to be revised. The question is one of the fundamental principle underlying the present art, is that on its literary and historical side the book of the Bible must be studied like any other book (e.g. the Live Literature in which the merchant as much supports some parts of the problem), but that it does not therefore follow that in other respects, and in particular as a religious revelation, the Bible is only on the same level with these. The object is to discover how far the analogies with other books and other religious extend, and what there is in the Bible which detaches itself from, and rises above, the broad phenomena of other religions. To this extent it is inevitable that experiments must be continually going on; and the recent incursions of the Erastianists and students of Comparative Religion have been a further indication of the tendency. It is evident that either these experiments or others (like those of Prof. Eddins of Leyden) have very much to do with the question at a certain standard of Dr. Orr. It would be truer to say that recent years have seen a consolidation and general strengthening of the position critical.

I. THE BOOKS OF OT.

1. How the Books of OT came to be written. We begin by asking ourselves how, humanly speaking, did the books of OT come to be written? It is just on this side that we find the same kind of influence at work as in other ancient literature. There is a general agreement among scholars that the oldest pieces in OT, and those most nearly contemporary with the earlier events described, are the Songs.

(1) Fragments of ancient Song. — There is more analogy than we are apt to suppose between the beginnings of the epic and the beginnings of the literature of the OT. The literature of both peoples began with poetry, and not with prose. Sometimes one sees the generalization broadly laid down that all national literatures began with poetry; and this is doubtless widely true. Yet we are told of the oldest civilizations of all, those of Babylon and Egypt. We are struck, however, by the resemblance between the bards of the Odyssey, Hymnus and Demodocus, singing to the lyre in the bosom of the Great God, and the fragments of primitive song preserved in the OT. The difference is due simply to the different conditions and state of society. The scene is not the almost feudal banquet in the hall of the noble, but the tribal gathering round the well (Nu 21:17-19, Jg 5:1-21). And the character of the songs is just what we might expect from the Bible, though suggested by the utterances of the natural man: laments for the dead (2 Sam 14:9-7, 20), exultation over the fallen foe (Gn 4, 1 Sam 21:11), denunciation of the enemy (Nu 21:20-23), or of the backward and faithless friend (Jg 5:1). It preserves no less fervent of the helpful ally (Jg 5:6, 12-15) even though stained with treachery (ib, vv. 24-27). But, along with this, we note a very genuine and enthusiastic devotion to Jehovah as Israel's God: the wars of Israel are His wars (Nu 21:1-1 S 15:26); Israel cannot prosper without Him (Deut. 32:25-28). It is true that these passages do not apply quite definitely, though, of course, in general terms, the great covenant at Sinai (compare the reference in Jg 5:5-6). Some of the songs are quoted expressly from the Book of Jasher, i.e. of the Upright, apparently a book in which were set down the deeds of the heroes or worthies of Israel, where the name at least suggests something of that moral standard which began to be enforced as Israel's side of the covenant, just as 'the righteous acts of the Lord' (Jg 5:3-5) were the acts of His covenant people.

(2) Continuous history in prose. — The snatches of song to which reference has been made, scattered and fragmentary remains of a larger body, have come down to us embedded in later texts. The latest of the songs, however, must have been little earlier than the narrative in which they are found. By the time of David a prose style must have been fully developed by the side of the poetry. The comparatively settled conditions and rapidly advancing civilization of the reigns of David and Solomon soon gave the impulse to historical composition, of which we have a line example in the story of David's court and family contained in 2 S 9-20, with which should go 1 K 1:1-2. So admirable is this narrative, so fresh and living, so truthful in its general tenor, — reconciling events as they really happened, without undue preference either for one party or for another, — that more than one leading scholar (e.g. Budde after Duhm) has traced it to 'the archives of the house of Abiathar,' the priest who followed the fortunes of David from Gibeon to Jerusalem. It is also recognized that Saul, but was involved in the conspiracy of Adonijah, and compelled to retire in disgrace to his home at Anathoth (1 K 219).

As Thyniplies in his exile set himself to write the history of the Pales of Amos he may have seen at his retirement to describe the events in which he had borne an active part. Without laying too much stress on the person of Abiathar, his name may well be taken as a symbol of the conditions under which this earliest and best of all the specimens of Hebrew historical writing was composed. In 1 Samuel there are two distinct strains running side by side, and several lines leading to duplicate versions of the same event. It is quite possible that the earlier strain may be a continuation backwards of the narrative of 2 S 9-20. It is also probable that in these nearly contemporary chronicles we are to see the beginning of the school which first took in hand to trace back the history of Israel to its origins, and in the pursuit of these carried its researches into the literature of the ancient Arab peoples.

Thus the date of the writing is almost certainly to be placed after the reign of Jotham, and, as was said above, the recension to which the work is ascribed was produced not so much by a single author as by a school, in which one writer took up the pen from
another, as the monks did in the scriptoria of the Middle Ages. These writers are usually anonymous, for the idea of literary property in such departments as history had not yet arisen; indeed, it never became established among the Hebrews as it did among the Greeks.

While it may be set on so substantial a scale as by J, it is not surprising that it should have been followed. What J did in the Southern Kingdom, after an interval of time E did in the Northern. There, too, a school of historians seems to have taken root, who, like J, undertook to write down, with no means of symbolizing, the Northern tribes, especially Ephraim. This Northern school would seem to have been more directly under the influence of the prophets, who, by this time had become powerful. We know that the prophets joined together in bands or companies, and it is not impossible that the writing of history may have been one of the forms of their activity (cf. Kautzsch, 'Rel. of Israel,' in HDB, vol. v, p. 658). It is interesting to possess two lines of tradition so clearly and strongly marked as J and E. It also seems that there was a period of separate existence, perhaps after the fall of Samauria in B.C. 722, when the spiritual leaders of the Northern Kingdom naturally took refuge with their brethren of the South, the two lines were definitely brought together in a combined narrative.

(3) The writing Prophets of the earlier period.—So far we have had to do with literature that was not in its primary purpose moral or religious. The national traditions, as they were first committed to writing, seem to have told an unvarnished story. They reflect the national character, with its undisciplined passions and its traits of cunning deceit and fierce revenge. These features are prominent enough in the somewhat distant and idealized biographies of the patriarchs; they are still more prominent in the wild scenes of the Book of Judges; and they are prominent even in the life of Saul and the family history of David. Throughout all these periods we can see that the religion of Israel was as yet very imperfectly moral, and that the judgment and doom were not falling from on high upon the heathen monothemism. It began, like the religions of the nations around, with the cult of sacred stones and trees; it tolerated the use and worship of images (pteraphim), Jn 3115. 20. 34. Jg 17, 1 S 192; 'ophod' [possibly], Jg 88 V 17815; 'strange gods,' Gn 335. 34-15. 15.

These things should not be thought of as idolatry. They did not begin to be idolatry until the revelation contained in the Second Commandment had been clearly given and clearly apprehended. Before that time they were rather helps to worship, enabling the primitive man to realize that he had an object of worship outside himself. It was not to be expected that he should take in all at once so vast an idea as that of a Maker of heaven and earth. He was only able to use crutches or stepping-stones to higher things.

And yet it was not for nothing that the work of Moses lies in the background. Even the earlier documents show a consciousness that Israel had a special mission among the nations. It was in accordance with this mission that Abraham had been called from the East, and that the fortunes of his descendants were subject to a Divine guiding, bringing good out of evil (Gn 50). We might say generally, that the proportion as the prophetic influence makes itself felt, and therefore especially in the later strata of the narrative. Sometimes this is to the detriment of the history as such: contrast, e.g., the treatment of the origin of the monarchy in the earlier version (1 S 9-10-8 11)11. 13 1372. 10. 13. 14) and in the later (1 S 7. 8. 10-74 12. 15). The literature so far, as we have said, seems to some extent a religions influence and shaping, but not as yet a definite and prominent religious purpose. We come to this in the works of the so-called writing Prophets. Prophecy had been from the first an essentially religious institution, but in its earlier phases the forms that it assumed were crude and rudimentary (1 S 10-9). The action of Nathan in the reign of David is a clear advance upon this (2 S 12-25). The first forms of prophetic religious reforms of Elijah and Elisha. But by this time, as we have seen, the prophets had probably begun to put the hand to the pen in the form of history. The impulse to this may have come with the general advance of civilization; in the case of David and Solomon there were already secretaries and perhaps a 'chronicler' (2 S 8-1, 1 K 4 Ktn). But there seems to have been something more than this general tendency at the beginning of written prophecy. There was a higher form of prophecy and a lower one, and prophetic writing seems to have been done in a different groove, and contended themselves with repeating the accepted maxims, which were religious in their origin but did not represent the deeper insight of religion. Such a lower truth wase doctrine that had grown up of an impending judgment, the gloom of the Lord coming, as it were, out of the genuine, self-regarding, attachment of Israel to its God, and the content belief that He would one day avenge His people upon their enemies and oppressors. But it was a startling novelty when the prophet Announced that this judgment would be tried against Israel itself, just because it was the chief people (Am 3-5. 6-6 9-7-9-8. 3. 94). As his announcement was of the nature of protest, and ran counter to all the popular ideas, it was not unnatural that the prophet should wish to fix it permanently on record, so that his words might be verified by the event. We know that they were so verified, and the same kind of move seems to have been present with the other prophets who, like Amos, prophesied in the land of Israel in the time of the two kingdoms, and these were the greatest of the prophets, and their scathing and searching addresses were the strongest of all the influences brought to bear in the building up of Israel as a people for God. It does not, indeed, follow that prophecy could be only in the Old Testament, and critics have probably gone too far in eliminating the notes of hope and promise. An Isaiah, when the occasion came, could himself bind up the wounds which he had made. But it is characteristic of the prophet to resist the tendencies of the natural man, and to always point the people upwards to higher things.

The Prophetic Books stand out as the most characteristic and the most truly inspired of all contributions to the religious and moral education of the world. Writings, many of them as with the heart's blood, in danger and suffering (Amos, Jeremiah), or under the stress of bitterest personal experience (Hos 1-3, Ezek), and we may surely add Is 56), they were always in the highest level of their surroundings, and the truths brought out in them form a continuous revelation.

(4) The history of Law as far as the Deuteronomic Reformation.—The Hebrew tradition certainly began not wrong in distinguishing the inspiration given to the law from the word of Moses. We repeatedly find the lines of later development converging backward up to that work. Although the belief to which it gave expression may be more correctly described as Monothestic than as Monotheistic—although, the
is also kept when the ultimate record writing. There is also every reason to believe that the bib. tradition was right in connecting the work of Moses with a great historical crisis and deliverance, though the account both of this and of the religious crisis that followed appears to have come down to us with a certain amount of idealization. That we have no contemporary record, and not even a record based to any extent upon writings nor lost but once more nearly contemporary. Perhaps the only instance in which we can lay the tiger on such an ancient authority is the Song of the Well in Nu 21:17-18, with the other songs in the one chapter (v. 14, 22-29), for both Ex 15 and Nu 21:24 are probably later. The Egyptian plagues and the story of the Red Sea are also So. too, the description of the giving of the Law from Mount Sinai. In other words, from the point of view of strict historical fact the narrative of these events bears to the narrative of the revolt of Shechem (Judg. 9) a close resemblance (let us say) to the narrative of the taking of Rome by the Gauls bears to the narrative of the Hannibalistic wars. In the one case folklore has been at work, in the other case not, or very sparingly. Just as there survived throughout the East the indistinct memory of a great destructive flood of the Tigris, so also within a narrower circle there must have survived the memory of some portentous volcanic eruption, which the folklore of Israel came to associate with the greatest event in its religious history. Such events were regarded by the Israelites as phenomena of this kind—thunder and lightning, storm and tempest, earthquake and volcanoes—that brought home to the Hebrew mind, nothing else did, the presence and the power of God. So came about that, when the more remote traditions of Israel were being collected in the earlier days of the monarchy, the story of the Wanderings in the Wilderness and the legislation of Sinai assumed their present form. There is little doubt that a nomadic period, during which the Israelites grew together by common settlement in Egypt, preceded the permanent settlement of Israel in Canaan. And we may well believe that Moses, taking advantage of the events which we have spoken of, and indeed specially inspired by God for this purpose, may have joined together the tribes in closer consideration, and cemented the bonds between them by a great and impressive religious foundation, which lived in the imagination of the people as the giving of a Law. If we seek to know more nearly the nature of this law-giving, natural, we may find a description in Ex 18 (JE), where Jethro asks Moses:

> What is this thing that thou dost to the people? why standest thou alone, and all the people stand about thee from morning even to evening? And Moses said unto his father-in-law, Because the people come unto me to inquire of God: when they have a matter, they come unto me; and I judge between their neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.

Or the description becomes still nearer (if we do not suppose too high a degree of origin) if the verses a little further on, where Jethro advises:

> Be thou for the people to Godward, and bring thou the causes unto God; and thou shalt teach them the statutes and judgments, and shall show them the way wherein they must walk,

This is one of the current views challenged by Prof. Keimann (Epp. 1908, pp. 115 ff., 193 ff., 345 ff.) and defended by Prof. G. A. with (ib. p. 354 f.). and the work that they must do. Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating wrong, able to set the people at rest, officers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: and let them judge the people at all seasons and it shall be, that every great matter they shall judge themselves: so shall it be easier for thee, and they shall bear the burden with thee.

This is the only step that it would seem, from the time of the monarchy, preserves to a remarkable extent the true features of the method by which Moses wielded his authority. If we could reproduce the actual facts, it is probable that he made use of the ordinary tribal machinery of shakshe, or elders; but he himself must have held a more commanding position, and the decisions and laws that he gave were doubtless given as oracles from God.

In the light of what we now know about the much older Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, it would not be at all surprising if Moses committed some of his laws to writing. And these laws might well be the nucleus of those that have come down to us in the Pentateuch. Scholars seem to agree that the book of Deuteronomy has been marked off as such is the so-called ‘Book of the Covenant’ (Ex 20:1-23:19). We may leave it to OT specialists to determine the succession of the different laws. The Pentateuch does not appear to have been completed in one kind of writing. For us it is more important to notice the landmark formed by the publication of the main body of the Book of Deuteronomy. This is perhaps the greatest of all the landmarks in the history of Israel; there is none in regard to which there seems to have been clearer division between that which falls on one side of the line and that which falls on the other. There is also a special interest in the Book of Deuteronomy, because its promulgation by King Josiah is a typical event in the process by which the religion and the surrounding authority. The event is thus described in a document that appears to be contemporary:

> And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up to the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord. And the king stood on the platform by the house of the Lord, and made the covenant before the Lord to all the people of Israel, and the elders made the covenant.

We have here a solemn religious act by which king and people alike the king in the name, and with the full consent of the people accept the book read before them as expressing the Divine will, and take its precepts as binding upon themselves. This is the essential meaning that, as applied to a book, is contained in the epigraph, canonical, which means authoritative, and authoritative because in its ultimate origin Divine.

We call this a landmark in the history, but we do so only because the description is so full and explicit. It is not to be supposed that the idea was a new one, or that it was applied to Dent, for the first time. It is anticipated by the description in Ex 20:24 (5) of the no less solemn acceptance of the ‘book of the covenant’ (Ex 20:25-28), or the nucleus of that section). But, indeed, both descriptions only represent the full acknowledgment by the whole community of that which was contained implicitly from the first in the manner in which the various statutes were given — as oracular responses from God. The laws given by Moses were not given in his own name but in the name of God, and they were accepted in the same sense by the people as

another, as the monks did in the scriptoria of the Middle Ages. These writers are usually anonymous, for the idea of literary property in such departments as history had not yet arisen; indeed, it never became established among the Hebrews as it did among the Greeks.

The prophetic book was set on so substantial a scale as by J, it is not surprising that it should have been followed. What J did in the Southern Kingdom, after an interval of time E did in the Northern. There, too, a school of historians seems to have taken root, who, like J, undertook to set forth in a literature which was as accessible as the sacred books of the Northern tribes, especially Ephraim. This Northern school would seem to have been more directly under the influence of the prophets, who by this time had become powerful. We know that the prophets joined together in bands or companies, and it is not impossible that the writing of history may have been one of the forms of their activity (cf. Kautzsch, 'Rel. of Israel,' in HDB, vol. v. p. 658). It is interesting to possess two lines of tradition so clearly and strongly marked as J and E. It is not a fact that all other periods of literature have existed, perhaps after the fall of Samaria in B.C. 722, when the spiritual leaders of the Northern Kingdom naturally took refuge with their brethren of the South, the two lines being definitely brought together in a combined native, J E.

(3) The writing Prophets of the earlier period.—So far we have had to do with literature that was not in its primary purpose moral or religious. The national traditions, as they were first committed to writing, seem to have told an unvarnished story. They reflect the national character, with its undisciplined passions and its traits of cunning deceit and fierce revenge. These features are prominent enough in the somewhat distant and idealized biographies of the patriarchs: they are still more prominent in the wild scenes of the Book of Judges; and they are prominent even in the life of Saul and the family history of David. Throughout all these periods we can see that the religion of Israel was as yet very imperfectly moralized; and it was by no means a pure monotheism. It began, like the religions of the nations around, with the cult of sacred stones and trees; it tolerated the use and worship of images ('teraphim,' Gn 31:19, 33, 3; Jg 17, 18; 19:19); 'eophod' [perhaps a liturgical breast-plate, Jg 17:28, 18:18-21; 'strange gods,' Gn 35, Jos 21:25, 21:26].

These things should not be thought of as idolatry. They did not begin to be idolatry until the revelation contained in the Second Commandment had been clearly given and clearly apprehended. Before that time they were rather helps to worship, enabling the primitive man to realize that he had an object of worship outside himself. It was not to be expected that he should take in all at once so vast an idea as that of a Maker of heaven and earth. He was content to measure stupes or stopping-stones to higher things.

And yet it was not for nothing that the work of Moses lies in the background. Even the earlier documents show a consciousness that Israel had a special mission among the nations. It was in pursuance of this mission that Abraham had been called from the East, and that the fortunes of his descendants were subject to a Divine guiding, bringing good out of evil (Gn 50:20). We might say generally that nothing was more strange to the ancient mind than the proportion as the prophetic influence makes itself felt, and therefore especially in the later strata of the narrative. Sometimes this is in the detriment of the history as such: contrast, e.g., the treatment of the origin of the monarchy in the earlier version (1 S 2, 10-14, 11:1-11, 15:27-29, 10-12, 25, 14) and in the later (1 S 7, 10-22, 12, 15). The literature so far, as we have said, shows indeed to some extent a religious influence and shaping, but not as yet a definite and predominant religious purpose. We come to this in the works of the so-called 'writing Prophets.' Prophecy had been from the first an essentially religious institution, but in its earlier phases the forms that it assumed were crude and rudimentary (1 S 10-19). The action of Nathan in the reign of David is a clear advance upon this (2 S 7:12-16). Then comes an almost dramatic account of the apocalyptic reforms of Elijah and Elisha. But by this time, as we have seen, the prophets had probably begun to put the hand to the pen in the form of history. The impulse to this may have come with the general advance of civilization; in the court of David and Solomon there were already secretaries and perhaps a 'chronicler' (2 S 8:9, 1 K 4:9 RVm). But there seems to have been something more than this general tendency at the beginning of written prophecy. There was a higher form of prophecy and profession of judgment and doom. These were the accepted maxims, which were religious in their origin but did not represent the deeper insight of religion. Such a lower truth was the doctrine that had grown up as an outcome of judgment, 'a story of the Lord,' upon the heathen. It arose out of the genuine, if self-regarding, attachment of Israel to its God, and the confident belief that He would one day avenge His people upon their enemies and oppressors. But it was a startling novelty when the prophet Amos announced that this judgment would be turned against Israel itself, just because it was the chosen people (Am 3:2, 9-10; 6:7-9; 8:3-9). As this announcement was of the nature of protest, and ran counter to all the popular ideas, it was not unnatural that the prophet should wish to place it permanently on record, so that his words might be verified by the event. We know that they were so verified, and the same kind of motive seems to have been present with the other prophets whose judgment and doom were the greatest of the prophets, and their soothings and searching addresses were the strongest of all the influences brought to bear in the building up of Israel as a people for God.

It does indeed, follow that prophecy could be only in one key, and critics have probably gone too far in eliminating the notes of hope and promise. An Isaiah, when the occasion came, could himself bind up the wounds which he had made. But it is characteristic of the prophets to resist the tendencies of the natural man, to be always pointing the people upwards to higher things.

The Prophetical Books stand out as the most characteristic and the most truly inspired of the contributions of God meant to the religious education of the world. Written, many of them as with the heart's blood, in danger and suffering (Amos, Jeremiah), or under the sting of bitter personal experience (Jos 1-3, Ezek 24, and we may safely add Is 58), they were always above the highest level of their surroundings, and the truths brought out in them form a continuous revelation.

(4) The history of Love as far as the Deuteronomic Reformations.—The Hebrew tradition certainly was not wrong in giving the beginning of the reformation as the work of Moses. We repeatedly find the lines of later development converging backward upon that work. Although the belief to which it gave expression may be more correctly described as Monothestic than as Monotheistic—although, that
is, it denoted rather the concentration of Israel's devotion upon one God than the absolute assertion that there was no God but one—it nevertheless contained within itself the seeds of the later Monotheism. The Deuteronomic 'Hear, O Israel; thou art the Lord's'; is only a step beyond what Moses must have taught, or what God taught Moses.

There is also every reason to believe that the Heb. tradition was right in connecting the work of Moses with a great historical crisis and deliverance, though the account both of this and of the religious crisis that followed appears to have come down to us with a certain amount of idealization. What we have is no contemporary record, and not even a record based to any extent upon writings now lost but once more nearly contemporary. Perhaps the only instance in which we can lay the finger on such an ancient authority is the Song of the Well in Nu 21:15—17, with the other songs in the same chapter (vv. 16—17), for both Ex 15 and Nu 23:24 are probably later. The Egyptian plagues and the story of the true gods are prejudiced. So, too, is the description of the giving of the Law from Mount Sinai. In other words, from the point of view of strict historical fact the narrative of these events bears to the narrative of the revolt of Abimelech (Judg. 9) a relation of the same kind as the relation of the story in Livy the narrative of the taking of Rome by the Gauls bears to the narrative of the Hannibal Wars. In the one case folklore has been at work, in the other case not, or very sparingly. Just as there survived throughout the time of the first division of the people the two conceptions of the Explanatory of the Tigisis, so also within a narrower circle there must have survived the memory of some portentous volcanic eruption, which the folklore of Israel came to associate with the greatest event in its religious history. Such a tradition was a very natural because it was phenomena of this kind—thunder and lightning, storm and tempest, earthquake and volcano—that brought home to the Hebrew mind, as nothing else did, the presence and the power of God. So it came about that, when the more remote traditions of Israel were being collected in the earlier days of the monarchy, the story of the Wanderings in the Wilderness and the legislation of Sinai assumed their present form.

There is little doubt that a nomadic period, when the Israelites were living in a spiral settlement in Egypt, preceded the permanent settlement of Israel in Canaan. And we may well believe that Moses, taking advantage of the events of which we have spoken,—and indeed specially raised up and inspired by God for this purpose,—may have joined together the tribes in closer federation, and cemented the bonds between them by a great and impressive religious foundation, which lived in the imagination of the people as the giving of a Law. If we seek to know more clearly the nature of this law-giving, we may find it described in Ex 18 (VA), where Jethro asks Moses:

'What is this thing that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people stand about thee from morning unto even? And Moses said unto his father-in-law, Because the people come unto me to inquire of God: when they have a matter, they come unto me; and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God, and his laws."

Or the description becomes still nearer (if we do not suppose too high a degree of organization) in the verses a little further on, where Jethro advises:

'Be thou for the people to Godward, and bring thou the causes unto God, and teach them the statutes and the laws, and shall show them the way wherein they must walk,'

This description, though dating, as it would seem, from the time of the monarchy, preserves to a remarkable extent the true features of the method by which Moses wielded his authority. If we could reproduce the actual facts, it is probable that he made use of the ordinary tripartite machinery of 

'shalls', or 'elders'; but he himself must have held a more commanding position, and the decisions and laws that he gave were doubtless given as oracles from God. In the light of what we now know about the much older Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, it would not be at all surprising if Moses committed some of his laws to writing. And these laws might well be the nucleus of those that have come down to us in the Pentateuch. Scholars seem to agree that the older books of the Pentateuch are marked off as such is the so-called 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20:1—23:39). We may leave it to OT specialists to determine the succession of the different laws. The Pentateuch does not appear to have the form of a codification.

For us it is more important to notice the landmark formed by the publication of the main body of the Book of Deuteronomy. This is perhaps the greatest of all the landmarks in the history of Israel; there is none in regard to which there seems to be a clearer division between that which falls on one side of the line and that which falls on the other. There is also a special interest in the Book of Deuteronomy, because its promulgation by king Josiah is a typical event in the process of national religious nationalism and authority. This event is thus described in a document that appears to be contemporary:

'And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up to the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant, which was found in the house of the Lord. And the king stood on the platform, and made a covenant with the Lord before the Lord, and all the people of Israel stood. And he said unto them, Hear, O Israel: today have this day seen with thine eyes how the Lord showed thee the greatness of the Lord thy God. Therefore thou shalt keep the statutes and the judgments which I teach thee this day, that thy days may be long, and the days of thy kingdom, and thee accept in the same sense by the people as if, esp. Zahn, Grundzüge d. Gesch. d. NF Kanonis, p. 15.

This description mentioned a new one, or that it was applied to Deut. for the first time. It is anticipated by the description in Ex 24:14 (E) of the so-called 'covenant of the 'book of the covenant' (Ex 20:22—23), the nucleus of that section). But, indeed, both descriptions only represent the full acknowledgment by the whole community of that which was contained implicitly from the first in the manner in which we read that the laws and decrees were given—as oracular responses from God. The laws given by Moses were not given in his own name but in the name of God, and they were accepted in the same sense by the people as...
coming from God. In precisely the same way Hammurabi is represented as 'receiving his laws from the sented sun-god Samaš, the judge of heaven and earth' (Johns, Older Code, p. ix). It is the common ancient conception, but at the same time a central conception to which all the habits of the mind are linked; and what shall we say that it does not express substantial truth? (5) The later stages of History, Prophecy, and Law.—We have seen how the earliest stages of Hebrew literature were an instinctive natural product, growing out of the national life, and reaching its apparent form of being committed to writing. Only the very earliest stages retained their original naïve simplicity. Even here (as in the Song of Deborah) the religious interest became more and more dominant. From the modern point of view, which expects that history shall be history written for its own sake and with no ulterior aims, the process is one of deterioration. More and more history comes to be written with a purpose; the prophet the ideal, the legislative ideal, the ideal of worship, get the upper hand. All this is also suggested in the perception of communication with God by means of oracles; the statutes of the lawgiver and the priestly regulations for worship are equally invested with an oracular form; they are presented as having a Divine origin. In time religious interest becomes all-embracing and all-absorbing. Israel becomes the people of religion, and even its instinctive products, which might at first have been described as secular, acquire a definitely religious character.

At each new revision this character is impressed more deeply upon the historical writings. The same school which produced Deuteronomy—a Coalition, as it would seem, of priest and prophet, a succession in which prophet wore the garb of priest or priest the garb of prophet—besides its great work in the sphere of law also turned its attention to history. It, too, made its own collection of older historical writings, and, as it did so, it took care to point the moral of the successive stages that the history of Israel had gone through, by literary or didactic paragraphs inserted at appropriate places. Thus the historian becomes a preacher, and his narrative is at the same time a sermon. It is from this point of view that we should learn to look at it and judge it. It is no longer to be looked upon merely as the instrument of the secular anast; we should look rather at the earnestness which aims at converting the people from the error of their ways and bringing them to serve the Lord.

Two modern goals of literary activity complete the production of canonical history. (i.) The fifth century saw the gradual composition of the last main element in the Pentateuch (the Priest's Code, or P), and its incorporation with the already existing writings (J, E, JE, D) so as to form the Pentateuch text as we have it today. It is evident that P was for the most part written in Babylonia, and that it was in fact the 'book of the law' which Ezra brought with him and promulgated in Jerusalem in the year B.C. 444. By the end of the century it had been worked up into our present Hexateuch. (ii.) Ezra and Nehemiah appear to have left behind them memoirs, which after a hundred years or rather more were embodied, along with a continuous and systematic review of the history so far as it related to Judah from David onwards, in our present books 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

This later historical writing is similar, though not quite identical, in its character. It has not the freshness and living human interest that marked the older narratives, nor yet the moral fervour of the Deuteronomist school. The dominant interest is now antiquarian, expressing itself in the form of lists, inventories, chronological summaries, and genealogies. In P there is a great mass of systematized law; and in Chron. there is a marked tendency to enlarge on details of worship. In both cases the style is, as a rule, dry, formal, and statistical; such warmth as there is in Chron. is thrown mainly into the liturgical descriptions and into such a view of the history as was natural from the standpoint of the priesthood.

In Prophecy, two great figures stand out, both belonging to the Exilic period, Ezechiel (c. 592-570 B.C.), and the so-called 'Second Isaiah' (c. 546-536 B.C.), followed by a lingering train of lesser personalities (Hag., Zech., Obad., Mal., Joel, Jonah) and perhaps some fragments (Is 24-27, Zec 8-14) now bound up with larger works. Ezekiel is a significant and characteristic figure, who has a strong message to deliver, and marks with equal boldness the close of one age and the opening of another. Second Isaiah (Is 40-55) reaches perhaps the highest point of spiritual Messiah in the Old Testament. 

We have now passed the last spoken of the considerable codifying of law which belongs to this period. It must not be supposed that all the laws which are thus put on record represent actual existing usage. There is a tendency towards symmetry and system; the writers do not hesitate to set down not only what is, but what they think ought to be. A striking example of this may be seen in the ideal picture of the temple and its services in Ezek 40-48. But even in the Pentateuch there is not a little that was probably never actually put into practice.

The narrative of Neh 8-10 illustrates vividly the attitude of mind towards the Law which was by this time becoming common to both leaders and people. The proceedings which accompanied the promulgation of the Priest's Code were evidently modelled upon those with which we have seen that Josiah introduced and enforced the legislation of Deuteronomy. Only the ceremonies are yet more prolonged and yet more solemn, and the effect proved to be more lasting. (6) The Hexateuch. (i.) Wisdom Literature. (ii.) Other Books.—The central force in the history of Israel was the prophetic spirit, which we may take in a wide sense as attaining to permanent expression not only in the prophetic writings proper, but also in the laws and institutions which make up the concrete framework of the national life. The prophetic writings embodied great principles both of belief and practice, a high conception—gradually becoming still higher and purer—of the being and character of God, and a growing and decided sense in the sense of His moral and spiritual demands upon man. It was essentially the same spirit and the same principles which took effect in the work of the lawgivers, from Moses onwards. The special purpose for which Israel as a nation had been raised up was to serve as a standing example of these higher views of God and of moral duty which were the outcome of the spirit that we have called prophetic, but which was really common to prophets and lawgivers, and expressed itself in the two main branches of Hebrew literature, Prophecy and Law.

In these two branches what we may call the creative forces at work in the nation reached their fullest development; but the consequences were felt over a wider area indeed the prophetic spirit
The Jews had a general name for these less central and creative writings—Kethubim or Hagiographa. These again fall into three classes: (i) Psalms (or Psalter, so called), with its divisions—outside the stricter Canon of the Psalter of Solomon (so called); (ii) the Wisdom literature, including Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, and—outside the narrower Jewish Canon—the Wisdom of Solomon (so called), and the Wisdom of Jesus the Christ (so called)—a name not of the same description, and more limited in number than the Palestinian Canon but in that of Alexandria. The Jewish tradition does not exactly follow this classification by subject, but marks off the three greater poetical works: Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, and the so-called 'Five Rolls'—Cant., Ruth, Lam., Ecc. (Koheleth), Esther—which were read respectively at various church festivals: Passover, Weeks, the fast of 9th Ab, Tabernacles, and Purim. With this division were reckoned three books that held their spoken, Dan., Chron., Ezra-Nehemiah. For our purpose it may be better to keep to the classification by subject.

(i.) Psalms.—Although the Psalms are not creative in the same sense as the Prophets and the Law in other words, although they do not supply their own principles from within but rather derive them from without—they are hardly of less capital importance in the history of Religion, because they are typical and classical examples of a genus which is of the deepest significance in the sphere of the religious life. If Prophecy and Law embody those leading truths which (as of Divine implanting) may be described as the gift of God to man, the Psalms represent the response of man to God. They cover the whole field of devotion: praise and thanksgiving, and prayer—with the preparation for prayer in penitence and confession, the laying before God alike of the joys and difficulties and sorrows of life, whether on the larger scale of the nation or on the smaller scale of the individual.

There are not wanting analogies to the Heb. Psalms, especially in the religious literature of Babylonia; but by common consent the Heb. Psalms take the first place, and indeed many of them are surpassed even by the ripest productions of Christianity. The Psalms supply the ideal and pattern on which the whole devotional response of man to God has modelled itself throughout every one of those branches of religion which trace back their origin to Israel. To say this is to claim for them—and to claim beyond possibility of dispute or question—an unique place in religious history. In the case of the Psalms it is perhaps not so much the substance that is a new creation as the form and mode of expression, the underlying attitude of the soul, when it approached the presence of its Godly and personal God, as He was spoken to in the Psalms of David and other prophets.

From the beginnings of Heb. religious poetry, there are two distinct strains in which the poet speaks: he speaks in the name of the community or nation collectively, and he speaks for himself as the individual poet. We find the Song of Deborah as a specimen of the first of these classes, and the Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan as a specimen of the second. In the earlier ages there can be little doubt that the former style predominated. It was, of course, inevitable that an individual utterance should from time to time express individual emotion; even when he sang as spokesman for the community, the Heb. poet could not help expressing the collective emotion as it was reflected in his own breast. But this was a different thing from the habit of introspection that did not so obviously receive their stimulus from above as Prophecy and Law. And the Psalms, as the Psalter, are the more introspective, the more self-contained, the more common after the Exile, when the national existence was broken up and the doctrine of individual responsibility had been clearly and strongly asserted. We shall be safe in referring to a post-exilic date for the more introspective portions of the Psalter.

But indeed it is probable that the main body of the Psalter belongs to this later date. There is probably truth in the description of the Psalter as 'the hymn-book of the Jewish Church,' and as belonging to the religious life of the nation. As the Church became freer and stronger than that of the nation. At the same time it seems as a mistake to lay down any hard and fast line, or to suppose that few or none of the Psalms go back to the time before the Exile. In particular, we should be inclined to treat as pre-exilic dated all of the Psalms which are addressed to, or speak of, the king. There may be a greater number of early Psalms than is sometimes supposed, under the disguise of later modifications and adaptations.

(ii.) Wisdom.—We come next to that body of literature called 'Wisdom Literature' of the Hebrews. It is closely parallel to that of the Psalter. The 'wise men' form a class by the side of the priests and prophets (Jer 18:19). Practically this class is found in all right civilisations; there was a national tendency to look up to those who by age and experience and native shrewdness showed themselves capable of giving good counsel. In the East particularly, this class is clearly marked; it is found in the neighbouring nations as well as in Israel. Edom appears to have had a high reputation in this respect (Jer 49:9, Ob 6, cf. Job 28); and so, too, had Egypt and the 'children of the east' (1 K 4:31). In Israel no one equalled King Solomon in fame (1 K 4:31). This fame led to collections of proverbs being attributed to him (Pr 10 25), just as collections of Psalms were attributed to David, though it does not follow that all parts of the collections really go back to this early date. The 'wisdom' of the Hebrews differed from the philosophy of the Greeks, though it is held to be a partial fulfilment of the rational life. With the Greeks, philosophy belonged to a higher stage of intellectual culture; in Israel, wisdom consisted mainly in sagacious maxims bearing upon the conduct of life, though sometimes it was conceived of not as superior, but as personified as a principle guiding the Almighty in His work of creation, and determining appointments of human society (Pr 3:16, 28).

We observe a gradual progress, in respect both of substance and of form. Proverbs, like poetry, were in the first instance a natural spontaneous product of the soil; it was only by degrees that they came to be artistically treated as a form of literature. As such they became more elaborate and more complex as time went on; they begin with short and pithy sayings, and only gradually expand into the larger paragraphs, like the praises of Wisdom in Pr 1-9. In point of elaboration, as in profundity of treatment, the climax is reached in the Book of Job. In this we have the sustained and searching discussion of one of the deepest problems of the whole line of Jewish thought. It is a mark of later date as the themes become more and more religious. The personifications of Divine Wisdom are perhaps due to the influence of the Diaspora, and through it of Greek philosophy. It is in this relation especially significant in the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, and in the Alexandrian Book of Wisdom. Ecclesiastes is a Jewish product, also late, of a
frame of mind not much represented in Hebrew literature—the tendency to scepticism and pessimism, which is, however, kept within bounds by the ingrained religious habit of the nation. This book has a well-deserved and fair claim to rank as one of the OT Canon, and it was only after a struggle that it maintained its place there. But we may be glad that this type too should have received its consecration. For all men there are times when sorrows befall them. Laughter, and it is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting (Ec 7: 2, 3).

(iii) Other Books.—We have now accounted for nearly all the books included in the Jewish Canon, but a few remain. Of these the most important is the Book of Daniel, which, whatever importance it may have had in the prophetic literature of the OT, was written in Greece; and it was then informed by the spirit of the apocalyptic, with a considerable change of form, which becomes what we now call 'apocalyptic.' It had had some precursors in the older prophetic books (especially Is 24-27 and Joel); but from the time of the Maccabees onwards the new type definitely took the place of the old. It was distinguished from this by throwing its pictures into the more distant future; it is persistently eschatological, supernatural, and, we might say, mythological—in the sense that it makes free use of already existing and popular ancient myths that are not confined to Israel.

The Book of Daniel was the first of a series which extended over nearly three centuries. It was the only book of its class which found its way into the Bible, until it received a companion in the Christian Apoc. of St. John. The apocalyptic literature arose in the first instance in a time of distress and trial, and the strongest impulse was given to it in such times. The Book of Daniel was written to cheer the suffering saints in the great persecution of the times. This 

The oldest apocalyptic portion of the Book of Enoch appears to have been produced about the same date. 

4 Ezra and Apoc. of Baruch were called forth in like manner by the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. But it does not follow that every apocalyptic writing was a product of the same conditions. Dr. Charles has recently shown good reasons for assigning the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which are partly apocalyptic, to the comparatively calm and settled time of John Hyrcanus.

Another special genre, which we find distributed among different sections of the Canon as the Jews divided it, was the instructive tale— instructive in different ways, and admitted into the Canon for different purposes. Such would be the very pleasing idyllic story of Ruth, the deeper religious message of Jonah (which won for that book a place among the Prophets), the patriotic legend of Esther. Lamentations is really a small collection of a special group of Psalms. The Song of Songs is in like manner a collection of the kind of lyrics that were specially in use at marriage festivities.

2. Formation of the OT Canon.—We have traced the growth of OT as a number of separate books composed along the lines of the different branches of Hebrew literature. We have tried—very roughly—to put the several books into their places in the history of this literature, and to indicate their general relations to similar phenomena among the neighbouring nations. We might call this line of inquiry the first part of the Bible. We have indeed, it may be hoped, left room to see that there may be in the origins of this series of books something more than a natural history. But we are as yet some way from being explicit in our treatment of the received as a sacred volume. Between the point which we have reached and the further point which marks the completion of OT as a body of canonical writings there intervene two main stages: (i) the collection of the books into a volume with certain definite subdivisions; and (ii) the investing of this volume with certain attributes which made it the sacred canon of the Church. The first is an external process raising only, or at least primarily, questions of quantity or dimensions—the number of books to be included in the volume. The second process relates rather to quality—the growth of a fuller and more consciously realized conception of the attributes belonging to the volume.

For both purposes it may be well to take our start from a point which happens to stand out distinctly, neither at the beginning nor at the end, but in the middle of the process. This point is supplied by the Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, commonly known as Ecclesiasticus. The Prologue is the work of the grandson of the original author of the book, which he translated into Greek about the year B.C. 130. The younger writer refers several times to the religious literature of his nation. He speaks of it always under three heads: 'whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by the others that have followed them in order of time, such as Maccabees, and the Apoc. of Jesus, having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers'; 'not only these, but the law itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books.'

(1) Contents of the OT Canon.—The threefold division, as we have just seen, corresponds to a triple collection of books embraced within a larger unity. The three collections appear to have succeeded each other in order of time, and the order is given in the Jews' point of view, that of relative importance.

The five books of the Law were brought together first, as it would seem, about B.C. 400, at the end of the period of active and concentrated study that we associate with the names of Ezra and Nehemiah. The final collection and codification of the legal material inherited from the more distant past or produced to give roundness and completeness were the first-fruits of the labours of the new class of scribes. The marking off of the legal books from other Pentateuchal books is a later process. The older documents extended further than this, J supplying in addition parts of the Book of Joshua (Hexateuch), and E perhaps running on into Samuel. From the point of view of Ezra and Nehemiah the main object was political, and religious re-organization, the re-establishment of the people under stable conditions; for them, history as such was subordinate. They had a high conception—the very highest—of the obligation of law, the origin of which they believed to be in the fullest sense Divine. This deep sense of the obligation of law comes out in the narrative of Neh 8-10. The five books of the Law thus became the nucleus of the Jewish Bible. Even the Prophets, when they came to be added, did not attain to the same absolute and unqualified authority. A writer like Philo (ob. after 40 A.D.) builds his whole system really on the Law, and treats the rest of the OT as a kind of appendix to it.

For the completion of the collection, or Canon, of the Prophets we go down about two centuries to c. 200 B.C. The number of the prophetic books, according to the Jews' reckoning, was eight. The Historical Books were counted with the Prophets, as being for the most part the work of the latter for their authors. Among the Jews, 1 and 2 Sam. and 1 and 2 Kings were contained in single rolls and were not divided; so that there were four
'Former Prophets,' as they were called (Josh., Judges, Sam., Kings), and four 'Latter Prophets' (Is., Jer., Ezek., Zil.), what are now known as the Twelve Minor Prophets being all contained in a single roll. The proof that the second division of the Canon was complete by B.C. 200 is supplied by the inscription in the prophet's Exile in the works of their predecessors (Ezk. 88, Is. 44, 40, 48, Zac. 14, 27). The earlier part of the Prophetic Books was doubtless a further work of the scribes. It is to be noted that Jonah was included in the volume of the Twelve, though this book was not exactly a prophecy in the same sense as the others (it might seem to come rather under the head of the edifying tale); but the teaching of the book is thoroughly prophetic, a practical exemplification of Jer 18:9.

When the grandson of the son of Sirach introduced his grandfather's work to his countrymen and the Jews he added the long-suspected book to the Canons, which was in process of formation, but not as yet so closed as to be beyond receiving additions. We may infer this, partly from the vagueness of the title ('other books,' 'rest of the books'), partly from the fact that the Back of Daniel and certain Psalms composed in this period (for at least Ps. 44. 74. 79. 83 may probably be set down as Maccabean) were admitted into it. It would appear that this division must have been closed, roughly speaking, about B.C. 190, as the Psalms of Solomon (composed B.C. 70–40) could not longer be included, but form a separate collection outside.

(2) Palestinian and Alexandrian Canon.—It was in the course of the 1st cent. B.C. that the process of adding books to the OT was checked and came to an end. Edifying books went on being composed in Palestine as well as among the Diaspora, but by degrees there grew up a reluctance to place them on the same footing with the older Scriptures. It can only have been quite gradually that this reluctance gained strength sufficient to lead to the drawing of a definite line that was not longer to be passed. We have seen how the little collection of Psalms composed about B.C. 70–40 was marked off from the Psalter of David and inscribed with the name of Solomon. This shows that the author was known, the books of the schools, which were by this time in full swing,—were giving attention to the matter and trying to lay down a definite rule. But in spite of their efforts they were not at once completely successful. We may see this from the freedom with which books afterwards set aside as apocryphal were still quoted in NT. The real conclusion of the OT belongs to the sixty years or so between the fall of Jerusalem and the rising under Bar Cochba (A.D. 132–135). It was part of the general settlement brought about by the declining influence of the group of Rabbis headed by R. Akiba. This settlement in the case of the Canon was based upon existing usage, which was at last formally sanctioned and defined by the religious leaders of the nation. The work by which this was done was necessarily retrospective; it was a process of reflection based on reasoning and issuing in a decision that had the force of a dogma. The reasoning comes out clearly for the first time in a well-known passage of Josephus (c. Apion. i. 8), where the prophetic inspiration is traced down to the time of Artaxerxes (B.C. 465–424; but Jos. makes Nabuchodonosor I. alias Nebuchadnezzar or Xerxes; cf. Ryle, Canon, p. 161 n.); books written before this date were inspired, but not those written beyond it. There were differences of opinion as to the limit, and there was a good deal of faulty criticism abroad, the real date of many books being forgotten; but the principle of authority co-extensive with inspiration was definitely affirmed. In the same passage we have the first enumeration of the sacred books, which are equal in number with the (22) letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The seven 'Books of the Twelve Minor Prophets,' and the twelve books of the Pentateuch mark the speculations of the Rabbis. According to another reckoning which prevails in the Talmud, the number of the books was twenty-four, Ruth being separated from Judges, and Lam. from Jeremiah. According to yet another, there were twenty-six (including Sir. and Bar.); and generally, the Heb. alphabet, witten the five final letters being added for the double books. Such learned trilling was characteristic of the time; it was the way in which the Jewish mind sought to give expression to its idea of permanence and law inherent in the nature of things.

In the meantime the close connexion between Jerusalem and Alexandria, which had continued so long as Palestine remained a province of Egypt (to about B.C. 198), though it did not entirely cease, with the Jews of Alexandria the Hellenists, whose greatest strength was in Egypt, went on a way of their own, not regulated by the schools of the Rabbis. In the copies of the Greek OT an arrangement of the books, differing somewhat from that of the Heb. and more according to subject was adopted; and other old books were added more freely to the older collection. Thus arose the fuller Alexandrian Canon, which was taken over in the main by the Christian Church when it broke with Judaism.

An additional proof that even when the list of books was provisionally formed, it was not so fixed as it afterwards became, is supplied by the state of the text. In the older books, Samuel, Kings, Job, are more or less connected with the Heb. shows many marked variations; and in some that belong to the later stratum, such as Dan, Esther, Ezra, Tobit, the differences are so great as to amount to another form of the book. This condition of things, without invoking deeper considerations, would be enough to prove that the idea of the Canon was still fluid. And it is in full agreement with these phenomena that the final determination of the Canon at the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. appears to have been along with an authoritative revision of the text. It has been demonstrated, especially by Lagarde, that all existing copies of the so-called 'Old Testament,' so called, are in actual fact copies of the OT and 70–40 with the additions made by the Jew of Alexandria (of the time of Hadrian, of which not only the trivial peculiarities but even the blunders are faithfully reproduced. And a list of the current copies and manuscripts was expressly stated that the extant copies were all copied from a single original that was rescued from Bithynia, a copy of which R. Akiba met his death.

(3) The reception of the Canon. Thus it appears that the full conception of the OT Canon as a strictly circumscribed collection of sacred books was the ultimate result of a process spread over a long period. The strict circumscription was in the first instance peculiar to the Jews, from whom it was taken over (though in a qualified sense) by St. Jerome, and it was revived by the divines of the Reformed Church in the sixteenth century.

How far does this sharp division correspond to the real facts of the case? What substantial grounds are there for setting apart the Canonical Books of the OT? Is the settlement of the Canon that of God? Our next step must be to try to indicate these grounds and to show what was at first an instinctive deference came by degrees to be a reasoned belief and an accepted doctrine.

(a) Ground of the idea.—When we speak of the Bible as the Word of God, we are using language that arose in prophetic circles and was at first used to describe the prophetic message. The prophet was regarded as God's spokesman, one who communicated to his fellows a message put into his mouth by the supernatural Divine influence, and accepted by those to whom it was delivered as expressing the Divine will. When the prophet spoke, he spoke as God's mouth-piece; his own personality dropped out of sight;
he prefaced what he had to say by the formula, ‘Thus saith the Lord.’

This conception was widely-spread through antiquity. It lay behind the belief in the oracles, e.g. of Delphi or Dodona. But nowhere else was the belief so strong as it was in Israel. In the case of the classical nations we seem to be in the presence of something tentative and limited. There was the belief that a reply might be given to definite questions, and such replies were given, and for whole periods together (e.g. especially in the era of colonization in the 8th and 7th cents. B.C.) exercised a beneficent influence over the fortunes of the Hellenic race. But at other periods (e.g. the Persian War) it was this atmosphere only, and its utterances were often halting, obscure, and ambiguous. There is a great interval between phenomena like these and the confident burning faith of the Heb. prophets and their unflinching enthusiasm in the cause of God and of morality. And although the interval is to some extent bridged over by the many steps and degrees between the lower and the higher forms of Heb. prophecy, it is only right to remember that the higher forms triumphed so completely that they even totally overthrew the lower. The gap is only through incidental allusions and the narrative of the historical books that the existence of the lower forms can be at all adequately realized.

The prophet was a man with a message from God; and at first this message was delivered by word of mouth, and it was only occasionally that it was preserved by tradition and so came to be embodied in writing (e.g. 2 S 12:9, 1 K 11:26-28). But a time came when (as we have seen) the prophet himself began to write down his own prophecies; and it is in this way that the corpus of prophetic writings has survived and confronts us with permanent witness to their greatness. It is hardly necessary to add that the essential qualities of prophecy belonged to the spoken word, and the written word did but add to that the property of permanence. But in the history of religion that one addition was of first-rate importance. It fixed the supernatural or providential element in the history of a single race, and converted it into a possession of all humanity for all time.

It is natural to seize upon these phenomena of prophecy as the most typical and central of those which made of the OT a sacred book. But they are more typical and central in the impression which the OT makes upon us than in the actual course of history. The prophetic writings have been preserved, and we can see in them the psychological process out of which they arose. The whole activity of the prophets is laid bare before us to a degree that hardly obtains for any other product of Israel’s religion. The pre-prophetic period is also to a large extent pre-historic. Such knowledge as we have of it has come down to us through folklore, or imperfectly controlled oral tradition. In order to form a realistic conception of the earlier period, we have to eke out the historical data with inferences back wards from later but more contemporary descriptions. It is in this way that we have to reconstruct our conception of the work of Moses. But we can succeed in this work only if we leave behind the whole subsequent history of Israel forces upon us as to the epoch-making character of that work. We have already hinted (p. 564 f.) at the general conception that we are led to form of the work of Moses. We should perhaps think of it as being a combination of the priestly and prophetic functions, or as a form of prophecy which was not only the continuation of a work already begun, but the foundation of a long line of subsequent development. In any case the figure of Moses must exceed those of even the greatest of the later prophets in magnitude. By this it is not meant to suggest that the OT, or revelation, so far as it can be reconstructed, is richer in contents than later stages of the revelation built upon it. The very fact that it is earlier and foundation-laying would exclude this. But the laying of foundations must always as such possess a significance that can never belong to any part, even the finest part, of the superstructure.

The Heb. people were therefore essentially right in their estimate of Moses; and if, on the score of criticism, we are compelled to make considerable deductions from the direct sense of the narrative of the Pentateuch as it has come down to us, there are none to be made from the proportions of the dim but grand figure which looms behind it, or from the work which God accomplished through this in many ways most colossal of His human ministers. It is therefore not without reason that the Law lies at the base of the Jewish Canon, and that all the rest is subordinate to it.

There is a sense in which it is really subordinate, and another sense in which it is not. We may understand this from the way in which OT is treated in NT. We can see from many allusions, both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, that the historical importance of Moses was abundantly recognized both by our Lord and by His Apostles. It is not explicitly discussed and defined, because there was no necessity for such discussion. It was simply taken for granted as the axiom of every pious Jew. But the time had come, after all those centuries, for a new advance in the religious education of the world. And therefore it was that a greater even than Moses gave a new law from the hillside behind Capernaum. And it is not surprising that in this new law there should be elements that have their roots in the Prophets and Psalms even more distinctly than in the Books of Moses. Isaiah is the ‘evangelical prophet’ in a sense in which such a name could not be given to Moses; and yet the Greater Prophet of the future was to be like Moses, and not like Isaiah.

It must be allowed that, as compared with these two great divisions, the Law and the Prophets, the rest of the OT stands in a subordinate and supplementary relation. But, here again, the very idea of ‘supplement’ should save us from undue interpretation. The conclusion that pure history is supplemented is incomplete without its supplement. What a gap would be left in OT if we were to strike out the Psalms! The sense of what that gap would mean may bring home to us the value of the Psalter in the scheme of Revelation. And, in like manner, although the loss of the Wisdom Books might not be so acutely felt, it is one that we should be very loth to incur. And even the Song of Songs brings in a touch of human nature, like the flowering of a lily or a rose, that could ill be spared. These outlying books may be described as examples of ‘applied religion.’ Some are higher in the species, and some are lower; some are nearer the great generative centres, and some are more remote; some are sharper and more rudimentary, and others more advanced. But they are all alike symptoms or outlets of those eruptive spiritual forces which lay at the heart of Israel as a nation, and were at once the evidence and the expression of its special mission from God.

(b) Extension of the idea. — So far we have spoken of the actual course of the growth of the Hebrew literature and of the special qualities inherent in it. These qualities are not identical
with those implied in the doctrinal conception of the Canon, but they are the ultimate facts which led up to that conception. They belong to the process of growth which, like such processes generally, is apt to be unequal in its different parts. The most complete edition of the Canon implies a completed process, and takes the shape of reflection upon an accomplished fact.

We have been trying to analyze those elements in the original Scriptures which caused them to be regarded as sacred books. But the idea of sacredness in itself is not in the first instance either too easy or too hard; it is progressive, and admits of degrees. It is this, and we see that it is, so long as we regard it as an attribute of the living product. But when once the process of living growth has ceased, when the mind turns back upon the finished and stationary result, and sums up its reflexions in a logical form, the closer touch with fact is apt to be lost, and the propositions which take its place become dogmatic and artificial. From the time that there were religious writings in Israel at all, they were regarded as sacred; and, though there was a certain amount of interval and inference between this instinctive reverence and the formulated definition of sanctity which by the time of Christ had won its way to general acceptance, at least in those Pharisaic circles which held control of the future. The New Testament also rejected the hard fact; they were easy and natural: a book is sacred; it is the Word of God; does it not follow that it must be also perfect, incapable of error, absolutely binding in all its parts, a finished whole from which nothing could be subtracted and to which nothing could be added? These conclusions did not really follow, but we cannot be surprised that they should have seemed to do so.

It is just here that the difference between older and newer views of the Bible comes in. The older view was in effect identical with that formulated by the Rabbis in the first century of our era. The newer view is not traditional, but aims at being scientific; it aims at correcting the current conception by a renewed comparison with the original facts. And the main effect of this renewed comparison is to make us stand by the old ideas of sacredness and inspiration, but at the same time disengage them from inferences wrongly though naturally deduced from them. To say that the Bible is sacred, and that the Spirit of God breathed in the writing of it, is one thing; to say that it is infallible, especially on points remote from its purpose as revelation. The one set of attributes can be verified, the other cannot.

(c) Canonical and Apocryphal.—The technical term used by the Rabbis, where we say that a book 'is canonical,' is that it 'defies the hands.' That is only another way of saying that it is sacred; the person using it must be ceremonially purified before he can come in contact with other things. Until he has done this he is 'under a talis' or a 'rehebra,' and the thing contem- plates him to undergo a ceremony of purification. Our word 'canonical' is less expressive; it only means that the book is 'on the list,' i.e. the authorized list of the sacred volumes. That, at least, was the earliest Greek use; in Latin the word acquired a more active sense of authority. The correlative term to 'canonical' is 'apocryphal,' which means, properly, 'hidden, or withdrawn from public use.' But this idea of 'hidden books' is ambiguous, and might be used in opposite senses according to the context; the Greek phrase might be 'hidden' because its contents were esoteric, or beyond the understanding of the vulgar; or it might be hidden because its contents were painful. We can see that the two senses might meet, inasmuch as what was harmful for one might be helpful to another. But we may say broadly that the two senses succeeded each other. A number of books were composed by their authors and in certain circles were highly valued because of their mysterious contents, intended mainly for the initiated. In other circles, and in other circles they fell out of favour and were suppressed or withdrawn, for the converse reason, because they were thought to be pernicious for the many. The standard of judgment was that of Judaism; and the writings in question were in the first place Jewish Apocrypha (like the Book of Enoch, 4 Ezra, Apoc. of Baruch). In the century before, and in the century after, the Christian era, many works of this kind were composed, and at first they exercised considerable attraction. It is a mistake to suppose that in principle and from the outset there was any direct opposition to them on the part of the Rabbinical authorities. But at the time when the Jewish Canon was being definitely formed, they began to go out of favour, and in the second century A.D. there was a certain amount of interval and inference between this instinctive reverence and the formulated definition of sanctity which by the time of Christ had won its way to general acceptance, at least in those Pharisaic circles which held control of the future. The New Testament also rejected the hard fact; they were easy and natural: a book is sacred; it is the Word of God; does it not follow that it must be also perfect, incapable of error, absolutely binding in all its parts, a finished whole from which nothing could be subtracted and to which nothing could be added? These conclusions did not really follow, but we cannot be surprised that they should have seemed to do so.

In the early ages of the Church the exclusion was only relative, and confided to a few learned men. Many of the books taken over were incorporated by the Rabbis in the first century of our era. The newer view is not traditional, but aims at being scientific; it aims at correcting the current conception by a renewed comparison with the original facts. And the main effect of this renewed comparison is to make us stand by the old ideas of sacredness and inspiration, but at the same time disengage them from inferences wrongly though naturally deduced from them. To say that the Bible is sacred, and that the Spirit of God breathed in the writing of it, is one thing; to say that it is infallible, especially on points remote from its purpose as revelation. The one set of attributes can be verified, the other cannot.

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instance (Apost. of St. John) the attitude of the writer of the NT work is very like that of an OT prophet or apocalypticist; and he describes his book by the old name as a 'prophesy.' But in other respects the conditions under which the NT arose were different and peculiar. And before going further we must explain the NT.

How the Books of NT came to be written.—

(1) The Epistles.—(i.) Of St. Paul.—The Life of Christ had been lived and ended. The fundamental events of the Christian Religion were all past and over. The Christian Church was launched on its career; it was a new Church. It had created and used the original Apostles, and had begun his new and adventurous work of planting churches in Gentile as well as in Jewish lands. This work had been going on for some years. A whole journey, taken up with preaching and church-founding, is recorded in the Acts (13:1-14:28), but has not left behind it any literature that is now extant. Another journey had begun and was some way advanced—it would be about the year A.D. 51—when a letter was written, followed by a second, when Paul left the Church of Antioch. These two Epistles are the first beginnings of NT. It is highly probable that other letters had been written by St. Paul before them; occasions for letters would be as plentiful on the first journey as in the Church of Antioch. But Paul, and the habit of using these occasions in a perfectly easy and natural way. But really the wonder is, not that such letters should have perished, but that the two of which we have just spoken and so many others after them should have survived. That they have done so is a measure of the strength of the impression which the personality of St. Paul made upon his contemporaries. It must have been felt from a very early date in his career by those among whom he moved, that these letters of his were no ordinary compositions, but that they well deserved to be prized and treasured. As correspondence, they began in the way natural to correspondence: the Apostle received news of his converts after he had left them; or he thought himself of something that had happened in his absence, and wrote to him, asking for guidance in the new relations upon which they had entered. These were just common incidents of daily life, though daily life involved in higher issues than those which occupy the mass of mankind. And St. Paul wrote to the Church of Antioch about these things. It was not for nothing that his previous career should have been so eventful; it was not for nothing that he had first persecuted the faith which he came to preach; it was not for nothing that he had undergone the shock of his conversion, and that after it he had spent a prolonged time in solitude and reflection; it was not for nothing that at Damascus, Jerusalem, and Antioch he had been at close quarters with the leading spokesmen of the Christian religion, the prophets and teachers who were full of the Holy Ghost. He himself in marked degree was full of the Holy Ghost and of power (1 Co 2:4), and the effect of this was felt not only in the crises of action and life, but in the quieter moments in which he took the pen in hand. The consequence was that, even when the occasions which led to his writings were, or might seem to be, comparatively trivial, he never treated trivial things in a trivial way. Behind all that St. Paul wrote there was the shock of his conversion and the sum of the whole matter that they are only as it were the rippling upon the surface of the real movement. Look, again we may say, at St. Paul's Epistles. How much is there in them of the speaking with tongues, or even of the working of miracles, such as the healing of the sick? These things certainly are implied, but they are behind the scenes; and the Epistles of St. Paul have enough to occupy us that is not behind the scenes. He himself put these phenomena into their right place, though he did not understand it. They were just a single, and very partial, expression of that mighty force which possessed his whole soul and being. If we look at the Epistles with insight and discrimination and with a sense of the true proportions of things, we shall have no difficulty
in seeing where this force really breaks out in the main stream of its volcanic working. There are certain Epistles that we instinctively call the 'Great Epistles'; we call them so because the inspiration of which we are speaking is so visibly and unmistakably strong in them. But to form an adequate estimate, we must not confine ourselves to just so much as we see; we must take the evidence which they supply as to that which we do not see. It is to some extent a matter of accident—of Divinely-guided accident perhaps, but of that which we are in the habit of calling accident—what kind of subject-matter the inspiration has to deal with; but the same moving force is at work in small things as well as great. For, instance, it would be natural enough to say that there was less of inspiration in 1 Co 5-8, 12, 14, 15; or even in 9-11, than there is in chs. 1-4, 13, 15; but it is not exactly that there is less inspiration; it is the same inspiration at work all the time; but it is this same inspiration dealing with lower things.

It is convenient to use the old-fashioned word 'inspiration.' It may well be questioned whether there is any other that better expresses the facts. We mean by it the evidence of indwelling Deity in man. We no longer suppose that this indwelling Deity imparts infallibility to every chance utterance relating to external nature or man. Really, from the modern point of view, it is hardly infallibility of any sort for which we are looking. The Divine impulse and the human expression are so inextricably mixed together that we can rarely, if ever, arrive at that which could be called infallible in the strict sense. But, after all, the idea of infallibility is only a notion of the head; and these head-notions have come to be at a discount. So, although the search for infallibility is weaker than it was, we should by no means say the same of the search for the Divine. It is the presence of this that we look for in the Epistles of St. Paul, and that we find in such abundant measure. And even the modern man, when he has found it, goes on his way rejoicing, like one that findeth goodly pearls.

It may be objected that this view of inspiration is vague in comparison with the old idea. That is just its merit. The old idea was definite enough, but it did not correspond with the facts. The new idea leaves room for a width and depth of meaning that no one can exhaust. We can see something of the working of inspiration, and we can see something of its results. In the case of St. Paul these appear in his singular wisdom in the management of men, in his strong and clear grasp of a new type of character, in his deep insight into the attributes and will of God and His providential dealings with mankind.

The letters of St. Paul, as we have seen, from an early date made a great impression on those to whom they were addressed and they soon spread to enemies as well as friends (2 Co 10); this encouraged the Apostle to make a more extended use of the letter form as a vehicle for instruction. Some of his letters, like the Epp. to Romans and Ephesians, expanded into regular treatises. They cover a large area of the wide field of Christian teaching. And yet they are still at bottom essentially letters (Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, pp. 165-167); in each case the Apostle has definite recipients before his mind. If this is less marked in 1 Co than elsewhere, the reason is that it was in the first instance a circular letter addressed to several Churches at once.

Of late years attention has been called (especially by Deissmann) to the fact that there existed in antiquity, and especially about the Christian era, two distinct types of letters: the ordinary letter, arising naturally out of given conditions and addressed to definite persons, and the 'epistle,' which was a more formal composition intended for a wider circle. There are, but to form an adequate estimate, we must not confine ourselves to that which we do not see. It is to some extent a matter of accident—of Divinely-guided accident perhaps, but of that which we are in the habit of calling accident—what kind of subject-matter the inspiration has to deal with; but the same moving force is at work in small things as well as great. For instance, it would be natural enough to say that there was less of inspiration in 1 Co 5-8, 12, 14, 15; or even in 9-11, than there is in chs. 1-4, 13, 15; but it is not exactly that there is less inspiration; it is the same inspiration at work all the time; but it is this same inspiration dealing with lower things.

It is convenient to use the old-fashioned word 'inspiration.' It may well be questioned whether there is any other that better expresses the facts. We mean by it the evidence of indwelling Deity in man. We no longer suppose that this indwelling Deity imparts infallibility to every chance utterance relating to external nature or man. Really, from the modern point of view, it is hardly infallibility of any sort for which we are looking. The Divine impulse and the human expression are so inextricably mixed together that we can rarely, if ever, arrive at that which could be called infallible in the strict sense. But, after all, the idea of infallibility is only a notion of the head; and these head-notions have come to be at a discount. So, although the search for infallibility is weaker than it was, we should by no means say the same of the search for the Divine. It is the presence of this that we look for in the Epistles of St. Paul, and that we find in such abundant measure. And even the modern man, when he has found it, goes on his way rejoicing, like one that findeth goodly pearls.

It may be objected that this view of inspiration is vague in comparison with the old idea. That is just its merit. The old idea was definite enough, but it did not correspond with the facts. The new idea leaves room for a width and depth of meaning that no one can exhaust. We can see something of the working of inspiration, and we can see something of its results. In the case of St. Paul these appear in his singular wisdom in the management of men, in his strong and clear grasp of a new type of character, in his deep insight into the attributes and will of God and His providential dealings with mankind.

The letters of St. Paul, as we have seen, from an early date made a great impression on those to whom they were addressed and they soon spread to enemies as well as friends (2 Co 10); this encouraged the Apostle to make a more extended use of the letter form as a vehicle for instruction. Some of his letters, like the Epp. to Romans and Ephesians, expanded into regular treatises. They cover a large area of the wide field of Christian teaching. And yet they are still at bottom essentially letters (Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, pp. 165-167); in each case the Apostle has definite recipients before his mind. If this is less marked in 1 Co than elsewhere, the reason is that it was in the first instance a circular letter addressed to several Churches at once.
epistolary matter or any indication that it is intended for a particular class of readers, beyond the use of the second pers. plur.; and so it comes nearer still to the *diaspora*. When this is said, it is not intended that the writer deliberately adopted the *diaspora* form, but only that the exact interpretation is very few of the things said and written were consciously to shape the expression of his ideas. 2 and 3 Jn. are genuine letters on a small scale. 2 Pet. and Jude are both rather artificial compositions, which appear to have taken shape at no great distance from each other.

1 Pet. is not only modelled in general outline upon the Pauline Ep., but it also borrows directly from some of these (e.g. Rom., Eph.) in parts of its substance; and James may be said to have been produced by echoes of the Pauline teaching. But by no means follows that this amount of derivativeness prevents the Ep. from possessing a high spiritual value. James supplies a judicious corrective for exaggerations of Pauline doctrine, and its moral teaching is at once elevated, simple, and sincere. 1 Pet. deals with profound problems in a simpler way, and at one and the same time a good example of the principles on which the Church was administered by its leaders. We must reckon with the possibility that something of the form of this Epistle is due to Silvanus, who is expressly mentioned as the author in the MSS. of the first century. It is made evident that the author was not a pupil of James, as some have supposed, but it is only a supposition that he was a disciple of Paul. The Ep. was written about the middle of the 1st century, and the manner of writing is clearly that of a letter. It is addressed to the Christian church at Rome, and is the first of a series of Epistles which were written to various churches in the East and West, and to private circles; and they must for a number of years have been confined to that circle. Not until St. Luke came across them were they in the way towards anything like publication.

The first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel seem to have been in a similar position. They too appear to represent the tradition of a small circle, for a considerable time kept to itself. It is natural to think of this tradition as further removed from the facts than in the case of St. Luke. There are no traces of early date, and there is more reason to suspect the influence on the narrative of parallel situations in OT.

And yet these opening chapters of the two Gospels stand very much by themselves. They are altogether apart from the main stream of tradition current in the Churches. This was conceived, as we might reasonably expect it to be, concerned, with that part of our Lord's career which was lived directly under the public eye, and of which there were a number of living witnesses. Yet these witnesses, for reasons which have been explained, did not write the facts down until after their recollections in writing. They doubtless made use of them in their own preaching, and they also handed them on to others who would utilize them in the same way. But the motive at work at first was not what we should call historical or biographical. It was exactly expressed by the peculiar word 'Gospel.' This was practically a coinage of the first Christians, sanctioned by, or even perhaps originating with, our Lord Himself, to express the message of hope and salvation addressed to the world at large, a message which was heard and feared by the first century audience. The ground of hope and salvation centred mainly in the Life and Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ Himself. And therefore the earliest preaching was in its main contents a preaching of these truths, in part a narration and description of them as facts, and in part an enlarging upon their profound significance in the spiritual sphere. This second aspect of the 'Gospel' is what meets us most frequently in the Epistles of St. Paul. But the other aspect of the Epistles was never pressed. We have specimens of it in important passages like 1 Co 11:28-29 15:1-5. Such narrative must have entered largely into the παραδοσία of which we have repeated mention (1 Co 11:28 2 Th 2:3). But in its urgent expectation of the Second Coming the Church did not at first
lay great stress on these historical facts. It presupposed them always, and it was fully assured of them as facts; but it was so well assured of them that it did not find it necessary to be constantly reminding itself about them. Its treasure was, where its heart was, in the heavens; it was more interested in the future than upon the past, even such a past.

The impulse to the setting forth of the historical side of the Gospel came through the work of missions. On this side it soon proved necessary to supplement the oral teaching of St. Paul and the other missionaries. Especially was this true in the case of the newly founded Gentile communities. These, we must remember, had to be built up from the very first. They had a great many elementary lessons to learn. Even the Jews, with the OT in their hands, had much to learn. They liked to take in and to assimilate all the new teaching by which Christianity was distinguished from Judaism. The earliest Evangelical document of which we have any trace (except perhaps Lk 1: 2)—the earliest Evangelical document that was in any sense the consciousness of the Church—was the little book, corresponding to the common matter of Mt., Lk. (see p. 576 below), which scholars are now in the habit of calling Q, and which used (as the present writer believes, rightly) to be identified with the Matthaean Logia mentioned above. The earliest book thus described as this work as intended for the whole Church, because there was certainly no circumscribing line beyond which it was not intended to travel, even the writer probably had in his mind Palestine and the nearer East, i.e. that part of the East that was nearer to himself. The leading purpose of this little book appears to have been to set before its readers (the new converts in the different Churches) some account of the Christian ideal, the character and mode of life expected of them as Christians. It was felt that this could be best done by collecting together a number of typical sayings and discourses—i.e. shorter and longer sayings—of Christ. There was no idea of writing a biography, and not even in this case of composing a 'Gospel' (or full statement of the life of Christ), but only a brief exemplar to set before the eyes and minds of converts.

Valuable as this was, it was sure not to satisfy for long the needs of Christians. It contained only a small part of the Gospel, and what they wanted was a larger proportion of it. And the expectation of Christ's Second Coming became weaker, Christians were thrown back upon themselves. They felt that they had time to reflect, and they began to reflect, upon the grounds of the faith that was in them. They had had these grounds 'placarded before their eyes' (Gal 2: 1) by a number of preachers, including the greatest. But they were, so to speak, 'written on water.' They made their impression, but they were soon forgotten, and there was no guarantee of their permanence. The position was that of this state of things which impelled the Christians at Rome who surrounded St. Peter in the last days before his death to apply to his secretary, St. Mark, to rescue from oblivion the substance of the teaching they had had from him. St. Mark compiled with their request, taking this teaching of St. Peter's as the nucleus of his work, but expanding it from materials which came to his knowledge in other ways. So arose the first complete Gospel.

When once this Gospel was given to the world, not only for preaching, but as the teaching of St. Peter's, it should supply a pattern for others. It met (as we say) 'a felt want'; and from that time onwards St. Mark's Gospel was taken as at once a pattern and a basis of similar compositions. The Gospel that we know as St. Matthew's was just a combination of the substance of St. Mark's Gospel with Q and not a large amount of other material added by the editor. The portion derived from Q was so important—extending probably some way beyond the common matter of Mt. and Lk.—that it soon came quite to supersede the original Gospel. The larger proportion of Mark's work died out, and the larger took over its name; it passed as the work of St. Matthew (a potiori parte), though the framework of it was derived from St. Mark. In like manner, our present Gospel of St. Luke is also a combination of St. Mark with Q, but of larger proportion of Matthew's matter from some further source, or sources, to which St. Luke alone had access, and to which he seems to have attached a special value.

The Second Gospel, which was the first of the three in order of time, was a sketch that we may call biographical (though it did not aim, and could not have aimed, because of the quaintness of the material, at the completeness of a modern biography). Still it took a narrative form; and its leading motive was reverence for the historical person of Jesus. The writer firmly believed in the real existence of Thomas, and the Acts of the Apostles. It is still addressed to the same Theophilus, and is written on the same historical lines as the Gospel. The Acts, however, could hardly have been included in the writer's original plan; because its opening paragraph differs so considerably from the conclusion of the Gospel (contrast, e.g., Ac 1:21 with Lk 24:50) that it seems safe to infer that the second volume was of the nature of an afterthought. Whether, by the time that he came to the end of this second volume, the author had conceived the idea of producing a complete 'trilogy' is perhaps slightly suggested by the way in which the volume closes, but must remain an open question.

The Fourth Gospel is generally held to stand rather by itself. It is without doubt the latest of the Gospels. It was composed; not the First and Third, the other three. At the same time it is not, like the First and Third, a compilation from materials already existing. On the view taken in this article, it is a retrospect by a writer of commanding position and authority, presupposing what has already been done, but adding to it from the stores of his own experience and reflection. In some points—none of a fundamental character—it corrects the work of predecessors; 

on other points it supplements their statements; but, most of all, it reinforces and deepens the impression which they had left on the most central topic of Christian teaching. It is a mistake to suppose that the Fourth Gospel is essentially different in character and purpose from the other three. When St. Mark heads his work, 'The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God;' the Fourth is the same thing as when St. John says, 'These things (or signs) are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name' (Jn 20:31). This declaration shows that it is not a mere expansion of the claim that his work too is a 'Gospel,' i.e. a message and assurance from above of life and salvation through Jesus Christ. It is not a mere biography, like the
ordinary secular biographies; it does not aim at any completeness as a record of events or teaching.

More than any of his fellows, the Fourth Evangelist himself upon the person of Christ was all that Christians supposed Him to be. Incidentally he sets right some few things that had been 'forgotten or misdelivered'; he fills up some gaps, like the great gap which omitted all or nearly all that had been done in Judea. But the great fact, the greatest fact of the whole Book, aimed at doing was to re-affirm, with the conscious- ness of first-hand knowledge and conviction, the faith of the Church in its Lord and Master.

In asserting thus much of the Fourth Gospel, we do not claim, however, that the end of the first or the beginning of the second century can be said to have been matured, when the process by which the ultimate decision was arrived at was rather one of ripening instinct and the natural gravitation of events than anything like the application of exhaustive criticism.

A sharp line does not separate the writers who fall just within the Canon from those who fall just outside it. As the writer of Wisdom and the son of Sirach, while they draw a distinction between their own writings and the older, they do not attempt to claim for themselves a lower degree of inspiration (see the writer's Bampton Lectures, pp. 259-262), so also can we trace in Clement of Rome and Ignatius something at once of the same kind of distinction and the same kind of claim. And just as we found the Fourth Gospel a separate document, so the Canonical Books whatever seemed to them to make for edification, so also do the oldest MSS of NT add works that properly belong to the sub-Apostolic age to those which are products of the Apostolic. And yet, as we have seen the conscientiousness grown up that the prophetic inspiration gradually exhausted itself, so also we observe a tendency to locate the higher activity of the Holy Spirit within a definite period, which is more and more identified with that of the Apostles. And the very claim on the part of the Montanists to possess within their own body a continued operation of the old gifts only led, by way of reaction, to a stronger delimitation of the privileged area and a clearer rejection of all that fell outside it. It took something like a century of gradual but imperceptible development to harden the conception of the NT Canon; and then it took about two centuries more to determine finally the number of books that were to be included in it.

III. THE PERMANENT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANON OF THE NT

By the end of the 4th cent., broadly speaking, the Christian Church was in possession of a complete Bible. Even then we must not speak too absolutely, because the Syriac Canon was not yet quite made up. For an ecumenical sanction of the existing list we must wait for the Quinisexte Council of A.D. 692. But for by far the greater part of Christendom the formation of the Canon was practically finished by about A.D. 400. From that time until the present generation the traditional conception of the Canon has been in possession of the field. It is only as part of the movement that is now commonly called Modernism that it has been seriously called in question. We shall give a typical example of the way in which it is now being challenged.

1. The Modernist challenge.—An able member of the advanced school, now deceased, in a pamphlet on the Work and Method of so-called New Testament Theology, cut at the root of the current conception in the following uncompromising terms:

'If the New Testament writings arose in the course of a particular historic activity, first of all the course of the history of that history, then the question at once presents itself to us: Why should our science (i.e. the science of NT Theology) deal
precisely with these writings and only with these? The answer is: because they alone belong to the Canon. But that answer is not satisfactory. When once we strike out the doctrine of inspiration from the dogmatic conception of the Canon can no longer be maintained. No New Testament writing was born with the predicate "canonized" or "canonical" as it means in the first instance that after the fact it was declared to be either the leading authorities of the Church between the second and fourth centuries—perhaps after all kinds of vacillation in their decision. On this subject the history of the Canon is sufficiently comprehensive to be made unnecessary.

Woever then still regards the conception of the Canon as valid thereby submits to the authority of the bishops and theologians of the day. Whoever does not acknowledge the authority in other matters—and no evangelical theologian does acknowledge it—is only acting logically when he also calls it in question.

It is fair to the writer to add a slight concession which he goes on to make:

"No one is therefore called upon to deny that the ancient Church, in its New Testament, brought together on the whole what was out of a religious point of view the most valuable, and on the whole that which was also the oldest and therefore in a documentary sense the most important not only of the literature that is known to us, but of all that was in circulation at the time, and that it formed a admission that is deserving of all praise. But this verdict includes the admission that the boundary lines between the canonical and the nearest extra-canonical are not to be made by all points of argumentating.

In order to follow up the consequences drawn from these premises, it is worth while to quote one more paragraph:

"If then, we are not to embrace the New Testament writings unconditionally, the expression of "canonized" is to be taken: it is the expression of an idea that has nothing to do with its original character, they made their original appearance in a God-conscious, but only as writings that appear to private Christians. The boundary line for the subject-matter of our science should be drawn at the point where the canonicity of the books appears in the literature. The standard for this is naturally not to be sought in religious value."* This is trenchant and clear enough in all conscience. The writer is certainly right in bearing his argument upon the abandonment of the idea of Inspiration. If that idea is thrown over, the consequences as he states them really follow. But ought we to throw over that idea?

Here again, it is fair to observe that, when the writer speaks of "striking out the idea of inspiration," he probably means the full dogmatic conception of verbal inerrancy as it was asserted or reasserted in the 16th century. But we have already tried to show (p. 571) that this was from the time of the commission of a New Testament, an extension of the original idea. The Christian is not called upon to go beyond this idea; and, by adhering to it, he keeps within the range of what is strictly verifiable.

The reply.—It is true that no book either of the New Testament or of the Old was born with the predicate "canonized." But we are prepared to maintain that all the books both of OT and NT, though no doubt with very considerable differences of degree, were born with the qualities which caused them to be labelled 'canonical'; in other words, with the marks that are summed up under the name of Inspiration. In sketching the history of the two Testaments, we have tried to indicate what those marks are. We have tried to show how, as each was written in the history there was a certain character impressed upon the writings which in due course came to be recognized as justifying its inclusion within the conception of a Sacred Book. It may be well for us to go back upon this character, and to consider it no longer—or, no longer necessarily, certainly, but in the history, but with reference to its permanent validity among the body of Christian ideas and Christian doctrines.

(1) The human aspect of Inspiration. — If we were to try to state in a single word the common property which runs through the whole of the Bible, and which, broadly speaking, may be said to distinguish it from other literature of the kind, we might say that it consists in the peculiar energy and intensity of the word God-conscious and inerrant in the hands of writers. A general term like this will perhaps best embrace the different modes and degrees in which this consciousness manifests itself. It is true that in some of the books there is such a shading-away of degree that it may be questioned whether those particular books are rightly included in the Canon, just as there are so many analogous phenomena in some books outside the Canon as to raise a doubt whether they are rightly excluded from it. It cannot be claimed that the judgments of the Jewish and Christian Church are infallible. All we can say is that it is sufficiently near for practical purposes. On the whole, posterity has confirmed the original verdict within those limits of approximation which usually obtain in human affairs. For the purpose of our inquiry we may take the Canon as it stands.

From the question of degree we pass to the question of different kinds or modes. We may distinguish the inspiration, or God-consciousness, of the prophet, of the lawgiver, of the psalmist, of the wise man, of the apostle or prophet apparent in all these, as we have said, that of the prophet is perhaps the most characteristic. We call it so, not because it is essentially higher than other kinds, but chiefly because it is more easily recognized and more clearly defined. The consciousness of a lawgiver, like Moses must have been quite as strong and quite as penetrating as that of an Isaiah; but the difference is that, whereas in the case of Isaiah we can see the mind of the prophet at work behind the word in which the influence of the Holy Spirit has found enduring expression, in the case of Moses anything so clear and definite as this eludes our search, and we have to be content with inferences backwards from analogies for which we have more contemporary attestation. We are more fortunately situated again in the case of the NT apostles. There once more we can see the mind of the writer at work, and form some conception of the intensity with which it works. The chief drawback in the case of Psalms or Wisdom Books is the anonymity of the writers, which makes the evidence they supply comparatively fragmentary and limited. And yet some of the Psalms can hardly be surpassed for depth and intimacy of communion with God.

The characteristic feature in the writing prophets is the expression confidence with which they assume their own commission from God. When they speak, the language they use is as though God Himself were speaking through them. We repeat that even this language does not proceed from a higher level of spiritual experience than that of St. Paul. No words either of OT or of NT enter into competition with those which we call "words of the Lord." We only treat the prophetic utterances as typical and as lending themselves more easily to analysis and comparison.

Looking at the prophets, we observe that they do in fact stand alone in religious literature. For the assurance with which they are spoken, for the coherence and continuity which they present spread over a succession of centuries, for beneficence of effect upon the religious history of a people, for the impressiveness of language, which in the history of the Church has looked back upon them, they are practically unique.

To put all this at its lowest term, to say only that the Prophetic Books of OT were books composed under these psychological conditions, is still to claim that they are sui generis. The Christian looks back upon them still as he looks back on no other books besides.

Doubtless the view which the prophets took of their own calling has in it an element belonging to
the time at which they spoke and wrote. Even so, that element does in some ways only strengthen their claim. It is very doubtful whether the experience of modern times will ever supply anew example of complete concurrence of thought and aim upon the things of religion. We must allow for this utter concentration as an advantage which they possessed and which is not likely to be possessed again.

Of all the books which have attempted a psychological analysis of the prophetic consciousness, the present writer does not know one that grapples with the ultimate problem more directly than A. B. Davidson's *Old Testament Prophecy* (Edinburgh, 1908). Dr. Davidson asks some searching questions:

> 'When God spake to a prophet, was the latter conscious of two things, namely, of the fact that God was speaking, and also of what He spake? When the word of God came to him, did He being the word of God manifest itself to him in some distinctive manner, apart altogether from the contents? Or rather, was not the feeling of the prophet in all probability something like our own,—that double kind of feeling which we express by saying that any opinion we have is God's truth? . . . The same question is asked us in regard to the kind of perception. Which kind of prophet felt himself to be. Did the kind of feeling he had of impulse to speak differ from the feeling men still have of impulse to an act or any present truth that lies upon a devout, religious, teachers, or lofty, earnest statement? And when truth suddenly dawned upon the prophet's mind, what fact did he see? Did he see his vision, not in the words, but in the prophet's mind, what fact did he see? Did he see his vision, not in the words, but in the words, but in the words of? (op. cit. p. 133.)

We may pause for a moment to remark that, when a modern writer or speaker in order to strengthen an asseveration describes it as 'God's truth,' he is probably influenced by the traditional estimate of the Bible, and means that what he is saying is what prophets in their prophetic positions which the prophet felt his mind to be. Did the kind of feeling he had of impulse to speak differ from the feeling men still have of impulse to an act or any present truth that lies upon a devout, religious teachers, or lofty, earnest statement? And when truth suddenly dawned upon the prophet's mind, what fact did he see? Did he see his vision, not in the words, but in the words of? (op. cit. p. 133.)

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But if we are to suppose that God has 'spoken to man,' how should He speak? How should Spirit speak to spirit? Surely it is very credible that the method of communication chosen might well be through the influence of the higher Spirit upon the lower, not in equal degree upon all individuals but pre-eminently upon some. That is the way in which the Bible appears to describe the relation of God to man; and, simple as the language is, it seems very difficult to improve upon it. Science does not as yet seem capable of describing the facts of the case in more appropriate terms.

(b) But then we have also to ask whether the Biblical revelation, as we call it, is of such a kind as to approve itself to us as rational beings. As the course of it is now unrolled before us according to critical views (so far as they can be justified) of OT and NT history, there certainly does seem to be a broad correspondence between this department and other departments of God's dealings with His creatures. The history of the inorganic universe presents what we call a process of evolution; the history of life on the earth up to the advent of man is also expressed in terms of evolution; man himself as a social being has developed in accordance with ascertainable laws; and when we come to consider him as a religious being, we find again that his career has been on the whole one of gradual and progressive advance. At the present stage of our knowledge and apprehension all this appears to be homogeneous and consistent. The different parts of the Divine economy tell the same kind of story. The Christian faith, as its data lie before us in the Bible, seems, naturally and without forcing, so to fall into its place in relation to the rest of the development as to furnish it with its fitting completion or crown. Everything may not as yet have been worked out to our full satisfaction; but it seems in a fair way to be, and there are at least no valid grounds for supposing that any other mode of statement of the culminating stages of religious history will either be more satisfactory or more acceptable to us. This seems to be as good verification as we can expect to have. If we look steadily at the contents of the Bible from this point of view of 'an increasing purpose,' they seem quite entirely to have the form of a historical development. If we take them as a revelation of what God Himself is and of the method of His dealings with mankind, and if we bear in mind that this revelation has
been gradual and progressive, it is difficult to conceive one that could have been better or more completely constituting the revolution of human thought as a whole. There is impressed upon the writings which make up the Bible a breadth and variety, an intensity and purity of religious life, that are without parallel in any other literature in the world. That is the fact which we seek to express in the doctrine of Inspiration. We know no other explanation for it than a special action of the Spirit of God. That may well be a way of speaking that is relative and imperfect. The Holy Spirit is not bound. It is not confined to any one channel. It permeates all forms of life, one after this manner and another after that. It permeates all forms of human life, though there are diversities of working. These diversities, or the names that we give them, are relative to our human apprehension, which cannot help classifying and defining. It cannot help observing what it calls 'degrees' and 'kinds' of operation. And this particular kind of operation that we see in the Bible is at once the highest and the most powerful that we know. It is a movement of the Divine Spirit through a long succession of human spirits, a movement which the poetic imagination, the philosophical fancy, the prosaic common sense, all combine to compare to the wind. And for us too that old illustration has acquired a new point. We understand more now of the nature of wind, and the analogy becomes all the more forcible. We think of a current of air, drawing in from the wide seas, charged with fresh supplies of ozone and all the other chemical constituents that vitalize and strengthen the activities of heart and brain. Such a vitalizing, such a strengthening, was that gift of God which we call Inspiration. We see the results; we can only imagine the process, and express it in the tongue of the children of men.

3. Correction of older views.—The progress of knowledge is progress in accuracy of description and definition. There are certain fundamental thoughts, wide-spread in space and time, going back to remote antiquity, and common to many races of men. The idea of an inspired and sacred Book is one of these thoughts. The common name 'inspiration' covers all its varied meaning; just as the common name 'God' covers a whole gamut of conceptions from the crude to the highest. As time has gone on, the conception of God has been sifted and purified, and a like process must take place with the idea of Inspiration. It is certainly not to be denied or rejected; but it must be brought into complete accord with the mind of all.

Necessarily at first the idea was vague, figurative, and (if we must call it so) crude. To the prophet Ezekiel there is given a roll of a book which he is commanded to eat (Ezk 2:3). This is a very concrete and symbolic way of saying that he must absorb into himself a message which he is charged to deliver. In that period 'between the Testaments,' when the idea of an inspired book definitely crystallized, the attributes that most stood out were those of authority and infallibility. A book that came from God must needs be in all respects authoritative and infallible. It was an instinctive rather than a reasoned idea; but so instinctive and so natural that it held sway more or less completely for about two centuries. But in the course of the century it came gradually to be seen that this conception was not to be held good.

There are certainly some ways—many ways—in which the Bible is not infallible, and therefore not in the strict sense authoritative. More and more the authority of the Bible has come to be restricted to the apprehension of ethical and religious truths. But it is the same Spirit of God that has led us to the discovery of this limitation, and more and more it is coming to be seen that, even within these spheres, allowance must be made for difference of times. All expression, even the most perfect in its kind, is necessarily conditioned by the sum-total of the body of thought of the period to which it belongs; and it has to be translated into the corresponding language of each succeeding period. It is impossible simply to transfer, in crude blocks without change, the thought of one age into another. From this point of view we do not so naturally look at things under the category of 'authority'; but we might be said that, in place of the category of authority, we think rather of the process of assimilation. The main question for us in these days is how much we can assimilate of the Bible. And when we speak of assimilation, we mean an act of the whole man, intellect, emotions, and will, which makes the problem for us. The working out of it is for us as the breath of life. And the material that the Bible supplies to us is as rich and as abundant as ever it was in the ages of most implicit and unquestioning faith. Our questions are not—or at least ought not to be—the questions of doubt, but only the throses and efforts of a more scientific, i.e. of a more accurate, apprehension.

LITERATURE.—The books of which the writer has made most use in the course of this article are Deissmann, Licht aus den Osten (Tübingen, 1908); Heinrich, Der Beter, Charakter d. neust. Schrift (Leipzig, 1903); and Jiilicher, a. B. Davidson's posthumous OT Propheey (Edinburgh, 1909), from which some interesting extracts have been made, suffer as a whole from the fact that it consists of an article spread over a considerable period of time, and all parts of it are not equally critical. Many other books might have been used: e.g. the Erlebnissen von Jülicher, Weiss, Zahn, and Barth, Jülicher's 'Religion Jesu' (in Kritiker d. Gegenwart, i. Abt. 4), and tracts on Die Entdeckung d. NT, by H. J. Holtzmann (1904), C. Clemen (1906), W. Wrede (1910). But there is one that the writer has had before his mind ever since he wrote his Oracles of God (1889) and 'Bampton Lecture on Inspiration' (1903), and he thought it better to state independently the views at which he has himself arrived.

W. SANDAY.

BIBLE IN THE CHURCH.

[F. VON DÖRSCHUTZ.]

Introduction.

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Introduction.—Libraries might be filled with the literature to which the little book which we call the Bible or 'the Book' has given rise, and every day with new contribution to it. But no one as yet has made a comprehensive investigation of the influence which it has exerted upon the Christian Church and the life of Christian peoples.
as a whole. For a long time no such question was felt to arise. Attention was confined to the theological development of the Church, and then to the history of exposition, the Text and the Versions. One or two special problems were also discussed. Strictly speaking, the only comprehensive treatment of the subject is M. Kahler's "Geach, der Bibel in ihrer Wirkung auf die Kirche, ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Schriftenkunde", where is contributed towards the establishing of the authority of Holy Scripture in "Dogmatische Zeitfragen" (Zur Bibelfrage, 1907, pp. 386-385). What Kahler and other scholars demonstrated is that the Reformation, and modern does not by any means correspond to the separate lines which we have to follow. It is true that the Reformation is an important fact in all that is concerned with the effect of the Bible on piety, and perhaps also on public life. But it was not till the time of the 'Enlightenment' that the learned investigation of the canonicity of the Bible took an altered form. This twofold development of the Hebrew Bible was of significance for Christianity, Jesus, His first disciples, and the Jewish Christians of Palestine, understood by the Bible the Hebrew form of it used by the Rabbis. What Paul and Gentile Christians possessed was the Greek Bible in the Alexandrian form, including, e.g., the Wisdom of Solomon. But the knowledge that there was another form of the Bible never disappeared in the Gentile Church. In the year 170, Melito, bishop of Sardis, brought home with him from a journey to Palestine a list of the OT books which alone were recognized there (Eusebius, HE iv. 20. 14). Origen gives a similar list in comments on Ps 1 (ib. vi. 25. 2). Eusebius himself owed his knowledge to Josephus (HE iii. 10). But neither he, nor Athanasius (Epist. post. 39, A.D. 367), nor any other Greek Father made any practical use of his knowledge.

To them the Holy Scripture was the Greek Bible. It was otherwise in the case of Jerome. As he went back upon the Hebrew original, he took over the Canon of his Hebrew teachers. His influence in the Western Church served to keep the knowledge of this difference between the Hebrew and the Greek Bibles alive, and more and more interest was shown in the Hebrew text. Luther followed Jerome in making a sharp separation between the canonical books and the 'Apocrypha', but nevertheless incorporated the latter in the Bible as 'useful to read.' On the other hand, at the Council of Trent (Sess. iv., 8th Apr. 1546), Catholicism took the last step in the line of tradition, and did away with every shade of difference between the various books of the wider Canon. The Calvinists proceeded on a different line, and, breaking away from tradition, simply removed the Apocrypha from the Bible altogether. Thus they became victims of a vague and wrong use of the word 'Apocrypha,' which they owed to Jerome. To-day the British and Foreign Bible Society prints the Bible without the Apocrypha. The Bibles which the Continental and other societies distribute contain it, as did also the Bible upon which King Edward VI. took the oath at his accession; and the Anglican Church appoints regular lessons from the Apocrypha. In these diverging practices we see reflected the difference between the Canon of the Palestinian Rabbis and that of the Diaspora.

The idea of the Canon of the Holy Scripture involves its unconditional authority as the regulative principle of all thought and action. The ground of this authority is always found in its Divine origin—a ground which may be differently conceived. Neither in Judaism nor in Christianity is it ever claimed for the Bible that it 'fell complete from heaven,' as it is among the Elkesaites, though at a later date Christianity knew something of 'letters from heaven.' Its historical origin was too clearly seen in the book itself. Moses, no doubt, is said to have received from God the tables on which the commandments were inscribed, but elsewhere he names himself as the author of the Torah; and so it was also with the prophets and the books which go by their names. No distinction was made between prophetic inspiration and literary activity. The latter was conceived as following mechanically upon the Divine dictation, so that Moses was able to describe his own death. But this was not enough. Even the minimum of human and historical that was involved in the recognition of different authors was stripped off by the growth of legend, which affirmed that by the help of Divine inspiration Ezra restored the whole body of writings lost at the destruction of Jerusalem, but the unity of the Canon with relief even in its origin. The Diaspora did not tarry behind this rabbinical development of the idea of inspiration. The story of the 72 (70) translators, which was originally applied only to the Pentateuch, was extended to the whole OT, and had added to it these further features: that the 70 translators did their work separated from one another, that they all finished at the same moment with a loud Amen, and that the 70 copies were found to be in entire agreement. This is a conception of inspiration very in keeping with the ideas of his own eclectic philosophy. Christian exegesis takes its direction from the person of Christ. The whole OT is a witness to Him. Jesus treats it thus, and so do His disciples.

Through the influence of this notion, it happened that Jesus was Hissef conceived as the originator of this witness, and identified with the inspiring Spirit of God; οἱ προφητείαι εἰς αὐτὸν έκτος τῆς λέγουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιφανείας (Barn. ν. 6). Notwithstanding the unhistorical nature of the exegesis, it is thus continued to this day. There is a reciprocal effect of prophecy and fulfillment which gives rise to typology. It is true that this method shares the defects of allegory: the words are given another sense than that which really belongs to them. But, as distinguished from allegory, it makes good its claim to existence, because, proceeding upon a pre-established harmony between the two, it gives to history a real as well as a typological value. Philo finds in Abraham only the idea of wisdom and piety, while Paul sees in him the father of the faithful, with a faith which was in principle the same as that of Christians. It is allegorizing when Paul simply disposes in 1 Co 9 the literal sense of Dt 25, and when Barnabas interprets the commandments respecting food in the same moral fashion as in the Neo- Pythagoreans. It is typology, however, when in 1 Co 10-11 Paul treats the events of the Exodus as actual but at the same time typical. We find the same thing in the Epistle to the Hebrews, with its doctrine of the provisional but widely significant character of the sacrificial sacrifices. It is neither rabbinical nor Philonic.

The method of using the Holy Scripture in Divine service was developed also in the Synagogue. There were the readings from the Law (Parashiyot).

BIBLE IN THE CHURCH

Florence, written A.D. 586 by Rabulla, have only 4 gospels from Gospel history apart from the tables of the Canon and the dedication to King. In the Middle Ages there were occasionally more illustrations, but one cannot speak of increase or decrease in their number. They were plentiful or sparse according to the wish of the person ordering, or the manuscript itself. The time of Justinius was distinguished for the fine nature of its MSS; so afterwards the Renaissance of the 15th cent. in the East, and the periods of Charlemagne and Otto in the West. As in the Synagogue the Karaites set themselves against all other forms of illustration, so in the Christian Church opposition to these luxurious MSS was not lacking. The complaints of individual Fathers have already been mentioned. It is still more important that the Cistercians, as opposed to the popish-loving monks of Cluny, forbade all artistic decoration of books. The Paris Bibles, executed in the ordinary way of business (see above), exhibit quite a special style of simple red and blue. The Brothers of the Common Life wrote well but plainly, while at the beginning of the Renaissance the breadth of illustration again becomes a prominent feature. The new art of printing with movable type came at once to the aid of the Scriptures, and the first printed book was a Bible. In the years 1453–56 Gutenberg at Mainz, 1455, made its appearance, and was shortly afterwards followed by the 36 line one. Externally these oldest printed Bibles resembled MSS. Printing sealed the victory of paper over parchment, but some examples of the oldest printing on parchment still exist. The movement for simplicity of finish, and the Paris booksellers, was maintained, although the first Bibles printed are not only masterpieces of printing, but are in some cases also beautifully illuminated. In place of illumination and pictures there soon appeared engravings on wood. These were either marginal or embodied in the text, and in the older Bibles they are often very numerous. The German Cologne Bible (1480) contains 110; the Italian Malermi Bible (1490) 383. Luther's NT of 1522 has woodcuts by Lucas Cranach. Long after these became few as they were omitted altogether, and the Bible resumed its present sober appearance. Never, however, has there been an entire absence of picture-Bibles, though it must be said that the addition of picture was not in any case an ornamentation than for instruction. Speaking generally, the main object is to make Bibles as cheap and as easy to handle as possible, and to increase their number. In the Middle Ages almost the only complete Bible was the bibletheca of 8 folio vols., and the first printed Bibles were of gigantic proportions. The size, however, has always become less, and the price always lower, till we have now reached the pocket Bible and the penny NT. Attempts have lately been made to secure something finer. They are in the form of a series of beautiful picture-Bibles. Some of these are completely illustrated by the same artist, e.g., Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1852 ff.), Doré (1865), and Tissot (1896). In others we find reproductions of the famous masters, e.g., R. Pilederer (1890). The aim of these is to assist the eye by bringing vividly before it what has been read. The historical character of modern exegesis, however, makes use of archaeological and geographical illustration to explain the Bible (Field, 1897; Miller-Benzing, 1900).


2. Translations.—Besides the preservation of the Bible, its circulation is a necessary preliminary, and this involved the task of translation. The gospel soon left the soil of Palestine and the Aramaic speech. As a world-religion Christianity employed the universal language, Greek, even in Rome. The Church used the OT in the Greek translation or LXX. The other translations by Theodotion, Symmachus, and Aquila seem also to have been possessed of importance, especially at the outset, in controversies with the Jews. Their use, however, which was chiefly by Origen's giant work, the Hexapla,* sank to mere technical sufficiency. Almost all the books of the NT were composed in Greek. The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, of which report had spoken since the time of Papias, was really a lost work. The Hebrew original of the Epistle to the Romans was long held by the Church in an unholy guess of an Alexandrian scribe. The LXX originals of the Gospel of Mark and the Epistle to the Romans are inventions of the Middle Ages. As late as the year 200 the Roman Hippolytus wrote in Greek, though in Africa Tertullian already composed in Latin. Whether he employed a Latin Bible in his work, or translated from the Greek Bible, is not yet beyond the range of doubt. From that point onwards, however, Greek visibly declined. About 250, at the time of Novatian, the language in Rome, as also in Gaul and Spain, was Latin. Celtic and Iberian, like Punic, do not seem to have reached a Christian literature though they continued to be spoken by country people. In the East, Aramæo-Syrac again gained strength; in Egypt the native language (Coptic) assumed new Hellenized form. This was a movement that the Church could not think of opposing. She had to share in it if she was to bring her Bible to the people. As yet there was no idea that the sacredness of the Bible was to be sought in its text. Generally it was thought that the best was in the beginning of the 3rd cent. certainly, if not about the end of the 2nd, there appeared Latin, Syriac, and perhaps Coptic translations. The origin and early history of these versions are still very obscure. What is certain is that in the OT the LXX formed the basis (the Hebrew text being employed nowhere except in Syria), and in the NT remarkably free texts differing much from those otherwise known to us. It is possible that different translations can still be found being independently of one another; perhaps the fixed translation of P. Falk, the manned, and gradually approximated in language to various Greek texts. Generally at the outset translations are exceedingly free. One can trace the joy which was felt in the new treasure, the difficulty of finding adequate expressions, the attempt to express the thought in the form most familiar. There is to be observed an inward assimilation of the gospel, a transference of it into the common thought and speech. Not till afterwards did the theological form get its appearance, with the high valuation of the latter characteristic of theology. So it is always: first Luther, then Weissacker; first AV, then RV.
Almost simultaneously there came the revisions which established themselves throughout the Church—the Latin revision in 378 ff. by Jerome, and the Syrian by Rabbanah about 410. The Vulgate and the Greek were brought into more intimate conflict, with the Vetus Latina; but before the Peshitta the Vetus Syra disappeared, leaving almost no trace. The Latin tradition approached the Syrian also in the fact that Jerome made a new translation of the OT direct from the Hebrew. In the case of the Gospels, according to present research, it was less a gradual process than a conjoining of various dialects. Yet here, too, further investigation will likely show a succession of Akhmimic, Sahidic, and Bohairic, representing not only dialects but textual differences, and corresponding in some measure to the African, European, and Italian of the Vetus Latina.

To these oldest and constantly developing translations which reveal the spread of Christianity in the first three centuries, there have to be added in the 4th and 5th cents. the Gothic and the Armenian together with the Georgian and the Ethiopic. These not only indicate the further spread of Christianity, but also bring to light its power as a civilizing agent. As so often in the later centuries, fourteenth century, fourteenth generation of the Bible is the first literary work in these tongues, the first monument of a system of writing developed for the purpose from the Greek. The Gothic Bible survived the rapid overthrow of that proud people only as a literary relic. The Codex Argenteus (now at Upsala), one of the most beautiful Bibles of the ancient Church, is a worthy witness to their former splendour. At the same time the translation, which was evidently exegeted from the Greek text in the Balkan peninsular region, brought about a conformity with the Latin in Italy, shows the wanderings of the people and the different civilizing influences under which they came, just as we can observe in the Armenian Bible the displacement of the originally predominant Syriac by Byzantine influences.

The Georgian Bible lived till the 11th cent., when it died through the Russianization of this ancient Christian Church. The Armenian Bible, which in the time of the Crusades had points of contact with the Latin, was threatened by the same disease. Orientalizing influence, conformity with the Latin in Italy, shows the wanderings of the people and the different civilizing influences under which they came, just as we can observe in the Armenian Bible the displacement of the originally predominant Syriac by Byzantine influences.

The Georgians themselves, however, took up again translations more learned than popular in character.

Following the Greek very closely, Paul of Tella translated the OT (616-617), and Philosophus of Mabnig the NT (508), the latter being revised by Thomas of Harkel (616). There does not seem to have been any Persian Bible before the 14th century. On the other hand, the domination of the Arabs after the 7th cent. in Syria and Egypt brought a whole series of translations into existence, and these to some extent displaced the older Coptic and Syriac versions. Subsequently, when Spain was overrun, the same thing happened there, through the Arab conquest. The first translation of the Latin. The 9th cent., which gave the Slavs a Bible of their own as the first written work in their language, saw also the beginning of Anglo-Saxon and German translations. Like Charlemagne, King Alfred was intensely patriotic, and he himself undertook the popular tongue both in Divine service and in literature. But Latin, having the support of the Church, kept the lead, and the national language suddenly disappeared. In the time following, the oldest translations were forgotten.

Apart from the religious and national-civilizing influence of the Bible, only fragments were preserved till the end of the 12th cent. brought new motives of another kind. On the one hand, there was the popular religious movement associated with the name of Peter Waldo, which spread from South France towards the S. and E. as far as Bohemia. On the other hand, there was the sudden outburst of nationalism, suggesting to us in many ways our own time, which can be traced simultaneously in France, England, and Germany, and, however paradoxical it may seem, the Book of Daniel received a new validity in the 18th cent. of the French University. Thus there came to be two series of Bible translations in the popular tongue. From Paris University, which gave to the Latin Bible the form that was to obtain in the later Middle Ages, there came, through the use of an old Norman Psalter and Apocalypse, the French Bible. To us it is known chiefly in connexion with the histoire ecloste of Guyard des Moulins as the 'Bible historide.' With it there stood in more or less clear connexion some Dutch Bibles.

The Italian, the Castilian, and the German, however, were strongly influenced by the French. It influenced the whole S. of Europe as far as Bohemia until Albigensian and Waldensian tendencies spread widely. The Italian as well as the Catalan Bibles come originally, not from the Vulgate direct, but from the Provençal translation. It was only afterwards that they were conformed to the Vulgate and polished in language. Distinct from these there is only the Castilian Bible, which was translated in 1422 at the instance of Luis de Guzman by Jewish and Christian scholars in Bohemia, and which was to become, without the name of a forerunner of the great Polyglot Bible of Cardinal Ximenes. A side-piece to this is formed by the so-called Graecus Venetus (ed. by O. von Gebhardt, 1875), a new translation of the OT, which was probably a private work of the 14th cent. and never attained to any considerable influence. In the 14th cent., in England, Bohemia, and Germany simultaneously, the work of translation was again revived under Waldensian influence. John Wyclif (1384) gave his people the first complete translation of the Bible. It is known in about 170 MSS, including the revision by John Purvey. Hus and his friends revised the somewhat older Czech Bible, and thus fashioned the pattern that was to regulate the future. In Germany no such great name appeared before Luther. There we find a great number of independent translations which have been carefully classified in Walther's thorough work on the subject. He mentions 34 Branches and 24 Psalters, also 6 Branches and 8 Psalters in the dialect of Lower Germany; altogether over 200 MSS and 50 printed in the 50th cent. A most important Branch, to which the 14 pre-Lutheran printed Bibles belong, points in its origin to Bohemia and the time of Charles IV. Not till the 15th cent. did the northern lands receive translations of their own.

With one exception, the Castillian, all these go back directly or indirectly to the Vulgate,
whose influence is also traceable in the later forms of the South Slavonic Bible which was originally inspired from the East. Its influence was first broken by Humanism, which translation is shown by its text generally accessible, and also sought to replace the Vulgate of the monks by Latin translations of its own: Santes Pagninus, Erasmus, Seb. Münster, Castellio, etc. The first really effective factor in the translation of the OT was the German Reformation. The importance of Luther's translation is shown by a twofold consideration: In the first place, in spite of many attempts in Germany, no other translation has been able to secure a position alongside of it. In especial the numerous attempts of the Reformers of the Reformation period to produce a translation of Trent to outshout Luther's by another translation show the great importance of his work, and all the more so since he was able to show that they systematically stole from him. The later Protestant attempts are not, as a rule, intended to enter into competition with Luther's Bible, but are meant for scholars.

In the second place, even outside of Germany, the popular translations of the Reformation period are nearly all influenced more or less by it. Christian iii. of Denmark gave an express order that the Danish Bible should be translated as nearly as possible. There are further to be named as modelled on Luther's work—apart from the Zürich and Low German Bibles mentioned above—the Swedish, Finnute, Lithuanian, Lettice, Slavonic, Croatian, and Hungarian Bibles. From the time of Tindal the English Bible has contained a strong stream of Lutheran influence, which the Authorized Version still preserves, in spite of the opposing influence of the Douai Bible, which goes back to the Vulgate, and of the Genevan Bible of the Calvinists, which follows Beza. There is a remarkable difference between the evolution of the English Bible and that of the German. Luther's work was the first and the best, while in England the first work did not prove at once the matchless masterpiece, but the Bible finally established itself as the product of a century's labour. This enables us to understand how it was that England decided upon a thorough revision sooner than Germany, where the revision (1863–1882) was executed with the greatest caution.

The MSS which we possess are the only ones belonging to the Reformation that are entirely independent of Luther. In these, Humanism (Castello, Calvin, Beza) won a greater influence, but when they were not killed altogether by the counter-Reformation they underwent considerable alteration. In most lands the following centuries have seen all sorts of attempts at improvement and also new and scholarly translations. These, however, cannot cope with the work of the fundamental creative Reform period. Notice must be taken, however, of the isolated attempts which were made from time to time by Catholics when a warmer Christian piety inspired the effort to find relief from Jesuitical oppression. In the 19th. century, an entirely new element appears. The work of Bible-translation has been greatly stimulated by the B. and F. B. Soc. in the interests of flourishing missionary enterprise. What we saw in the early Christian centuries, viz. that the effort to make the Bible available gave to peoples a written language and a literature of their own, became revived again in the 19th. century. In the year 600 the Bible (or parts of it) existed in about 8 languages; by 1500 it had been translated into 24; in 1600 the number had risen to quite 30 (the older translations being now replaced by others); 5000 MSS of the original 46 books have been printed, and more than 5000 MSS have been printed. In 1901 the number preserved has advanced to nearly 400, and there is hardly a tongue in the world into which at least portions of the Bible have not been translated.


3. Circulation.—How great the number of MS Bibles once in existence was can we no longer reckon accurately. Probably we are inclined to under-estimate the number which have been made away altogether with those of the first three centuries which did not perish naturally through the frailty of papyrus. The storms of natural migration in the W., the inundation of Arabs in the E. and S., and the outbreaks of iconoclasm in Byzantium were responsible for great destruction. There were times when parchment was so scarce that Bible MSS (contrary to the command of the Church) were used as palmseats. Later on they were employed for binding. Remembering all this, we shall draw no false conclusion from the small number still to hand. While the circulation in ancient times was great, and in Byzantium even enormous, in regard to the W. at the beginning of the Middle Ages we must indulge very modest notions. According to the old book-catalogues (see G. Becker, Catalogus bibliothecarum antiquus, 1882), a royal foundation like St. Vaudrilette about the year 800 did not possess a complete Bible, and Boniface had to be satisfied with parts. But from century to century the circulation increased. When we discover the Bible MSS in the later catalogues of the 12th century, the explanation must be that it was not inventoried with other books. The number of MSS grew steadily with the increase of wealth, culture, and religious interest. We possess still a few complete Bibles of the 4th century, and the two belonging to the 5th. (N, B, A, C). There are also 7 portions of the OT, and 14 of the NT, besides fragments on papyri, the number of which increases every year. Belonging to the 6th. cent., we have 5 OT and 28 NT MSS, and belonging to the period between the 7th and the 10th centuries, there are 18 of the OT, and about 80 of the NT, all these being uncial MSS. To these have to be added about 9000 Gr. manuscripts and MSS of the NT dating from the 9th to the 10th cent., while the number of OT MSS preserved cannot as yet be accurately determined. The Latin MSS which we still possess go back to the 4th cent., as do also the Syriac and the Coptic. We are acquainted with 400 Latin and 100 Syriac MSS of the NT dating from the 4th to the 10th cent., and 3000 Latin MSS in all. So far as the OT is concerned, no classification has been made. When it is remembered what a labour it was to make a fair copy even of one Gospel, it is possible to estimate the difficulty connected to the multiplication of the Bible. But when we think of the millions of Christians who have lived since the 4th cent., those numbers will seem rather
small. For the later part of the Middle Ages about 170 MSS of Wyclif's Bible, and over 200 German Bibles, were published by Luttenbacher (see § 2), give some idea of the spread of the Bible.

The invention of printing altered the conditions. Every setting up of type meant a great number of copies. Till this time every copy was a thing by itself, with its own faults and its own excellences, but these were now extended to the whole edition, which might run to any number desired. In the first stages of printing the editions were not large. Gutenberg and Schöffer cannot have made more than from 100 to 200 impressions from every setting up, and the press-book of high that it still paid to copy a printed pattern by hand (see the Greek NT copied by Zwingli from Erasmus' ed. at the Stadtbibliothek of Zürich, C. 163). Even when an edition mounted to 1000 copies, its circulation remained within narrow bounds, as is proved by the numberless reprints. Up to 1500 there have been counted 169 Latin printings, and from 1500–1520 the number is 56. In German there were 17, in Italian 10, in French 4, and so on. Even when these figures are multiplied by 100, 1000, 10,000, and we reach the modern age, in the first two centuries of the Reformation the Bibles reached what according to our present ideas is a very small circulation, however large it may seem as compared with past ages.

Improvements in the process of printing made large editions possible, and the first of these founded on what Freiherr von Canstein could boast that in his establishment at Halles, between the years 1710 and 1719 he had made 100,000 copies of the NT in 28 editions, and 40,000 Bibles in 16 editions (8 in 8vo, and 8 in 12mo). Now the B. and E. Bible Societies may print almost 1,000,000 Bibles, more than 1,000,000 NT's, and 3,000,000 parts of the Bible; in all 5,000,000. We must remember, too, that the oldest printers earned their living by their work, that the Bible was an article of commerce, and that, although Luther took no pay for his services, yet the printers made a large enough charge. It was the voluntary support of friends of the Bible like the Baron von Canstein (†1719), the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (since 1689), and the Christianhausgemeinschaft of Basel, extended by Ursprungs-Buch (1789), that made it possible to aim at a real circulation of the Bible among the people. This was finally realized by the Bible Societies which after the foundation of the B. and F. B. Soc. in 1804 established themselves everywhere, and which in Berlin and Dresden, 1814; America, 1816; Paris, 1818, etc.

In many places in our own day every married couple is presented with a Bible as a marriage gift. Every schoolboy possesses one. Among soldiers the Bible is diligently circulated, and in the mission field it is spread with great zeal. Often it is given for nothing, and usually the price is astonishingly small. Never has the Bible been so easy to acquire. What one cannot but regret is that this extensive circulation does not go in hand with a high estimation of the Book of books among the great mass of men. The colporteur was right when he gave it as the result of his 20 years' experience, that to make a present of the Bible is easy but not effective.

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name (e.g. Ro 9:25-27), and it becomes general to name the specific books: Μωϋσεως ἐν Ἐξοδῷ, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Βασιλέων, Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ πρὸς Κωνσταντίνον. Tertullian says, 'Habes Genesis, habes Bibliam.' Indeed Origen defines the passage more exactly by the στροφὴν τοῦ μετροῦ. The Eusebian sections of the Gospels, arranged in ten canons for purposes of comparison, served the whole Middle Ages as a handy concordance. After the 4th cent. we meet with chapter-divisions, which differed among the Greeks and the Latins. Citations were made by the titles or the first words of the chapter. It was not till the Middle Ages that they were made by the number of the chapter. This became common in the 13th cent., when the Paris Bible established itself everywhere (see above, II. 1). There we have the chapter-divisions of Stephen Langton, with 8 subdivisions of each chapter (A–H), serving the purpose of the concordantia biblica of the Paris doctors. Not till modern times did the easy method of verse-enumeration come in, and it is by far the favourite. The germ of this was found in a concordance which R. Isaac Nathan formed in 1417 (printed Venice, 1523; taken over in Santes Pagninus's Lat. Bible, 1528). The NT was divided into verses by Robt. Stephen in 1561, on a journey from Paris to Lyons. The failure of that attempt to introduce a 'verse' unfortunately, too often evident. Moreover, in different editions there are variations. Above all, the bad habit of setting the number of the verse in the text, or printing each verse separately, does not help, and indeed the inspiration that every verse was complete in itself. As the result of Bengal's initiative, the custom has recently become more general of making larger paragraphs. On the other hand, the minuteness characteristic of recent critical exegesis has made an undue division of the text, and such citations as Ro 16:10 or Rev 14:1 are now used.


Formulas of citation have another side. Veneration of the Holy Scripture and its authors finds increasing fullness of expression in them. Soon what we meet with is not 'Isaiah says,' 'Peter (or Paul) writes,' but 'The Holy Prophet Isaiah says,' 'The Holy Apostle Peter writes,' and 'According to the holy and divine Apocalypse.' The otherwise almost valueless epithet of martyrs, μάρτυρες (beatus), continued long in use. Even this, however, is not enough. Peter must be called ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων, πρίγκιπας ἀποστολῶν, Κύριος ἐπισκόποι, Παῦλος ὁ ἑρωμάρτιος. The ordinary title is ὁ θεοφόρος. In the Byzantine Renaissance διάκονος ἢ φειδώλης εἶναι, Σολομῶντα ἑπτά, are favourite phrases to introduce quotations from the Psalms or Proverbs, and a citation from the Gospels is hardly ever introduced without words like τὸ ἔγων εἰρήκη, τὸ ἐπετέλεσεν. This is connected with such Eastern verbosity, Western formulas always appear simple. But sanctus apostolus dictit has really the same significance. It is an expression of unconditional veneration, and emphasizes Scriptural authority. It makes no difference here that in the Middle Ages prophets and apostles shared this epithet with the doctors of the Church. These also possessed the weight of authority. The Reformation retained 'St. Matt.,' 'St. Mark, etc., and in Romance lands and England St. Paul is almost universally used. It was superseded by 'Enlightenment,' and its purely human handling of Scripture, that first stripped off, even in the form, all such symbols of authority, returning thus to the simplicity of the early Church. With a false conception of authority, this epithet fell away; Luther is called 'Luther,' or John was spoken of, the ancient Church desiring to express by εὐαγγελισμὸν καθά ... nothing more than the unity of the Gospel and the variety of its literal forms.

However various these formulas may appear, they nevertheless establish the one important fact of the unconditional authority of every word in the Bible. The mention of the various phrases, whether conscious or unconscious instinct for accuracy. It is not upon them, but upon the Bible itself, that authority rests. In every century we find numerous instances of wrong sources given for quotations (e.g. Mt 5:19). This only shows how little depended upon any personal authority. The prophetic name is a guarantee of Scripture; prophets and apostles are possessed of authority because they are 'holy Scripture,' and all that stands in Scripture is authoritative, even when it is neither a prophet nor an apostle who speaks, but a very unholy mortal. Mt 10:19 quotes a word of Adam as God's word. In Jn 11:36, spoken by Caiphas, contains a Divine prophecy. The Bible as a whole and in every word of it is a Bible as a whole and authoritative.

LITERATURE.—See Suicer, Thesaurus, 1835, s.v. Biblical, proph; du Cange, Glossarium, s.v. 'Bible.' On citations, see Harnack, Logiwegesch., i. 276–304; Bidez, ib. Pagninus's citations, &c., from B. Leipoldt, p. 335; from Didschymus by Leipoldt, 33; from Diodorus by Harnack, 26.

2. Inspiration of the Scriptures.—Like the authority of the Bible, the idea of its inspiration was taken over from Judaism (cf. I. 1). No distinction was made between the Divine revelation accorded to the prophets and its preservation in the NT (cf. Ro 1:2, He 1:1). Hence we have the statement in 2 P 1:2 that 'holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost'; but, besides this, the Scripture itself is said to be θεόσελευτός in 2 Ti 3:16 (whence 'inspiration'). Descriptions like those of Ezek 1:2, Zec 1:16, Rev 1:8, point to an ecstatic origin, and are not unusual. Of Plato and Philo, extended to writings that were not apocalyptic (Justin). At the same time, there is another view, according to which God speaks to men without any extraordinary ecstatic operation. Paul does not think that his Epistles are due to any supernatural inspiration. He draws a clear line between his own opinions and the absolutely authoritative words of the Lord, yet he claims the possession of the Spirit, and therefore authority for what he writes (1 Co 7:25, 25a; 1 Cor. 2:11). So also Clement of Rome (i. 50); Irenæus of Lyons (Origen). The pseudo-Clementine Homilies (xvi. 18) formulate a theory to the effect that the revelations which are not due to ecstasies (ἐνών οὐσίαις καὶ ἀνέροις) are preferable to those which are, and the Church adopted this view. She dismissed books like the Shepherd of Hermas, and repudiated the Montanist prophecies and similar phases; but she claimed inspiration for her bishops. And if Ignatius and even Cyprian still think of visions and ecstasies in this connexion, the inspiration of Synods, which Constantine so loudly proclaimed so early as the First Ecumenical Council of Nicæa, had little in common with ecstasies. The θεοφόρος πατέρες, or inspired Fathers, contended with arguments drawn from the Bible and logic, sometimes even with the fists, and the result depended upon the decision of the majority, while ecstatic revelation rests on the authority of a single inspired person. At the Council of Trent it was a standing joke that the Spirit came from Rome in letters; and with regard to the infallible word, no serious dammog of ecstacy. Naturally the idea of the Bible's inspiration corresponded with this. The Alexandrians were critical of style. Eusebius and Augustine talked heartlessly of the literary methods of Biblical authors—that was in line with their ideas of inspiration. When, however, exacting science weakened, and the popular monastic ideas of visions
and ecstasies spread, we find these notions appearing more frequently, and in popular literature they found vivid expression. Prochorus’ picture in the Acts of John of how the Gospel of John came into existence, revealed its religious-historical nature. And, at last, its orthodox nature was conceived as quite ecstatic. This influenced art, and the task of investigating the way in which inspiration is represented would repay labour. As the Muse appeared to the poet Aratus, so the Divine Wisdom appeared to the Evangelist Mark (Cod. Rossani). A hand beckons out of heaven; a dove whispers in the ear; we hear also of inspiration following the drinking of a cup (2 Es 14:22). The idea of a book-roll which the seer had to swallow (Ezk 3, Rev 10) has its artistic analogy in the so-called ‘trautatio legis’, ‘giving over of the law,’ to Peter. So far as is known, the notion of a book fallen direct from heaven, like that which Oriental Gnosticism developed in regard to the book of Elkhai, and to which ecclesiastical piety gave some colour in the so-called ‘letters from heaven,’ was never applied to the Bible as such. Athenagoras (Leg. 9) illustrates the operation of the Holy Ghost by the picture of the flute-player who blows into the instrument and makes it sound. Ps. Justin (Coz. 8) and Chrysostom speak of the living voice of the Holy Spirit, with which there are different strings, but they give forth a harmony. The conception is quite spiritual. Much more realistic is the picture of the pencil (stylus) of the Holy Spirit which we find in Gregory I. In the Middle Ages the re-creation gradually took a more popular form, and single individuals like Agobard of Lyons and Abelard protested against it in vain. It was never thoroughly developed in theory. Luther’s lively piety, like the oldest Christianity, combines faith in Divine inspiration with a rigorous literal sense of the books. He took a vivid picture of the way in which one prophet uses the writings of the others. In his hands the ancient traditions which medievalism brought down alongside of its theory of inspiration became of importance again. But orthodoxy did not follow him here. It ranged itself on the side of the strictly supernatural idea of inspiration, and carried the view to its utmost consequences. The Biblical authors are only the hands and pens of the Holy Spirit. They are perhaps notarii et redactores (author and scribe), but the inspiratus (author, and with the Holy Spirit). That epithet belongs to God or to the Holy Ghost alone. From Him proceeds not only the impulse to write, but also the matter and the method (suggestio rerum et verborum). In the end all human participation in divine purposes is denied. Men wrote, but did not understand or know what. This inspiration of the letter, applied to the Textus Receptus of the NT and to the Textus Masoreticus of the OT, is at last extended to the mere accessories; above all, to the punctuation of the Hebrew (John Gerhard, +1627; John Buxtorf, father, +1629, and son, +1664). The theory was embodied in an ecclesiastical confession (Formula Consensus Helvetici, 1675), but as a theological system it was soon overturned by actual facts. Mill’s multitudes of variants destroyed the theory of textual inspiration. Deism and ‘Enlightenment’ sought out every little contradiction and absurdity. Biblical philology renewed the criticism of style. Soon rationalistic theology spoke of a purely human inspiration.

The attempts of the 18th cent. theology to revive the old orthodox doctrine has been vain (Kölling, Theopomatie, 1891). Even in the milder form, which added to the personal inspiration of prophets and apostles (Schleiermacher) a particular gift, only the ‘true inspiration’ (inspiration, ‘Luthardt), it was not able to secure a hold. The newest phase of religious-historical inquiry gives wide scope to ecstasy again, but Protestant theology tends always more and more to the conviction that the old conception of θεουργεωσις is not the one best suited in our time to express the vital significance and authority of the Scripture. Inspiration appeals to men, not to written words.


3. Doctrine.—Of course it is not enough to see in the books of the Bible only historically-interesting monuments of old Israelite and old Christian literature. They were and are more than this to Christendom. From the beginning they were held to be immediately binding upon the present.

One of the first tasks of Christianity was to put the OT in the same position of authority as the NT. Primitive Christianity, filled with the living power of the Spirit, strongly emphasized the newness of the Divine revelation given in Christ as compared with the OT stage of religion. Paul did away with the Law which was the kernel of the OT in Judaism, and brought in a new LAW, ‘the Law.’ He cast aside the nomistic system, and yet held the Law to be Holy Scripture. That could not continue. The Gnostics and Marcion rejected the authority of the OT altogether; the Church sought to digest the more positive relationships of the OT Law. In the ceremonial rules of the OT the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews found the type and prophecies of the saving work of Christ. Barnabas considered that he had only to transmute the Ceremonial Law by allegorical interpretation into moral and spiritual; he gave it as no longer constantly obligatory, and that the verbal understanding of it by the Jews was a mistake into which the devil had brought them. I Clem. comes very near to deducing the principles of Christian worship from the ceremonial system of the OT, and the 3rd cent. actually did so. Tertullian (de Monog. 7) extracts laws for the Christian life from the OT. Later authors like Cyril of Alexandria make the sacerdotal and sacrificial law somewhat spiritualized, the basis of Christian ecclesiastical order.

When the question of the OT was once cleared of controversy about legalism the value of OT prophecy caused the OT to be claimed as the sacred book of Christendom, in opposition to the Jews, who made it their own special possession, and it was only a few years before this with the NT. The same Christ, the same Spirit, spoke in prophets and apostles. Marcion’s criticism only served to make the Church all the more zealous in maintaining the complete unity of the two Testaments. They were the two breasts of the Church (Hippolytus on Catecizes, i. 344). Very soon all sense of difference, all thought of any gradation in time, disappeared. Out of the unity of the Spirit there was evolved a mechanical uniformity, a complete equality of the contents of all parts. Even the first verses of Genesis were made to witness to the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, the high dogmas of the Trinity, and the participation of the Son in Creation. εν ἀγγέλοις τηρηθῇ = εν τοις φως (cf. Harnack, Tü 1. i. 130 ff.). Protestant orthodoxy went even further than this in the discovery that κύριος νεωτάτης is a title of the initial letters of the Trinity, 25, 15, 21 twice over.

In spite of this purely dogmatizing method, it was never altogether forgotten that revelation underwent an historical development. It is this feature that we find again in the Antiochene school for us, and raises the Dutch federal theologians above their own orthodox pre-
decessors. In the new orthodoxy of the 19th cent., the Erlangen school (Hofmann) laboured this thought at great length. These, however, are only individual instances, and hardly affect the doctrine of Biblical authority. They did not attain to a recognition of any differences of value in the books of the Bible. Whatever was found in the Bible was taken as authoritative.

The dogmatic elaboration of this theory began with Origen's ἐξ θεου καθήκοντα, and his results were adopted by his pupil Theognostus. As the Synagogue never dealt systematically with questions of the kind, the Greek theology had quite a new field. And Bishop Hippian, in his De Divina Prov-"trina Christiana" laid the foundation. Augustine declares repeatedly and strongly that only the canonical Scriptures are unconditionally binding (de Nat. et Grat. lxi. 71; Epist. lixxii. 3, 24). But we find from the less that he gave the ecclesiastical authority alongside of, or rather above, the authority of the Bible more markedly than the Alexandrians. The often-quoted remark is well known (c. Epist. Manich. 6): 'ego vero evangelio non crederem nisi me catholice ecclesie commovere authenticer interpretasset, et eam scriptum dare should the thing of authority of the Church, and that because of two considerations: (1) it was the Church that formed the Bible as such; the Church decided which books were canonical and which were not; and (2) the Church alone had to say what was contained in the Bible, in other words, how it was to be interpreted, E. and allegory or spiritual interpretation alone were applied to the Bible, and often with a great show of right. That made a superior authority necessary—the Church. Tertullian declares that in combating heresies the Scriptures should not be referred to for proof (de Praes. 19). Similarly Suflanan (de Crbis, De) complains that the Arians drew their proofs from the Bible, while the Catholics employed force. Naturally it was always maintained that the authority of the Bible lay in itself, came from its Divine origin. The Church could never invest in canonical authority a book that was not Divine. But—and this is the important point in the medieval Catholic conception—the Church took over the guarantee of canonicity. Hence came the fixing of the Canon by Councils, from the Synods under Damascus and Augustine down to the Council of Trent and the Vatican. The correct interpretation, however, was obtained from the 'unanimous consent of the Fathers,' and in this way the Fathers, who were credited to a certain extent with the same inspiration as the Scripture, came to be equally valuable authorities. Employed in the first place to interpret, they were afterwards called in to supplement Scripture. Thus there arose the idea of the double tradition, ἐγκρινόμεναι and ἐγκριμέναι as the Greeks said, in libris scriptis et in libris scriptis habentibus, the view of the Vatican Council of Trent expressed it. The question whether the revelation given in Scripture was sufficient to answer every religious inquiry received different replies within the Catholic system. The really correct answer was in the affirmative, and among the most vigorous in urging nothing out of Scripture that was wanted. In mystic circles, however, the view was always maintained that God supplemented what He had given to the Church by immediate revelations to chosen individuals. Nonetheless, in the main there was a new and progressive revelation, the Church repudiated, just as at a later date she did also the evangelium aeternum of the Spiritualists, and the visions of many fanatics. But the visions of Saint Birgitta and similar phenomena she acknowledged; and at the present time the question is being vigorously discussed in the Catholic Church. Emperor Emmerich can be safely reckoned a credible supplement to the Gospel story in regard to the life of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. From the time of Anastasius of Sinai until the present day there have not been wanting pious men who believed that they could compose or write from such inspirations some light upon the mysteries of the other world. In this domain the Reformation brought the crisis. The 'reformers before the Reformation,' as Wyclif, Hus, etc., were, were representatives of Augustine and the Catholic view of revelation within Catholic ecclesiastical bounds. Zwingli and Calvin represent a Biblicism that overran these bounds but finally took its stand upon the same formal principles. Creeds of the Zwinglian and Calvinistic type nearly all contain decisions in regard to the Canon of the Bible. It was quite un- observed that this only continued ecclesiastical or synagogal tradition in opposition to the decisions of the Roman Church and the Council of Trent. It is quite otherwise with Luther. Not only did he follow the Pope and the Councils, the Fathers, and also from the idea of the dominating authority of Scripture he stripped off everything formal. Not because something was found in Scripture but because it witnessed to the supremacy of Christ and the Gospel. Locke and to modern authoritarians in his view. The right principle to follow in the criticism of all the books is to ask whether they show Christ or not, for all that is Scripture points to Christ (Ro 3), and St. Paul wants to know nothing save Christ (1 Co 2). What does the Church teach Christ is not apostolic even though St. Peter or St. Paul teaches it; what preaches Christ is apostolic even though it comes from Judas, Ananias, Philip, or Herod (Pref. to Ep. of James, 1522, Erlangen ed. 63, 157). This valuation according to content, harmonizing as it does with personal experience, gave Luther the opportunity not only of criticizing the ecclesiastical Canon (he makes the NT end with 3 John and calls Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation an appendix like the OT Apocrypha), but also of claiming the authority for other writings like the lodi of Melanchthon, and investing them with the same value as the Bible. It is true that Luther did not carry this principle to its logical conclusion. His contests with fanatics who trusted entirely to the inner light compelled the Reformers to be more conservative, to lay all the importance on the historically given revelation, i.e. the Scripture. However much he distinguished in theory between the word of God and the Scripture, yet he found it easy to identify them, and he could then (as in the Lord's Supper) insist stubbornly upon the letter of the Scripture. The Lutheran Church has inherited both these views from him. Lutherans always speak of the verbum Dei, but they do not imply any formal limitation to certain writings (Luther's Confession of Faith, Catalogue of the Canon). The phrase has reference only to the content of the Bible, the revelation of God's grace in the Law and the Gospels. On the other hand, the Lutheran Church developed the doctrine of the authority of the Bible in scholastic fashion, so that it became possible to speak of Bibliology as well as Theology and Christology. And Bullinger had a certain amount of right on his side when he spoke of the 'paper Pope of the Protestants.' Nevertheless the distinction between a formal and spiritual principle in Protestantism belongs to the Calvinistic theology, and first became a feature of Lutheran dogmaties in the 19th century (Ritschl, Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., 1876, 307 ff.). In opposition to the medieval conception which,
under the influence of the Neo-Platonic idea of God and in the interests of ecclesiastical authority, employed the doctrine of the inadequacy of the divine elements and the insufficiency of the Bible, Protestant dogmatists laid all the stress on its clearness and sufficiency (perspicuitas et sufficientia), and emphasized, along with its authority, its efficacitas as a means of salvation. This made its authority in the truth the condition of all unifying dogmatic elements and the insufficiency of the Bible, Protestant dogmatists laid all the stress on its clearness and sufficiency (perspicuitas et sufficientia), and emphasized, along with its authority, its efficacitas as a means of salvation. This made its authority in the truth the condition of all unifying dogmatic elements and the insufficiency of the Bible, Protestant dogmatists laid all the stress on the dogmatic elaboration. This example was followed by all subsequent theologians who subordinate discipline to scientific dogmatics, viz. the so-called theologia biblica, out of which, after a long process in which it underwent complete transformation, there arose at last the independent discipline which is now known as Scholasticism. For this theology has long seen that an enumeration of Scripture passages torn from their context is not only a forcing of the Bible but also no real proof of the dogma in question. Dogmatic theology, however, emancipates itself but slowly from the old method of Scriptural proof. It is bound to do so more and more, because with the grossly supernatural idea of inspiration the proof which rests upon it vanishes also. How different is Hofmann’s attempt to reach a new kind of Scriptural proof, in which he makes everything dependent on the mechanical way in which inspiration was conceived, was extended to things which had nothing to do with the so-called Biblical dogma of Christia-

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4. Practical significance.—From the very first the authority of the Bible was concerned with dogma, that is to say, it was used to prove the articles of faith. It was in this way that the Messiahship of Jesus was demonstrated by primitive Christians and afterwards by apologists in the controversy with Jewish Christians. Cyprian brings together testimonial adversus Judaeos, i.e. proof passages, and he thus provides the pattern of Scriptural proof for many centuries. Soon this method came to be employed in the dogmatic dispute arising within the Church. Athanasius collects proof from Scripture of the unity of the Son with the Father—a course that was all the more necessary since the Arian party point out the un-Biblical character of the word hypostasis. The unholy dogma of two unities in support of the Trinity. In the Monophysite and Monothelite discussions the practice was extended, with the difference that citations from the Fathers were now added to those of the Scripture; and the term dogmatism by speaking of Irenaeus of Lyons and of the hostile party made collections of the same kind from Scripture and tradition. Augustine begins his work de Trinitate with a very detailed Scripture proof (i.—vii.), and then (viii.—xiii.) adds a dogmatic elaboration. This example was followed by all subsequent theologians who subordinate discipline to scientific dogmatics, viz. the so-called theologia biblica, out of which, after a long process in which it underwent complete transformation, there arose at last the independent discipline which is now known as Scholasticism. For this theology has long seen that an enumeration of Scripture passages torn from their context is not only a forcing of the Bible but also no real proof of the dogma in question. Dogmatic theology, however, emancipates itself but slowly from the old method of Scriptural proof. It is bound to do so more and more, because with the grossly supernatural idea of inspiration the proof which rests upon it vanishes also. How different is Hofmann’s attempt to reach a new kind of Scriptural proof, in which he makes everything dependent on the mechanical way in which inspiration was conceived, was extended to things which had nothing to do with the so-called Biblical dogma of Christia-
tinually reacts against the attempts of dogmatists to do violence to it. As we learn from the episcopal Acts of John, the Greeks made out their Saviour to be a docteous appearance only, and the Cross an idea; but the doctrine of Corinth is already a compromise with actual history: Jesus, a time leader of the son Christ. Our Fourth Gospel goes further in the direction of actuality: Jesus Christ, wholly man and at the same time the full revelation of God. Alongside of the Synoptic representation of the human life of Jesus, this might appear in the nature of a theological support, but in combination with the more potent Not the Arian but the Nestorian Christology indicates a reaction of Bible history against dogmatic speculation. In Monophysitism Docetism takes a new lease of life. Alongside of the Gospels stood Paul. His influence was hardly felt for centuries, and the Greek dogmatists can be understood almost without him, but when Augustine was captured by him, Paulinism kept Christendom busy until in Luther a herald of Divine grace still more congenial to the Apostle of Justification to the Reformation Church, so also was it in the modern. The theological labours of orthodox scholarship always moved farther away from the facts of history. Each party endeavoured to establish the truth of its own interpretation of the Bible. Hence Werenfels of Basel (11740) said of it: 'Nunc liber est in quo quosvis sua dogmata quique, invent et pariter dogmata quique sua.'

But the proof from Scripture, however perverted and coerced, necessitated the continual study of the Bible, until in the time of 'Enlightenment' it shook off the chains of dogmatic tradition and established its claim to existence again. This becomes even clearer when we follow up the history of piety (see below, VII. 2, p. 612). Though the authority of the Bible is concerned chiefly with dogma, it is not exclusively so. The Bible regulates the whole Christian life, and especially the life of the Church. Here more than anywhere the OT foundation comes to light with its legal conception (cf. p. 539). It is sufficient to recall how large a space the Decalogue occupies in Christian instruction. Along with the precepta Dei there appear the consilia evangelica, the latter often not less strictly handled than the former. In Catholicism the Bible is the foundation of ecclesiastical instruction and the church law. Here, indeed, the proof from Scripture is as arbitrary as in dogmatism. All Christian festivals and the hours of prayer were grounded on the Bible; also the legal rights of the clergy. Such an un-evangelical theory as the union of all spiritual and material power in the hand of the Pope had to take refuge in the figure of the two swords (Lk 22:38). The Papal bull in which Leo x. banned Luther's doctrine (15th June, 1520) begins with references to Ps 74:20 S90. Protestantism carried this far, but left the task of giving the Holy Scripture much further. In Calvinism the strictest legalism regulated not only the ecclesiastical but also the whole public life (see VII. 3), until, with the secularizing of culture on the one hand, and the altered historical conception of the Bible on the other, the fact established itself more and more that in the records of long past ages ideals might be found for the individual and social life, but never again an immediate legal system. So in the present context the loss of any external authority pertaining to the Bible is everywhere losing ground. This will not be to the injury of Christianity, if only at the same time the untold inner value of the Bible as the unparalleled religious guide-book and the inexhaustible fountain of religious inspiration gains wider recognition.


IV. BIBLICAL STUDIES. —I. Methods. —Much against the original intention of the Bible, the Church looked upon it as a book for theologians, a book which as the source of all dogmatic and theological knowledge called for thorough study. The Gnostics were the first to handle it in this scientific way, and the Alexandrians adopted the method. It is true that the Catechetical school was interested more in philosophy than in history. Great as were the services of St. Augustine as a Biblical scholar, he was not a Biblical theologian, and in his school philosophy always maintained the upper hand. Even his admirer and successor, the blind Didymus of Alexandria, whose interest in exegesis was greater than that of others, gave the claim to place to dogmatic speculation. But the sense of the term we hear of exegetical lectures only in the school of Antioch. Such lectures were delivered by Lucian, Diodorus, and Theodore, and later by Paul the Persian after the flight to Nisibis. Here among the Nestorians outside the Empire there was established a regular school for the scientific study of the Bible. Among the Greeks and Latins it was sometimes by means of commentary and sometimes by 'answers to correspondents' (Erefopoiroiia, Quodiones) that Bible instruction was carried on. The services of the monasteries in this connexion were of more value to the ascetic view of the Bible than to its scientific study (see VI. 3). At the same time, both in East and West, the monasteries were for long the only places where the study of the Bible was fostered. In their libraries lay the old commentaries of the Fathers. From them excerpts were taken for handkerchief use (e.g. from Gregory the Great by Paterius, Odo of Cluny, etc.), and these were later made into necessary elements of the Church's knowledge of the Bible. It was all very elementary, but it nevertheless supplied the means by which, to some degree, the continuity of scientific study was maintained. The credit here is due to the Rule of St. Basil and its renewal by Theodore of Studium, and in the West to Cassiodorus and the later Benedectines. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 required that in every cathedral-school at least one theological should be appointed who would instruct priests and others in the Bible (in sacra scriptura). In the Academy of Constantinople, founded by Bardas about 860, no theology of any kind was taught. Even in the oldest high schools of the West—the legal school of Bologna and the medical school at Salerno—it was the same. In the case of Paris the studies were entirely scholastic to start with, and not Biblical at all. The Bible first received recognition at the universities when the mendicant friars—the Franciscans first and then the Dominicans—joined their monastic schools to them. Even in their lectures the Bible was delivered in the monasteries before a mainly monastic audience—as a practical preparation for the cure of souls. It is true that a course of Bible instruction was part of the ordinary curriculum. In Paris there was a fixed course for the scholars extending over four years. The bachelor had to lecture
curious on the Bible for two years. But in both cases the Bible was hurried over with all possible speed as a stepping-stone to the 'sentences.' Roger Bacon (Opus min., 329) complains of the excessive variety of the sentence of the Lom bard, which the influence of Alexander of Hales caused people to prefer to the Bible itself.

All this was changed at the Reformation. Luther, himself a monk, attached supreme importance to the Books, as did Zwingli, Calvin and others. In Zürich there was established the so-called Prophecy, i.e., the public discussion of Scripture among theological students in the form of debate. This was taken up by Pietism in its collegia biblise again after Protestant orthodoxy had made its way into the old university. The beginning of the scholastic method. What Spener established in Frankfurt was more of the nature of a prater-meeting. A. H. Francke and his friends in Leipzig desired real lectures in the form of Exposition. Their success proved the need of the thing. Since this time the study of the Bible has won a leading place within the Protestant teaching of all denominations. It is a fixed feature of the work of the German universities, and specialization becomes commoner every day. Even in the Roman Church now the study of the text is no longer done in the manner shown by the Encyclics 'Providentissimus Deus' of Leo XIII. (18th Nov. 1893) and the formation of a Bible Commission in 1901, as well as a series of works which these calls into being. Attempts are frequently made to show that the work of the Roman Church has always zealously furthered the study of the Bible, but the arguments which have been gathered (by Falk e.g.) only prove the opposite.


2. Textual criticism.—When we consider the Bible as the object of scientific study, one of the first things that comes forward is the criticism, the labour bestowed upon its text. The earliest Christians had no idea of anything of the kind. We learn this from the freedom of the citations from the OT which are contained in the NT. It must be admitted that the Jewish complaints always against the LXX texts were not without foundation (see, e.g. Ex Ja in Barn. 12; Justin's citation of Ps 90 in Dial. 72—73; Ps 37 (and 50) in the Leipzig papyri, edited by Heinrich, Beitr. iv. 1905). In the first two centuries nearly all the various readings of the NT came into existence, the majority of them by deliberate alteration of the text, many for the sake of style, and several in the interests of dogma (1 Thess. 1, 1 Thess. 2, He 2 etc.). In the most noticeable instances of this, the heads of schools and churches, like Marcion and Tatian, were beginning of the church, however, gave rise to a systematic criticism of the text, such as we find in Irenaeus's fine treatment of the variant 616 for 636 in Rev 13 (Adv. Haer. v. 29, 30). We know very well the discussion of the text by the Aramaeons in Rome. All the more brightly, however, shines the star of the master Origen, though his great work in the OT province, the Hexapla, where the original text and the various versions are set side by side, was an avowed intention of purifying the LXX text. It must be owned, to greater confusion (E. Schwartz, 'Zur Geschichte der Hexapla,' in GGY, 1903, 693 ff.).

There is no evidence of a similar work for the NT, or, indeed, of any recension of the text at all, but in the numerous commentaries there is rich material for it. Even Origen could not establish his work on this, and with the attacks of the heretics, the MSS soon fell into the hands of the Latin Church. When the ecclesiastical authorities began to pay attention to this fact, revisions by the particular Churches came into existence in the various provinces. We know from Jerome (Pref. in Paralip.) that in Egypt the recension of Lucian was in use, and also in Palestine of Pamphilus, the pupil of Origen. Lagarde, Bousset, Rahlfis, and others have begun to detect traces of these recensions in the still existing MSS, which, however, must give a mixed text. Hesychius is fond of choosing the shortest of competing readings, Lucian makes a broad text by comparing and combining, and Pamphilus admires a good Greek style. Everywhere in these ancient exegetical works we find notes on textual criticism, drawn usually, either directly or indirectly, from Origen's Hexapla in the OT and from various MSS in the NT. The deciding factor of criticism was sometimes dogma and sometimes the authority of individual scholars (cf. the scholion to Mt 7 in the Vatican MS. 1624). Often the MSS are mere falsifications of heretics, but often the heretics were right in their counter-claimant. For examples of Trinitarian interpolation, see 1 Co 8 in the Capadocian Fathers and 1 Jn 5 in the Latin Church. We possess a wonderful instance of the careful tradition of a text in the Peshitta, which is almost devoid of variant readings. In the case of the Copts the numerous scholia testify to continual comparison with the Greek text on the one hand and with the Arabic on the other. In Constantinople the text of Chrysostom is that of the Antiochene text, without, however, ousting the others entirely. The Athos-Codex, discovered by von der Goltz, and the labours of an Arethas, show how much interest was taken in criticism at Constantinople even in the 10th century. The continual revisions of the old versions, of which we have spoken above, are also evidence of textual criticism, whether they are concerned only with deciding between various translations or go back to the original text. In the West, Cassiodorus in the 6th cent. and the Thulini and Adomnain of Ireland did excellent work in the critical revision of the Vulgate; but none of them gained a hold. Every province, every order, every monastery, had a tradition of its own, which was based in some cases upon the LXX text, in others upon the Greek or even Hebrew scholar. In the correctoria biblica these traditions were laid down for guidance in the correcting of copies of the Bible. The Cistercians employed as their norm a copy by Abbot Stephen Harding; the Franciscans adopted the corrections of William of Mars; the Dominicans followed Hugo of St. Caro; the Augustinians had as their pattern a Windesheim Bible. The keen criticism of Roger Bacon proves that the success of the Paris text was due more to the renown of the studium generale than to its inherent excellence.

Even the introduction of printing made no difference at first. The oldest Latin prints are reproductions of a single MS. So far as the LXX is concerned, the Complutensian, the Aldine, the Sixtinian, without, one and the same, three classes of texts. Erasmus formed the text of his NT out of very few and very late MSS. The next editors, especially Stephen and Beza, made use of others. Humanism did not rise beyond a dilletante to this criticism. Still, printing brought about that which up till then was impossible, viz. the supremacy of a single

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text (apart from the small errors that are unavoidable in a reprint). This was done for the Vulgate by the (Sixtine) Clementine text of (1590) 1592, which owed its origin to the carrying out of a decree of the Council of Trent. So far as the Greek text was concerned, the highest esteem attached to the manuscripts a and c. This was due to a bookseller's advertisement, the text itself being Stephen's text of 1550 in the Elzevir reprint of (1624) 1633, which was itself influenced by Beza's editions. In the year 1707, John Mill scattered all faith in the infallibility of this text by the 30,000 variations that he found in 150 MSS. The task of gathering together various readings, to which this Englishman devoted himself, was continued by Johann Jakob Wetstein, a Swiss who had settled in Holland (1751-52); the Saxon Chr. Fr. Matthei, who collected and stole in Russia (1782-88, 1803-07);* the Viennese F. C. Alter (1786-87); the Dane Andr. Birch (1788); and the Catholic professor of theology at Bonn, J. M. A. Scholz (1823). The climax was reached in the editions of the Englishman S. Fr. Tregelles (1844, 1845), of which the first, the 2,200 page monumental work of G. Fr. Const. Tischendorf in Leipzig (1841, viii, crit. mat., 1869). Tischendorf used his work in 15 majuscule codices which he discovered, among them the Sinaitic (K) found in 1844. In 1850, the MSS. of the Complutensian collection and collected testimonies from the Versions and the Fathers as no one before him had done. Since that time some extremely valuable finds have been made. Von Soden has made the attempt to work through all the minuscules catalogued by Gregory and Scrivener. An enormous amount of industry is employed upon the investigation of texts, especially by German and English scholars. But this is not the last word in textual criticism. What is of the utmost importance is that the right method of passing judgment upon tradition should be followed. The Württemberg theologian Joh. Alb. Bengel (1734), with his method of distinguishing between different families of texts, here took the first step. His motive was love for God's word, in which even the slightest particular was golden in value. The rationalism of Johann Simon Semler of Halle, carried this on, and introduced to German science the labours of the Dutch Arminians and the French Catholic Oratian Richard Simon. He was joined by Johann Jakob Griesbach of Jena (1725-1802). E. Tischendorf, the celebrated former Protestant, the latter a Catholic, who laboured more fully the scheme of the text-reclusions which sprang from the ancient Church—a course continued in our own time most successfully by W. Bousset in his Textkrit. Studien zum NT (1904). While these all started from the textus receptus, improving, shortening, and transposing it, C. Lachmann, the Berlin philologist, took up Richard Bentley's suggestion (1742), and established the principle that the start should be made, not from the textus receptus of the ancient MSS: it was possible to give the text of the 4th cent. with certainty instead of that of the 16th. Further progress is due to the two Cambridge friends, R. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, whose great service was that they overcame the scruples of conservative English theology in spite of Dean Burgon's violent attacks. Their carefully elaborated method was considered by many to represent all that was attainable. C. R. Gregory, O. von Gebhardt and E. Nestle were especially competent to compare Tischendorf and WH. The great agreement of the newer text-critics from Lachmann to WH in their opposition to the textus receptus is shown very clearly by the editions of F. H. A. Scrivener (1856) revised by E. Nestle (1906), though that was far from the intention of that strongly conservative author. A new textus receptus, however, was and must be an impossibility. With fine instinct Hort himself called special attention to a series of Western readings which he did not consider genuine, but which for the history of the text were worth the attention of all students. It was an investigation of the history of the oldest translations, especially the Vet. Lat. and the Vet. Syr., with which latter Mrs. Lewis's find at Sinai first made us acquainted, has led to more and more attention being given to them. Now it is clear that not only all the important variants were in existence before the 4th cent., but also that it was just the so-called Western text that was most widely circulated in the 2nd century. In opposition to WH, a great number of English scholars, in particular F. C. Burkitt and J. K. Harris, with the Germans F. Blass, E. Nestle, etc., give this text, which was current from Carthage to Edessa, the highest place, while others, like Jülicher and Wellhausen, advocate an eclectic method. And, indeed, the textus receptus is still only seen now only in making clear the later developments of the text. In most cases, what it does is to bring us to a stop before the fact that two readings, equally witnessed and equally wide-spread, reach us in the text. The value of the WH text is thus seen, with a choice of two readings, or assume, like Blass, two editions by the Biblical author himself, then it is to exegetical considerations that we must look for finality. Thus, the method which E. Weiss has always advocated and practised has to be combined with the other one, based on the history of the text.

In the matter of the OT, lower criticism was not so active. Here the tradition of the Synagogue was the guide. So early as the 2nd cent. this had fixed the consonantal text and its pronunciation (by oral traditions in the first instance) so firmly that it never altered. The so-called Massorah, which was committed to writing in the 8th to 10th cents. made an effort to attain an almost faultless multiplication and tradition of the text. Although the oldest Hebrew MSS do not go back to the 8th cent. A.D., it is yet possible to maintain that we possess the text of the 2nd cent., and that it is to hand in print (Soncino, 1488, Brescia, 1494 [Gerson; Complutenian Polyglot, 1514-17; Biblia Rabbinica bombetiana, ii, Venet., 1523-26; etc.; for the list of variants which F. Kennicott (1776-80) and de Rossi (1784-88) have brought together do not go beyond this Massoretic revision. On the other hand, the old translations, especially the LXX, the Samaritan text, and several papyri of recent discovery, show that there was a pre-Massoretic text. While editors down to Delitzsch-Baer and Ginsburg (1894) conceived their task to be the reproduction in the most exact form of the Massoretic text with all its delicacies of punctuation, the newest editions (Happen, SEDOT, 1895 ff.; Kittel, Bibl. Heb., 1905-06) make it their aim, with the help of the versions and of conjecture, to reach an older text. How far that has been successful, and what value is to be attached to the LXX traditions, are still open questions.

In the investigation of the ancient versions of the Bible, whose value for textual criticism is increasing from day to day, excellent work has been done, especially by English scholars. There are, e.g., the new Oxford edition (1898) of 1515, the Hebrew and English by Wordsworth, C. B. Parke, the Hebrew and English by H. J. White (1888 ff.), the Peshitta by G. H. Gwellian (1901), the Northern Coptic (Bohairic) NT by G. Horner (1898 ff.); while Cambridge provides us with the Septuagint by A. E. Brooke and N. McLean (1896 ff.), the Old Testament Greek by J. C. L. Spitta, the C. O. Burkitt (1894), the Peshitta Psalter by W. E. Barnes (1904), etc.
The main point, however, is that the claim of the Biblical text-criticism is now recognized on all hands, and that criticism has almost entirely freed itself from the dogmatic prejudices which so long went it with opposition. It carries on its work by a scientific method. Naturally in this particular instance, the rich material from which its materials, the method receives special application. It is to be regretted that this is often forgotten by philologists who labour upon the Bible. Yet the method remains entirely scientific, and in principle could be applied in any similar field of study.


3. Higher criticism.—Along with the criticism of the text, and often hand in hand with it, there has always gone the literary and material criticism. It is not a modern discovery; only the methods have changed here also. The relation between the literary criticism and the material criticism is characteristic of the different periods. The awakening scientific consciousness attaches chief importance to the criticism of the text, while the higher criticism comes afterwards. So long as scientific tradition is treated as a dogma of the Church, it confines itself as much as possible to the former, and even tries to find in it the solution of higher literary problems. Modern instances may be cited in A. Klostermann, ed. König, and Fr. Blass. As soon, however, as it becomes free, it lays the stress upon the latter, without, however, neglecting those questions which arise in connexion with the text.

Literary criticism finds its starting-point in the formation of the Canon itself. If the pre-condition of the higher criticism is to find the apostolic origin, then the book itself and the tradition concerning it must be examined to discover whether such origin can be claimed for it or not. The Muratorian Fragment, e.g., denies canonicity to the Shepherd of Hermas, because it is neither of prophetic nor of apostolic origin. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which Roman tradition rejected as anonymous, must come from Barnabas (Africa) or Paul himself (Alexandria) to secure recognition. This was the motive which prompted these anti-canonical investigations concerning the individual books of the Bible, such as Eusebius of Caesarea in particular collected with great diligence. In some cases this information found its way into the Bible MSS in the shape of prolongations, titles, and insertions, and in certain cases it kept alive all through the Middle Ages the knowledge of the origin of the books of the Bible. Its collection into the Bibliotheca Sanctorum of Sixtus of Siena (+1599) was done in this mediæval spirit. It was with the same material that the Protestant theology of the 16th and 17th centuries worked, and even modern critical investigators cannot dispense with tradition, however much they may subject it to examination.

The criticism of the ancient Church proceeded in the first place not upon literary and historical, but upon dogmatic considerations. It was from dogmatic motives that in Asia Minor the so-called 'Alogi' rejected all Johannine writings, that the Roman presbyter Gaius declared the Apocalypse to have come from the hand of Cerinthus, and that Dionysius of Alexandria reached the fine conclusion—adopted among the very latest scholars—that much of it was written by Paul simultaneously. We have the clearest evidence of this in the casting aside of everything which came from the Twelve Apostles by Marcion, who combined with this the hypothesis of an interpolation of the Gospel (Luke) and the Epistles of Paul. The repudiation of the OT also by Marcion and many Gnostics has a dogmatic basis in the dualism between the creating and the redeeming God, this being the shape which the Pauline antithesis—law and grace—took among pagan Christians. Along with this we find all manner of stages, from partial to complete recognition of the OT, often with very fine differentiation of the contents according to their significance and value (Itolemeus, Ep. to Florus: Harnack, BHA IV, 1902).

Criticism of the NT by Eusebius, became as Marcion in his antitheses called attention to a great number of contradictions between the OT and the NT (e.g., Isa 43, Lk 6:3; Ex 52, Lk 10:2; 2 K 282, Lk 15:20), so inconsistencies in the NT itself seem to have been observed. The Canon and the Monarchial Prologues dealt with the differences which mark the beginning and the end of the Gospels. The disparity between the two genealogies forms the subject-matter of a correspondence between Julius Africanus and Ariistes (Euseb. IE 1. 22 B., cf. F. Spitta, 1877). Eusebius deals with the various accounts of the appearances of the risen Lord. It was the opponents of Christianity who called attention to these difficulties. The Jews questioned the Christian claims. The Gospels, in their turn, corrected the Gospel tradition. There were also heathen philosophers like Celsus, and very notably Origen, who declared the OT to be incredible and full of myths, and pointed out inconsistencies in the gospels themselves. It is against Origen or Tertullian that the Apocrypha of Macænius Magnesius is directed. Ecclesiastical theologians, who were as little capable of a real literary and historical survey as their opponents, were driven in this combat to a method of harmonizing, which at all events costs had. Thus when they prided themselves on their success, and they prided themselves that they successfully accomplished this task, by means of a mental ingenuity that was often surprising. One has the impression, it is true, that they did not feel any great certainty themselves, for instead of one explanation they often offer a choice, or they smother the question at issue by abusing the naivete of unbelief and doubt. This was the course taken by Augustine himself, whose De Consensu Evangeliistarum is probably the best work which the church of the ancient Church produced in this field (see lit. p. 50: the harmonizing of Jn 194, 'the sixth hour', and Mk 152, 'the third hour'). But Christian readers also observed difficulties—often very subtle ones—in reading their Bibles, and they demanded the explanation of them from their spiritual advisers. This is shown very clearly by Jerome's correspondence with his lady friend in Rome, and later by Alcoiun's interchange of letters. In this way there arose the rich literature of Biblical Eratopokratias, or Questiones. So long as these critical questions continued, the inspired Scriptures were infallible and free from inconsistency, and in the blind trust that the theologians of the Church were able to solve every problem of the kind that could arise, they were welcomed as a means of expressing and displaying the mental acumen of ecclesiastical theologians.

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But whenever these inconsistencies were seriously entertained they were at once condemned as heresy. The Manicheans, who continued the critical tradition of the Marcionites, gave the Church most trouble in this matter, and they were followed by Tertullian, Athenagoras, and all the tendencies which united to make up the name of Catharistics. Even within the Church itself rationalistic views were to be found. In the 9th cent. Abbot Hubert of St. Maurice made fun of our Lord's saying in Mt 11—"a piece of unparalleled levity. In 1760 the latter-day Manicheans declared that the Gospel, like other books, contained what was fabulous and false, but their thesis was immediately condemned by the bishop. Such frivolous criticism as this could not possess any lasting effect.

The Humanists introduced a new feature into criticism. They were no longer content only to hand down Patristic references, but they also—especially Laurentius Valla and Desiderius Erasmus (Annotaciones and Paraphrases)—attached real importance to themselves to understand Carlstadt's criticism of the Canon (1520; K. A. Credner, Zur Gesch. des Kanons, 1847, p. 291 ff.) and the later treatment of the question by the Lutheran dogmatists from Chemnitz to Luth himself. The early collections of books, especially the deutero-canonical and deutero-canonical books corresponds generally to Eusebius's homologumenon and antilogomena. Quite different was Luther's position (see III, 3). In his case literary and historical considerations were entirely secondary. It was his personal faith that was the decisive element. The books which did not bear clear testimony to Christ he considered non-apostolic. His principle was a purely religious, we may say dogmatic, valuation without any literary or historical considerations. Even in the later developments the viewpoint might be apostolic in this sense and another not. According to this view, the old idea of the Canon as representing the united authority of the Apostles was lost sight of. It was the last step in what may be called the dissolution of the Canon. Luther himself, however, did not admit this result, but identified the principle upon which he proceeded with the literary method of the Fathers and the Humanists. His own opinion was that Hebrews, James, Jude, and the Apocalypse should be excluded from the NT. The general view of the former was liberal and conservative and cautious to wish to press such a personal judgment upon others. He felt that he possessed the power and the right to make an alteration upon the Canon, but he left it as it was. Gradually the line which he drew disappeared, and the consciousness of any difference of value within the Canon faded away. Later dogmatists were unaware of it. Only the order which Luther's Bible follows bears witness, in its variation from tradition, to the critical experiment of the reformer.

The new period of Biblical criticism began about the middle of the 18th cent., at the time of "Enlightenment." The way was prepared for it on the one hand by the pains which Catholics expended to destroy faith in the infallibility of the Bible, the Protestants' paper Pope, and on the other hand by the strictly scientific method of investigation which was adopted by the Arminians. The new feature was that it was no longer the traditions about the separate books which were to be made to speak, but the books themselves. Richard Simon attacked the trustworthiness of the Bible text; Austruc, Louis XIV.'s physician, by his discovery of the two strata distinguished by separate Divine inspiration, much drawn out of the ordinary view of the origin of the books of the Bible. The hypothesis of the two sources was taken over later by the Protestants, and further developed and extended. Ilgen and Hupfeld (1839) discovered the 2nd Elohist. Deuteronomy was disentangled, and finally J E P and Dt were found to have undergone a series of redactions. In spite of its great significance for the understanding of Israel's religious development, the dispute as to the age of these sources between the school of Ewald and that of Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen, in which the latter emerged victorious, is quite a secondary matter compared with the fact that the greater growth of the Pentateuch from different sources and strata ranging centuries is acknowledged generally. Even such conservative theologians in Germany as the late Franz Delitzsch, Ed. König, and H. Strack no longer refuse to admit this fact. In Scotland, Robertson Smith was the pioneer. So much progress has now been made that not only does Haupt's "Rainbow Bible" (1893 ff.) bring the various sources before the eyes of all who are versed in Hebrew, but learned and popular new translations like those of Kittel (1904), Kautzsch, and Kisters, and Oort (1897 ff.) exhibit them also to the laity. Uploaders of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are almost entirely dumb, while books like Schlatter's Einleitung in die Bibel (GdW, 1889, 3rd ed.) are intended for evangelical circles, set forth the principles of this criticism as the result of the latest investigation.

But naturally this did not stop at the Pentateuch. The method spread automatically to the other historical books of the OT. Those same sources of which we have spoken include Joshua also, while in the case of Judges, Samuel, and Kings the conditions are largely similar. The prophetic books, especially Isaiah, but also some of the Minor Prophets, especially Amos, even the Song of Songs, are a set of sources intended for evangelical circles; so, too, the poetical books, Job, Ecclesiastes (Siegfried), Proverbs. The "Psalms of David" themselves confess that they do not all come from his pen, and the fact was always recognized. Theodore of Mopsuestia in his day connected some of them with princes of the Macedonian dynasty. The systematic investigation of different collections, strata, and dates led to the conclusion that there was as little of David in the Psalms as there was of Moses in the Pentateuch. Further, he delineated the various matter's matter quite fluctuating. The revision of ideas about the development of Israel's religion, which we owe to the comparative history of religion, will lead to many modifications (Br. Baentsch, Altoriental. u. israelit. Monothezismus, 1906). But the necessity for criticism and the method which is to be followed are established (E. Kautzsch, Abriss der Gesch. des AT Schriften [a supplement to his translation], 1894).

In the field of the NT, which has been separating itself from the OT for more than a century, the topic which has received most investigation since 1750 has been the Synoptic problem. So far as any literary relationship between the Gospels was thought of in former times, the wider relation between the Gospels was thought of in former times. All of the hypothesis which covered the whole field of detail this leaves room for any number of suggestions, and science can hardly come to any
definite conclusion, because no explanation can be found to clear up the whole question. But the principle has been found, and will never again be lost sight of. In general, with regard to the rest of the NT books, it was questions of genuineness that exercised critics until the middle of the 19th century. What had to be proved, in the first place, was the claim of the various books to canonicity, i.e., their genuineness, importance and worthwhileness. Rationalistic critics confined their attention to single and often very external points. Schleiermacher and his school made a real advance in the literary method. But it was Baur that first achieved a general conception of the significance of the NT. He developed the idea of the allegorical-Gnostic device, and found it to be the key which fitted in the general development of primitive Christianity. Subsequent examination proved Baur's conception to be false, resting, as it did, upon Hegel's philosophical scheme of the movement of ideas through thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The conception of the separate books as having been written with the express intention of making them effective factors in the contest between the Church parties is now given up. What is left, however, is the necessity for dealing with them as separate books, and looking at all the part which it played in a great development. The method which was followed by Baur (and still by Holtzmann), of starting from the criticism of the Canon, has yielded more and more to the literal method (Reuss, Jülicher, Krüger, von Soden). The great advance from the scientific point of view consists in the fact that Biblical criticism has attained the greatest possible freedom from all dogmatic presuppositions. Externally this is shown in the fact that the question of genuineness is now discussed quite calmly, conservative theologians occasionally denying it, while critical theologians often maintain it or pronounce a non-liget. Recent criticism also speaks freely of different sources, and propounds theories of interpolation or some similar literary attempt at solution. Baur held only the four chief Pauline epistles to be genuine, but now the majority of them (eight to ten) are recognized. It has to be admitted that the integrity of 2 Cor. is still keenly disputed. The radical criticism of the Dutch school is now admitted to have shown that the genuine epistles find as little support as that of the few who desire at any price to maintain the genuineness of all. The Acts of the Apostles is everywhere handled upon the theory of different sources, though more in the background. How much vigour used to be spent on the discussion of genuineness, the Johannine origin of the Fourth Gospel, and the Revelation pro et contra! At the present time we have an increasing number of attempts to show that neither is a unity. Undoubtedly this search for rents or joinings, these outriveting theories of sources and interpolations, may become to some extent unnatural. But in the meantime they form the most valuable instrument we have—an instrument which is not yet by any means worn out.


The Middle Ages: H. Reuter, Gesch. der relig. Aufklärung im Mittelalter, 1875-77.


4. Exegesis.—All criticism, higher and lower, is ultimately only a means to the correct understanding of the text. It is a serious mistake to suppose, as has sometimes been done, that criticism, literary criticism at any rate, is a part, a very important part, of exegesis as it is now understood, just as allegory was its most important feature in former times.

We have already learned that the Christian Church found elaborate exegetical methods to hand, and have seen how she provided these with new aims. The allegorical method, which the Stoics developed and the Jews of Alexandria applied to the OT, discovered a hidden and profound meaning, such as was alone worthy of the God who had conceiled it. Under the Spirit, and this meaning, often with the utmost skill, was made plain the sense of the words, it tried to establish by all kinds of artifices. In contra-distinction to philosophical speculations which disregarded history, Christianity was by its whole nature bound up in history. The notion of prophecy and fulfilment took the place of the Platonic noemon and phainomenon. Thus it comes about that the history of Christian exegesis is a continual conflict between a historical interpretation and the old exegetical method. The first real exegetes and wrote commentaries to the OT and the NT, fell under the influence of this latter method in its most marked form. The Gospel dealt not with the earthly life of Jesus, but with events in the supramundane world. Heracleon understood the saying that Jesus went before, and Capernaum (Jn 2:2) as referring to the descent of the son Christus from the region of light into this material world. Among the twelve apostles the traitor Judas was the lowest of the twelve, and his fall brought the world of sense into being. At the same time, the Apologists adopted a method of interpretation which reminds us of the exegesis of Palestinian Rabbinism and early Christianity, mainly in the form of fulfilment of prophecy. It was reserved for the theologians of Alexandria to remove this contradiction by maintaining the rightfulness of both methods, considering them, however, to represent two separate stages. In especial there was Origen's brilliant formula that, as man contains body, soul, and spirit, so exegesis contained what was visible, what was mystical, what was mystical, and what was mystical, what was mystical to us at practice, and there were very few of them who in the capacity to do so. The majority of them made his allegorical method a means of coining from the text things which it did not contain at all. The interpretation of the parables provides an instance. With regard to the simple hortatory lessons of the parable of the Good Samaritan. The parable was the representation of Christ's own work of salvation from the Fall to the Judgment-Day. There were some who went further in this direction than others. Origen's school contained a Pannist and a Eusebian as well as the great Cappadocians. The Alexandrians were the keenest allegorists. At the same time they were spiritualists in regard to the eschatology of the ancient Church, while a section of Christian theologians (Nepers, M. Gnosticism), was the most important was the exegesis of Lucian's school. These Antiochene wrote Greek, but there was evidently a Semitic element in them. They understood Syrnic and Hebrew and had sympathy with Rabbinic thought. The doctrine of Diodorus of Tarsus and his greater pupil Theodore of Mopsuestia, exegesis is much less allegorical than typological (though the two are always inter-
certain philological element fostered by Jerome's works, especially his *Interpretatio omnium hebraiorum*, and Isidore's *Etyymologiae*, though now and again by an independent acquaintance with the language. As we turn to the Greek, so we find an occasional Hebrew scholar, controversies with the Jews making a knowledge of Hebrew necessary (Sam. Berger, *Quem notitium linguae Hebraicæ habuerunt Christiani mediæ viæ temporum in Gallia*, 1855). Roger Bacon († 1292) was an excellent philologist. He found fault with the scholastic exegesis of his time, because it confined itself to *divisiones per membrum variarum* after the manner of artists, forced concordances after the manner of jurists, and rhythmic conclusions after the manner of grammarians. It was mart. of the *min. 323*.

It resulted probably from the controversy with the Rabbinical exegesis that Nicodamus of Lyra († 1340), the Minorite, first set up the principle of literalism in complete clearness, though, indeed, his acceptance of a *duplex sensus literalis* became a side-door to allegorical interpretation. Knowledge of the Rabbinical exposition increased through Jewish converts like Paul of Burgos, and therewith also the doubt as to the sole accuracy of the Patriarchal exegesis.

Here, now, we meet with the Reformation exegesis, whose principle was that the literal sense was the only right one. The new religion's principle of confidence in the revealed God overcame the Neo-Platonic delight in mystery. The new interest which Humanism awakened in the original languages also helped (Ranchlin, *Erasmus*). Its effect is seen in Melanchthon and Calvin more than in Luther, to whom the religious motive was always the deciding one. It has to be said that exegesis did not by any means free itself at once from the custom of centuries. The example of the Fathers produced an after-effect, and all the more so since exegesis continued to be preponderatingly interested in *dogma* or *edification*. However diligently exegetes laboured, systematic interests held the first place in the orthodox period, and the exposition of Pietism aimed always at practical edification. Rationalism, which read the Bible no longer as God's word, but as the product of human composition, arrived, in theory at least, at a purely historical interpretation, which aimed at establishing clearly what the author really meant by his words. In the working out of this, however, it came to grief, and indeed fell into the mistake of modernizing. It could not think of the Biblical authors as less enlightened than it prided itself on being. It was hitherto the only one that* made* exegesis to be practised; and at the close of the century it was practised to excess in the effort to exhibit the views of the Biblical writers with archaic realism, and to render as clear as possible the difference between the ideals of then and now. Exegesis received a tremendous impulse.

Everywhere great enterprises were called into life, chiefly by the collaboration of several exegetes.

*Exegesis still exhibits the greatest possible differences when dealing with the text, but the principle that the meaning is to be reached by means of a grammatico-historical exegesis is being more firmly established. It cannot fail to become more widely recognized, moreover, that such an exegesis needs supplemenenting to become theological. To explain the Bible historically means to grasp and expound it in its spirit, and the spirit of the Bible is religious. It is matter of rejoicing that this idea is gaining ground among exegetes, and we may rejoice too in the fact that we give attention to the historical form, and that, following Herder's successful start, aesthetic questions receive consideration. At the same time the beauty of the Bible will never charge the Biblical text in its historical form and phenomenon, but we are not to discern the spirit of the Bible otherwise than as religious.*

Here again we find that the exegetical tradition, which in the Middle Ages was so firm, became so weak. With the Reformation the exegetical tradition was broken, and the exegetical tradition of the Middle Ages was therefore not continued. But a new exegetical tradition was formed, and that new exegetical tradition is the one we are most interested in. It is not a question of continuing the Middle Ages, but of forming a new exegetical tradition. It is not a question of continuing the Middle Ages, but of forming a new exegetical tradition. It is not a question of continuing the Middle Ages, but of forming a new exegetical tradition.
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France has the fine unified work of Ed. Renus, 
La Bible (1874-81), Catholicism has to add to the 
opus aeevis, such as recent, Flurey, Knaufbaro, and Hummelauer (1886 ff.), 
something a little more modern in the Manuel Biblique 
by Vignouix (1881 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Ed. Renus, Gesch. der h. Schriften des NT, 
1877, pp. 529-589, 11 li., St. Paul's Church, 
Kirche, 1879; H. Holtzmann, 'Das Problem der Gesch. 
der Auslegung' (Hildesberger Festschrift, 1893), G. Helwig, 
‘Hermeneutik’ in (P8Q, vii. 718-750. F. W. Farrar, 
History of Interpretation (Ed., 1885, 1892; G. H. Gilbert, Interpretation 
of the Bible, second ed., 1900). Deechen, ‘Die 
Beziehung der h. Schrift, 1904; E. Schrader, Die 
Keltischen und die AT, 2nd ed. by H. Zimmermann and H. 
Wendecker, ‘Einleitung in Exegese’ (K. H. Kuhn, 
Oriente, 1896, Babylonisches im NT, 1905; H. Gunkel, 
Zur religionsgesch. Verbindung des NT, 1898; E. von 
Moehlitz, Verschiedene Strandungen, 1909; 
J. Weiss, Die Aufgaben der NT Wissenschaft, 1908.

5. Biblical sciences.—Exegesis presupposes the 
subsidiary sciences of philology and archeology, 
and includes the general, historical, and systematic 
study of the Bible's contents. In this sense the 
biblical sciences have always existed, although 
the strictly scientific method is a modern achievement. 
It is easy to undervalue the scientific labours of the early 
commentators, but it is certain that these were often of an elementary character, 
and not devoid of the element of fancy. We 
possess an instance of this in the explanation of 
biblical names in the OS (ed. Lagarde, 1870, 1875), 
which, though ultimately traceable to Philo, is 
probably due to more modern sources. In the 
New Testament, it is preserved only in Gn. 
and the Lat. translation by Jerome. 

5a. Bibliography.

5a-1. General.

5a-1-1. For the original collections of 
Cicero and the Synagogi (1660) and 
the Synopsis of the Polybius (1669) and 
Starkes (1733 ff.), we have in Germany, for the OT, 
specially the bibilical commentary of Keil and Delitzsch 
(1861 ff.); and the short commentary of 
Strack and Zwickler (1844 ff.), both conservative. 
From the critical standpoint we have Hitizig's short text-book 
(Knobel, Dillmann, etc., 1844 ff.), now superseded 
by the commentaries of Nowack (1892 ff.) and of 
Martii (1897 ff.). For the NT we have Meyer's critical 
and exegetical commentary (1892), still a standard 
work in its new editions (by B. Weiss, Wendel, 
Heinrici, and others), and de Wette's short exegetical 
handbook (1836 ff.), superseded by Holtzmann's 
short commentary (1889), which has itself been 
supplemented by Lietzmann's essentially philo-
tical text-book (1906). A more conservative commentary 
began to be published in 1893 by Zahn in 
1903 ff. Of more practical nature are the Bible 
works of Josias Bunsen (1855 ff.) and J. P. Lange 
(1857 ff.); recently J. Weiss (1906). England has 
the Synopsis Biblii (1871 ff.), the Pulpit 
Commentary, by Dodd (1890 ff.), the International Critical Commentary, 
edited by Driver, Plummer, Briggs (1895 ff.), and 
Robison Nicoll's Expositor's Bible (1895 ff.). 

Aids of a mnemonic kind to the understanding of the Bible were sought with special diligence. 
This purpose was served by the Synopsis Script. 
Sacrae, which may perhaps have come from Chrys-
sostom himself, and by many of the capitulationes. 
The Hypomnesticoi of the so-called Josephus 
Christianus contains all that was considered worthy of 
mention (P6r evl.). The most curious work of this 
kind is the Cosa Cypriana, probably a Gallic 
product of the 5th cent. and revised by Iambusus 
Maurus about 810 (ed. Harnack, Tü, new ser., 
iv. 3, 1890). The Middle Ages made both Gr. and 
Lat. vers. memoriales, in which the contents of 
the different books and various Biblical questions 
were contained. In the 15th cent. what was called the 
Ars Memorandi appeared in the form of a 
block-print. This whole material requires to be 
variably collected and investigated.

We have already dealt with the literary material and its tradition. On the one hand, 
see the Chrestomathia S. Excerpta (by Rufinus) 
and Jerome’s de Viris illustribus, to which must be 
add the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis Ser. S., 
and also Isidore of Seville’s Procnemium Liber and
de Ortu et Obitu Patrum. On the other hand, there were the Prologues (Ωρολογια, argumenta, præfationes). In this way there was produced a work similar to the Jewish Massorah, equally accurate, and of course, incalculable. The Historikon Sam. Bochart (1667) and similar compilations still show hesitation from the manual of science based upon revelation to the modern archaeological method which we find in our newer Bible dictionaries. Biblical archæology has won its way from a collection of speculations to a unified presentation of the subject, made possible by the idea of evolution, to which we owe the fact that archæology has become a fruitful subject of study for the history of religion.

It is owing to the divinity of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Deutscher Palästina-Verein that Biblical geography, formerly a mere collection of travel-notes, is coming to form a systematic and complete discipline, showing how to appraise the witnesses of tradition by reference to local conditions (Fr. Bull, 1896). Geography is thus becoming an important aid to Bible history, which is no longer content merely to repeat tradition or even to criticize tradition, but is gradually winning its way to a general view of the actual bond, with its sources, including persons as well as ideas. In this process naturally the unity of the Biblical point of view is more and more lost sight of. We have the History of the People of Israel (Ewald, Renan), or, more accurately, Israelish and Jewish History (Weiss, Franecker), Distinct from that, there are the History or the Life of Jesus (Keim, P. W. Schmidt, B. Weiss, and many others), and the History of Apostolic and post-Apostolic Times (Weizsäcker, Knopf, McGiffert, Vernon Bartlet). The Middle Ages did not begin together with geography, and now the bringing of Biblical history into the frame of general history is a principle. The background acquires increasing significance through the Egyptian and Assyro-Babylonian discoveries and the clearer knowledge which we possess of Judaism and Hellenism in NT times, and threats, under the influence of the modern positive treatment of history, almost to overshadow the really important features. By way of reaction, we have the treatment of the 'history of salvation', the whole. A greater degree of advance than in those Biblical subsidiary sciences is to be observed in the two comprehensive disciplines which in the academic studies of our time bear the traditional names of 'Biblical Introduction' and 'Biblical Theology.' It was the 18th cent., that first fully brought into the independent sciences which they now are, through an entire re-arrangement, in the spirit of historical criticism, of the material received from the Middle Ages and orthodox theology. From scattered traditions concerning the Biblical books and their authors there arose the historico-critical introduction to the OT and the NT by the subjection of the material to external and internal criticism. The Scriptures themselves were carefully examined to determine the parts of a great development, in this field the distinction between canonical and uncanonical books remains more and more outside consideration (see the collections of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books of the OT by Kaatsch, 1890, and of the NT Apocrypha by Hennecke, 1904; the splendid work of R. H. Charles and M. R. James; Budde's History of Hebrew Literature, 1907; the Histories of old Christian Literature by A. Harnack, 1893, and G. Krüger, 1885). Con-
traverse the philosophic side, the Jewish-Christian literature is given a place in the general literature of the Orient and Greece (von Wilamowitz, "Die Kunst der Gegenwart," i. 6, 1902; etc.).

The study of Biblical theology, which originated in the collection of passages to prove dogma, first became an independent study as a system of Biblical dogma urged by Pietism, in opposition to the scholastic dogma of orthodoxy. Soon it began to be the subject of distinctives (OT and NT and their various parts), and developed into a representation of the various Biblical systems of doctrine. Hegel's philosophy taught us to see therein a complete development. Thus we arrive at the modern study of the history of Israel, and especially Christianity, the doctrinal element being more and more conscientiously subordinated to the study of pious feeling and its effects in the life and thought of men.

In place of the Divine story of revelation, we find a history of human piety and pious ideas. In view of the current conception of science, this is unavoidable. But faith is always at liberty to recognize in such human piety and its continual advance the effect of Divine revelation. In this distinction of methods of treatment (scientific and theological) there lies the guarantee of sound development.

Altogether, the present position of Bible study is quite remarkable. No age has seen such intense study; no age has spent such a wealth of mental energy in Bible investigation; no age has produced such a rich literature on the Bible. The field is so enlarged and the labour so minute, that individuals can hardly keep the whole field in view. Therein lies a danger, and each individual discipline must always remember the common aim. Above all, the study of the history of the NT never loses sight of its goal in the OT, and the study of the NT never loses sight of its foundation in the OT. Otherwise the living nerve will be snapped; and, however necessary scientifically a clear view of the eternal relations of the Bible is, on the one hand, it must be remembered, on the other, that the Christian interest which confines itself to the Bible is equally justified. The methods which theology employs in its Biblical sciences are the same as those of all other sciences, but in this point is different. The interest with which it handles the material is the interest of Christian piety.


The best information as to the enormous growth of Biblical literature in the last decades is to be found in the Theologische Jahrbiicher, 1883 by Pietsch, 1888 by Lepsius, 1884 by Holtzmann, and 1894 by Schmiedel. The best information as to the enormous growth of Biblical literature in the last decades is to be found in the Theologische Jahrbiicher, 1883 by Pietsch, 1888 by Lepsius, 1884 by Holtzmann, and 1894 by Schmiedel.

It is true that the Theologische Rundschau, ed. by W. Boussen and W. Schmiedel, is a very valuable periodical.

In place of the Jahrbücher for Biblical Wissenschaft, by H. Ewald (1845-1855), and similar publications, such as Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft," 1867, we have the Zeitschichten für AT Wissenschaft, by B. Stade (now K. Gunkel), "Zeitschichten für die NT Wissenschaft" and the Bund der Orte des Kirchenmutes, by E. Proctor, 1890-1904, a testament to the progress of specialization. In America there are devoted to the study of the Bible, the Journal of Biblical Literature (1838-1875), and the Biblical World (1895-1905), and in Britain the Expositor, 1875 ff., the Expository Times, 1890 ff., and the Interpreter, 1895 ff. For Jewish Biblical research, France the central point is the Revue Biblique, by Lagrange, 1892; in Germany, the Biblische Studien of Bardenhewer, 1893 ff., and the Zeitschrift für die christliche Bibliothek and Berliner Buchhändler, 1893 ff.

These, however, valuable they were in their own time, are now superseded by more recent works. Now the place of the articles of Hanck's "Realencyclopädie für Prot. Theol.," 1899-1904. There are also the "Kleine Bibel" of Zeller, 1893; G. Wumbach, "Biblische Lexikon," 1899-1904, Dict. of Christ and the Gospels, 1902-1908; and the "Dict. of the Bible." There is no one vol., 1909; T. Grose-Black, "Enzy. Bibl. 1899-1906; F. Vigoureux, "Dict. de la Bible," 1895 ff; Jewish Enzy. 1901 ff—an imposing array, in itself a proof of the high standard to which Biblical science has attained in our time.

V. THE BIBLE IN DIVINE SERVICE. — The Bible was not only the authoritative standard of Church doctrine in the hands of the learned theologian; it was also the book from which the Church drew instruction and exhortation, consolation and inspiration. It was a book to be used in Divine service, just as it had been in the Synagogue. How did we come upon the great distinction between Christian and Jewish forms of worship? The object elsewhere is to produce some therapeutic effect. The idea is to operate upon the Deity through sacrifice and prayer, and by effective symbolism to attain to some connexion, some union, with the Deity. This is the case in the heathen world generally, and also in the temple-worship of Judaism. Only in the Synagogue and in the Christian form of service is the central place given to God's word, as it speaks to the assembled congregation out of the sacred book with voice of instruction, exhortation, and explanation of the sacred text. LITERATURE. — A. C. A. Hall, "The Use of Holy Scripture in the Public Worship of the Church" 1903.

I. Reading. — The use of the Bible in the services of the Church has been rich and varied. In the forefront stands reading. In the Synagogue the practice followed was the continuous reading of whole books. In the course of three years, e.g., the Law with 154 parashiyot was read through. The young disciple of the Church also had a plan. It is to be regretted that we know nothing very definite about the reading of the Bible in the first three centuries. But from the acquaintance with the books of the Bible which is taken for granted, and which in many cases could have been gained only through the services of the Church, we may conclude that it was extensive. It is certain that the Law and the Prophets, and afterwards the Gospels and the Epistles, came to be readseriatim. In his description of the Christian service about 150, Justin speaks of the reading of the διαδοχοί θέληται τῶν ἀπολλονίων (i.e. the Gospels) and the εὐαγγέλια τῶν προφητῶν (i.e. the OT—or is it the writings of Christian prophets, in other words, Apocalypses, that he means? μητέρα ἐγκύκλιον (Ap. ii. 67). These last much-disputed words seem to lead to the conclusion that there was no special division of the Scripture into portions for reading, and that the time allotted to it was not definitely fixed. Justin's statement is perhaps best understood by comparison with the custom in the present day in outlying Swiss parishes. At the beginning of the service, and while the congregation was still gathering ("donce totus populus congregatur," Can. Hipp., xxxvii. 283), instead of the organ playing, which is customary in other places, the teacher reads from the Bible. As a rule, several chapters in succession suddenly broke off at the entrance of the clergyman. Naturally there
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was more read than the OT books and the Gospels. The Divine service for which the congregation assembled afforded opportunity for bringing newly-received and other lections, to the knowledge of the congregation (I Th 577, II Cor 448), and also written addresses from distant teachers and prophets (He 1222; II Clem 19), particularly the records of revelations (Rev I 222; Herm. Vis. ii. 4. 3). In the beginning probably some distinction was drawn between the reading of the Sacred Scripture and the reading of these new letters. But the custom of reading these over and over again (see Dionysius of Corinth ap. Euseb. HE iv. 23. 11, on I Clem. and the letter from Rome by Soter) was itself enough to give them a place alongside of Holy Scripture. The effect of this was twofold. On the one hand, the extent of Scripture read in this way was increased. There were 4th and 5th cent. MSS which contain the Epistle of Clement (Cod. Alex.; cf. the Syn. Codex, dated 1170, at Cambridge and Gen. Apom. 86), the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Epistle of Barnabas (Codex Sin.,) and Athanasius makes Wis., Sir., Est., Jth., Tob., Didache, and Hermas into a special class of apocrypha (Epist. 39. a.d. 367). On the other hand, the Church insisted on having every new lection included from the beginning of the Bible in public worship (Synod of Laodiæe, 363[J], Can. 59; Carthage, 397, Can. 39; Westcott, p. 540)—a step specially directed against the introduction of the Apocryphal literature fostered by Montanists, Marcionites, Manicheans, and Priscillianists. The limitation to what was canonical was never quite adhered to in the mediæval Church. So early as the 4th cent. the custom was adopted of reading Martyrologies of Saints on the days dedicated to their memory (Carthage, 397, Can. 39; Westcott, p. 540)—a step specially directed against the introduction of the Apocryphal literature fostered by Montanists, Marcionites, Manicheans, and Priscillianists.

In the matter of the choice of passages for reading, the various national churches developed various practices. The Aquitanian pilgrim (Silvia, or Etherea) presents us with a picture of the extremely rich supply of readings on Easter Friday in Jerusalem (Itin. Hieros., ed. Geyer, p. 80). The Syrian practice, laid down in the Apost. Const. ii. 57, viii. 5, seems to prescribe two lessons from the OT, one from the Epistles and one from the Gospels. Tertullian bears witness that the Roman Church and the African Church of his time followed the same custom: 'legem et prophetias cum evangelicæ et apocryphæ litteris miscet' (Prescr. Hebr. 30). OT lessons are also presupposed in Præc. Hær. 51, Monoth. 12, adv. Gentes, 22. At the same time the early Church of Rome was already wanting in the African Church (Epist. xxxiv. 4, xxvx). Three readings—Prophectia, Epistolary, and Gospel—are known in the Asia Minor Church (Basil, PG xxxii. 425), as also in Gaul (Germanus of Paris, PL lxxii. 90, Liturg. Gall. ib. 171 ff.) and in Spain (Mansi, ed. Morin: Apost. xxii. 30, solana i., Liturg. Mozarab. ed. Cabrél-Leclerq I.). But here, too, the OT lesson was often wanting.

Later on, the number of readings was everywhere reduced to two—Epistle and Gospel. This was the case in Rome, perhaps from the time of Damasus (if it was really Jerome who compiled the first canonarium). The Liber Sacramentorum Gregoriam (PL lxxviii. 25). The order followed—Prophecies, Epistles, Gospels—is evidently everywhere considered an ascending one. That is shown in the special treatment of the Gospel. While the other lections were left to the apomnæa (present in the beginning as on the same level as the prophets as being a pneumatic, but later on taking a place among the lower clergy (Harnack, 'Uber den Ursprung des Lektorens',7 in TU ii. 4 (1880), 57 ff.), the reading of the Gospel was reserved for a deacon or, at latest, a presbyter (Apost. ii. 57; Sozom. vii. 19, 6). At Easter the bishop himself read (Pentgr. Silvæns, p. 73, Geyer; Sozom. loc. cit.). Candies were first lit for the Gospel-reading (Jerome, ade. Vigil. 7, PL xxiii. 361; Isidore, de Offic. ecci. ii. 14, PL xxxvii. 793) (cf. Bellarmine, de Reliquii Sanctorum ii. 3 (Rom., 1613, ii. 775)). The leseæ ('hymns') were to follow the lesson from the Gospel and not that from the Epistles (Syn. Toledo, 635, Can. 12, Mansi, x. 622).

Gradually the habit of reading certain books at certain periods of the Church year became fixed (Lectiones annum, Augustine, PL xxxv. 1977). In Lent, Genesis was read (Chrysostom, PG lli. 22); in Easter week, Job (pseudo-Origen on Job, PG xii. 103; Ambrose, PL xvi. 1019); on Maundy Thursday, Jonah (Ambr. l.c. 1044); on Good Friday, in many churches of Palestine, the Apocalypse of Peter (Sozom. vii. 19); on the four Easter days, the reports of the Resurrection according to Matthew, Luke, Mark, John (Augustine, PL xxxvii. 1156; Ambrose, PL xxxvii. 1070); during Easter and Whitsun-tide, the Gospel according to John and Acts (Chrys. PG li. 97; Augustine, PL xxxxx. 1433, xxxviii. 1430) were read; in Spain during this season the Apoc. of John (Syn. Toledo 635, Can. 17, Mansi x. 624), and in Gaul the Acts and the Apocalypse (Germ. Par. PL lixii. 90). On Victor of Capua see ZNTW, 1909, pp. 90 ff., 175 ff.

The Euthalian apparatus contains a system of lectio continua for the Epistles of the NT in 57 apocrýphas (see G. Ritschl, Lehrbuch der Liturgik i. 1. 225). CHURCH LITURGY (Apost. II. 57, 1, PG lix. 811) clearly implies the lectio continua.

Soon, however, it came to be that special lessons were taken for every day, the reason probably being that the lessons had to be suited to the commemoration of the particular circumstances. Donatus of Arvernæ (Clormont), referred to by Apollin. Sidonius (Ep. iv. 11). These were frequently combined with the older system. The Armenian Church broke through its lectio continua only on the great feast-days when it had special lessons. The Greek Church had a peculiar system of sabbato-syriaka: besides the lectio continua for the days of the week, there was also a special system of pericopes for Saturday and Sunday (so in a great many Gr. MSS; cf. C. R. Gregory, Textkritik, i. 227 ff., see also AS. Jessica, 1901, 276). The Romans, E. Ranke in investigating the very confused history of the various pericope systems. In the Middle Ages Charlemagne was the first to give attention to this matter. Improvements were essayed in all countries, usually in the variously known as bringing about uniformity. The Roman practice established itself more and more generally. It was this usus Romanus that the Reformers found
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to hand, and there were many attempts at improvement. These have not ceased even in modern times, nor has any unanimity been reached even in the churches of Germany. In 1858, e.g., in Prussia, besides the usual lessons from the Epistles and the Gospels, others were introduced, in which OT passages were included. The lectionary put together for Rhineland by Nitzsch, and the Bavarian system revised by Thomasius, contain a series of OT lessons extending over a year, while in the Palatinate the system in use extends to a four years’ course.

There is great uncertainty as to the motives which induced the choice of the different pericopes. Many of them owed their existence to chance, and were afterwards justified by tradition and the force of habit.

In the ancient Church the principle was always strictly adhered to that the reading of Scripture was for the congregation, and must therefore be intelligible. When this was not immediately possible for everybody, the reading was accompanied by translation, just as formerly in the Targums of the Synagogue. In the whole of the Western half of the Empire Greek was almost everywhere read and understood. In many parts of Syria and Egypt recours was had to oral interpretation, though new translations and new tongues were made. In the case of Jerusalem we know that the Greek lessons and also the Greek sermon were immediately translated into Syriac for the people, and that there were presbyters present who translated a sermon into Aramaic for them into Latin (Porphyrius Eclog., xxi. 9, Geyer). In the same way in the West, translations of the Latin were given in the Celtic, Punic, and Iberian tongues.

In any case it was understood that the whole congregation could follow the reading. Attention to the reading of Scripture is mentioned in an episcopal letter of the 4th cent. (Petrus Alex., B. C. schmidt, T. U. new ser. ii. 48, 5) as the most important part of the Sunday regulations. The reading of Scripture was also expected to produce a direct effect upon the hearers. In a great number of records of conversion the conversion was reached suddenly while some passage of Scripture was being read in Divine service. Athanasius relates that the conversion of St. Anthony (Vita, ch. xxiv. 8) was brought about by the reading of Mt 19. Augustine remembered this at his own conversion, when, hearing a voice say ‘Tolle, lege,’ he took the Scripture and read Rom 13 (Confess. viii. 13, 29). It was hearing Mt 19 that induced Hypatius, a youth of 18 years, to leave his home, though the biographer states naively enough that his father had previously thrashed him (Vita, by Callinicus, p. 9, ed. Bonn). Similar stories are related of Balylas the actor (Moschus, FG lxxxv. 2883), and of Simeon Stylites (Lietzmann, T., 3rd ser., ii. pp. 29, 31, Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum, 1 Sept).

Not until the Middle Ages did it happen that in almost all churches, both Oriental and Latin, the Holy Scripture was read in a tongue unintelligible to the people. Even Charlemagne would have none of this, and demanded that wherever necessary there should be an interpreter. This practice, however, entirely ceased, until in the 16th cent. some attempt was again made to have the sermon delivered in the language of the people. This was generally done through facility of ecclesiastical practice and clerical reminiscence was afterwards justified by the theory that a holy speech was seemly for the Holy Scripture. The abandonment of intelligible language was connected with the development of the Catholic service to a business for the clergy before and for the passively interested congrega-

tion. The Reformation broke away from this idea of worship and from the view of sacred unintelligibility, and returned to the principle of the ancient Church.


2. Preaching. The reading of the Scripture was not open. An attempt was made to come still more to the congregation’s aid. To the reading there was nearly always added an exposition, with a homiletic, expository, and devotional application (cf. Lk 18:19). According to Justin (Apol. i. 67), the reading was followed by an admonitory and inspiring address by the presiding presbyter.

The second Epistle of Clement seems to be a homily on Is 54:5–6 (Knopf, Precursachens ZNTW ii. 295); cf. Acta Petri et Simone, 20; Augustine, de Civ. Del xxii. 8, p. 611, 9, 10; CSEL, 2.

Often the preachers refer in the introduction of the sermon to the passage of Scripture read. This is the practice of Augustine, Cassarius of Arles, Petrus Chrysologus of Ravenna, Chrysostom, and even Theophanes Keranous. Bede often begins, 'Lectio ... (e.g. Gen. 19), etc.', with respect to the preceding passages. At a later date the words used were, 'Post illa verba s. scripturam,' and hence from the 14th cent. the name postilla, 'postil,' was applied to collections of sermons (Nicolaus of Lyra, Gellert of Kayserberg, Luther). In many cases these sermons are nothing more than the devotional exposition of the Scripture. This is the nature of the homilies of Origen, who, besides his commentaries and scholia, expounded almost the whole of the sacred Scripture. When we are acquainted with the 17th homilies of Origen (Thess., 9, 16 Exod., 16 on Levit., 28 on Numbers, 15 on Deut., 26 on Joshua, 9 on Judges, 4 on 1 Sam., and 1 on 2 Sam., 1 on 2 Chron., 2 on Ezra, 22 on Job, more than 100 on Psalms, 2 on Proverbs, 8 on Eccles., 2 on Song of Sol., 32 on Isaiah, 45 on Jeremiah, 14 on Ezekiel. There are 25 homilies on Matt., 39 on Luke, 27 on Acts, 11 on 2 Cor., 7 on Gal., 2 on Thess., 1 on Titus, 18 on Heb.—altogether close on 500. In the same way we possess continuous expositions of whole books of the Bible in the form of treatises by Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, etc. In Lent there was a sermon every day, and on Sundays there were two. The peculiar method followed by Chrysostom is worthy of remark. First he gives a complete practical exposition of the passage, and then in a second part he deals with some theme that has often very little connexion with it.

A special kind of such exposition is represented by the discourses which Jerome delivered in the monastery (ed. Morin, in Anecd. Marul. ii.). These have not been preserved in their complete form, but only as they were written down freely afterwards from shorthand notes. Occasionally he expounds a Psalm, and immediately afterwards a passage from the Gospels (Rev. Ben. xix. 30). The so-called little catechetics of Theodore of Sta- dium consisted in the same way (ed. Avray and Touard, 1891; cf. A. Gardner, Theodore, p. 82 ff.). But even where sermons do not deal with continuous passages in this way, as in those of Petrus Chrysologus of Ravenna and Maximus of Turin (both a disciple of Ambrose), we have often a collection of sermons from the Bible as their foundation. Even occasional addresses are joined to a definite text, and the sermons are so full of Scripture references, that, despite their elevated rhetoric, they amount to continuous exposition (e.g., the opening sermon delivered by Gregory of Nazianzus at the Council in 381 (Mansi, iii. 359 ff.).
Gennadius (Vit. ill. 100) boasts of the extraordinary faculty which his countryman, Bishop Honoratus of Marseilles, showed in extempore preaching, and accounts for it mainly by his rare acquaintance with Scripture.

It is true that in the matter of preaching, too, the Bible must be the source from which the preacher of the saints. Chrysostom and Augustine present a great deal about the glorious deeds of the martyrs and the miracles of the saints. In the collections of sermons which are characteristic of the later Middle Ages, such as the *Homiliarium of Paulus Wurzburg*, and to the order of Charlemagne, or the *Homiliae Tertulianae*, sermons of either classes are found side by side. Later on a distinction was drawn between the *sermones de tempore* (on the Biblical pericopes of the Church year) and *sermones de sacris* (on the legends of the saints), e.g. by Hildebert of Tours (+1134), Bonaventura (+1274), Heinrich of Primas (about 1340), Pelbart of Temesvar (about 1500), and many more.

Generally speaking, in the Middle Ages the sermon fell more and more into the background or assimilation, and the part of the Church it almost ceased. Among the Copts the only preacher was the Patriarch, and he preached only once a year. The Byzantine liturgy has scarcely a proper place for the sermon. The Western mass can be said in the Church, but there is much more of a unity. Hence it is that the sermon is often a feature of supplementary services. But even where we find it in ordinary connexion with the reading of the Bible in the later Middle Ages, it has wandered far from its original purpose. It has become dogmatic, and is Biblical only so far as scholasticism operates with the authority of the Bible for its own purposes. It was otherwise in popular preaching, and especially preaching in the languages of the country, such as the exhortations of the Franciscans like Derold of Regensburg (+1272); the German preaching of the mystics and popular men like Tauler (+1361) and Geiler of Kaysersberg (+1510); and in England Richard Rolle of Hampole (+1340).

Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that it was not till the Reformation that preaching again returned to its task of expounding the Bible. Apart from exceptional cases like Mathesius's sermons on Luther's life, Sermons on the Catechism or the Hymn-book, or even the modern expository preaching of Mr. Miller, the Holy Scripture is acknowledged in all Protestant denominations as the exclusive foundation of the sermon. It cannot be denied that, partly through the coercion of the pericope system, but chiefly in consequence of the scholastic tendency of thought in the orthodox period, its connexion with the text often became very loose. In Pietism, however, the connexion again gained strength, and to-day it may be laid down as the general requisite of Protestant preaching that it should be in keeping with the text, or, in the words of Bishop Egestorff, "that after we meet again with the exposition of whole books in a series of sermons—a form that has lately gained much vogue (e.g. the four Gospels in 'Predigten und Homilien', ed. by Kögell, in association with Dryander, Froumel, and Park)."

Even where, in opposition to the style of homily which follows the text step by step (developed with special success by Menken), the so-called thematic sermon is preferred, not only is the theme drawn out of the text or chosen because of its connexion with the text, but the elaboration the effort made to exhaust the text as far as may be.

* F. Wiegand, in Bonnentacht-Seebberg, Studien zur Gesch. der Theol. u. Kirche, i. 5.
† G. Morin, Anec. Maresii. i. 1892.

In addition to this, we have within recent times the Bible-class by way of supplement to the sermon. It was introduced by Hitzig (Collegium biblicum directed by Spencer and A. H. Francke), and is becoming more and more common. In entire freedom from the compulsion of the pericope, which is still followed in some churches, it supplies a connected system of interpretation of the Bible-history. It is not a new idea, for it is common to all methods of Bible-study, and its place is determined in the Church for the guidance of the individual in his religious life. It is, however, in the church of the protestant schools regard to its typological and allegorical significance. A splendid instance is given in the newly-discovered work of Ireneus entitled *et similia in apostolico scripturam* (TU xxxi. 1907). In the case of sermons for Lent, it is the Bible-passages daily given to this instruction (Perser. Silvias, p. 97; cf. Augustine, de Catechiz. rudibus).

With regard to the catechumen, the teacher could take for granted their wide acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures. The reading of Scripture took place during the first part of the service, to which catechumens were admitted (missa catechumenorum); they, indeed, were the 'hearers' (exorantem). Over and above this, Cyril of Jerusalem exhorted his catechumens to diligent reading in private of the Scriptures recognized for the Church (Cat. iv. 38 ff., PG xxxii. 405). In the West, indeed, the creed (symbolum) was more emphasized than the sacred Scriptures, and so it happened that, as time went on, instruction in the Bible received less attention. The age of Charlemagne was content with the Decalogue and the Paternoster.

This categetical tradition influenced even Luther, although, so far as was possible, he strove for the widening and deepening of Bible knowledge. When he wrote the 'Table of the Heidelberg Catechism' he did not aim to make the Biblical history yield to other narratives (Märchern, Robinsson Crusoe) undervalues the religious and moral, and therefore the pedagogic, value of the Scriptures. Modern theology of the historico-critical school, too, has raised many objections to the old method of treating Bible-history. It is not, however, merely a matter of history, but of the spirit in which it is handled. Bible-history is not now what it was in the Middle Ages, the history of humanity. For it is history of the spirit. The individual's feature is not the knowledge of history, but the perception of faith. The aim must be to get the child to reach beyond the history into the spirit of the prophets and the perfection of Christ. This being so, the newer critical Biblical science sets religious instruction
the difficult task of making the Bible a cherished and beloved book to the child, of investing it with honour and authority in his eyes, and at the same time of making him adopt such an attitude towards it as to counteract the negative attitudes in the literature of history and natural history will not disturb. See art. Catechism and Catechization.


4. Prayer and praise.—To the direct devotional value of the Bible in reading and exposition there have to be added yet other elements of Biblical origin. Nearly all the liturgical formulae—Amen, Alleluia, Hosanna, Kyrie Eleison, Gloria, and Pax—find a place here. The single exception to this in the ancient Christian liturgy is the *Stemmata Corda*, whose origin still remains uncertain. The Lord's Prayer, which is to be heard at every Christian service, is Biblical, and so also are the different forms of the Benedictions. The Reformed Churches have the *Veni Creator* as a part of the service, while—the difference is significant—the Lutherans adhere to the Credo of the Catholic mass, usually in the form of a hymn of faith. The foundation and the language of most prayers are Biblical. The Psalms of the Psalter are used over and over, single passages from the Psalms are worked in. The Psalter as the prayer-book of personal devotion is dealt with in vi. 1 and 3.

Then also there is the singing of Psalms. In the ritual of the Temple this formed a most important part of the service, almost all the spoken part. In meetings of the Synagogue also it had a part to play. So it was immediately adopted by the Christians and diligently cultivated. It is disputed whether by *psalai, ἐπάρχον, ψαλις πνευματικά* (Col 3:16, Eph 5:19) we are to understand the Psalms of the OT or specially Christian poems (or both together). The canonical Psalter was of course completed, but the poetry of the Synagogue was not yet exhausted, as is witnessed by the eighteenth *Psalms of Solomon* from the period subsequent to B.C. 200. Not only was the new Christian Church, in the wonderful experience of the new salvation, must have fostered poetry. 1 Co 14:26 as well as Pliny's statement *Christo quasi deo carmen dicere* suggest new Christian poems. We find such proof of the Psalms in 1 Cor 10:14. [161] But these fragments, like the hymns in Luke's Gospel (Magnificat 1:26, Benedictus 1:8, Nunc Dimitis 2:30, Gloria 2:4 [cf. 199]) show clear dependence upon the OT patterns. In their form, too, they follow the Semitic rhythm and not the Greek prosody. The same may be said of the eleven psalms of repentance in the *Pistis Sophia* which are modelled on the Biblical psalms. The Greek form was first brought into Christianity by the heads of Gnostic schools who were possessed of literary culture. The Muratorian Fragment mentions Marcionite and Basilian psalms. The Naassene hymn in Hippolytus, v. 10, already possesses the Greek form, as does also the hymn to Christ in Clemens Alex. (Paed. iii. 12 fin.). The hymns of the Syrian Bardesanes and his son Harmachis, of Pseudo Ephraim, and it was said to express them that Ephraim wrote others. At the same time, Ambrose in the West laid the foundation of Latin hymnology. The poems of Gregory of Nazianzus and Symesius are not much concerned with congregational prayer. At this point Bp. Boëtius, a tendency made itself felt in the Church to have the congregational prayer restricted to the Canonical Psalter (which included, in addition to the 150 [161] Psalms, the 9[10] *Psai, cantica*: Ex 15, Dt 32, 1 S 2, Hab 3, Jon 2, Dn 3 [Apoc.], Lk 1, 2, as they are gathered together in Codex A and in a great number of subsequent MSS and liturgies) in order to counteract the attempts of the Apollinarists, etc. to misuse the Church hymns for their own special ends (see Conc. Laod. 365 [1], Can. 59: οὐ τοις ἐκ τινος ψαλμοῖς γένεσθαι εἰς τὸν ἑκκλησίαν ἕνα ἀνακοίνωσιν βιβλία; cf. Theodorot, *HE* ii. 24[19], iii. 10[6]; iv. 22[10]). The *Apost. Concilii* (ii. 57) require the singing of the Davidic psalms between the readings from Scripture. Two tendencies thus run through the whole history of Church praise. The more severe of these adheres to the Biblical psalm and uses only those for liturgical worship, and still holds the chief place with Roman Catholics and Anglicans. In the strictly Calvinistic Churches they were in invariable use, though in paraphrastic versions. On the other hand, the Church has never ceased to produce poetry. Influenced by the Syrians, Romanus brought hymns to the Greeks in the 6th century. John of Damascus put in place of such free compositions the more correct and formal Canon, which is still used by all the Oriental Churches, Greek and Slavonic. The first attempt to produce hymns in Latin, down to the end of the Middle Ages, there was an unbroken line of hymn-writers, and soon alongside of the Latin hymns of the Church others in the popular speech were abundant. In Germany these were specially numerous, and the Reformation introduced a new and powerful stimulus. By their paraphrases of what was ancient and their new compositions, Luther, Paul Gerhardt, and many others have supplied us with the highest that is possible in the strong and fervent expression of Christian faith and pious feeling. Here the Biblical psalm is found usually in the form of the motet, which is sung by the choir as an addition to the congregational praise. From the very beginning the Lutheran Churches have devoted special attention to praise, and thereby not only has the Roman Catholic Church been roused to new activity, but the later Calvinistic Church has been induced to permit, alongside of the Psalms, hymns which in the meantime displace the old psalms more and more. In view of what has been said about the importance of the psalms in Christian worship, it is more than an opposition that in Dissenting circles hymns play such an important part. A pious Moravian legitimizes his opinions by declaring them to conform to Scripture and the hymns.

*Ti* has to be said that the distinction between Biblical and Christian psalms and hymns is in the main a formal one. Often the hymn is nothing but a free poetic rendering of the psalm; e.g. *Luther's Ein feste Burg* with Ps 46 and *Aus tiefer Not* with Ps 130. The congregation is rightly kept in an attitude of this by the quotation of the text in the hymn-books. The best and most effective hymns are of this nature, and they show to great advantage when compared with the martyrlogy of Greek and Roman hymns and the sweet emptiness of the hymns belonging to modern sects. Instead of any opposition between Biblical psalms and Church hymns, it is, in fact, more correct to speak of the direct and indirect effect of Biblical hymns upon Christian worship, and it will be found impossible to rate either too highly.

VI. THE BIBLE IN PRIVATE USE.

The Bible in the Christian home.—The Bible was not only a book to be used by learned theologians or for liturgical purposes. From the first and always it aimed at being the devotional book of every Christian. That was its special end and value. At the time of the NT itself this was the case. Wollfhausen says, 'Die Bibel war die Bibel,' 'The Bible was the first reading-book.' Timothy knew the Holy Scriptures 'from a child' (2 Ti 3:15). Some of the books of the NT were written as aids to private devotion (Lk 1:5). The passage 2 Ti 3:15 applies not only to the public but also to the private use of the Bible. It is probable that in the early period many Christians were limited to the public reading of the Bible, as they possessed no books of their own. In the opinion of the present writer, however, the idea of the Bible as a book to be found in private houses in the first three centuries has been under-estimated by Prof. C. Bigg (The Church's Task under the Roman Empire, 1905, p. 29). Paul presupposes quite a remarkable acquiescence in the idea of the OT Scripture books as part of the resources of his Churches. Pollyarp writes to the Church at Philippi (12): 'Confido enim vos bene exerci- tatos esse in sacris litteris.' We learn from Tertullian that the reading of the Bible in common was one of the practices of the Christian home, and he urges this fact as an argument in support of mixed marriages, because in such a case the custom becomes impracticable (ad Uzoren, i. 8). In the Didascalia of the Apostles (ch. i.) Christians are exhorted in the following terms: 'Sit at home and read in the Law, in the Book of Kings and in the Prophets and in the Gospel which is their fulfillment,' while in ch. xxii. the rod of discipline (Pr 13:24 198 23:26) is interpreted as the word of God, in which youth must be diligently instructed. Family prayers, as well as those of the Church, are Biblical in character. The morning prayer makes reference to Lk 2:4, the evening-prayer to Ps 115 and Lk 2:21. The grace before meat, preserved in Const. Apost. (vii. 49), is drawn from Gn 48:15 Ps 131:1 Ps 13:1. The prayer that is the Psalter: Christian maidens sit at the distaff and sing about the Divine revelation (Tatian, Oration 33): instead and wife entertain one another with psalms and hymns, and vie with one another as to who shall best sing to God's praise (Tertullian, ad Uzoren, ii. 8). On the occasion of Monien's death, when Augustine and his son Adeodatus were overcome by grief, Eunodius took the Psalter and intoned the 100th Ps., all present making response (Augustine, Confess. ix. 31). All the teachers of the first centuries counted upon this private use of the Scripture, and encouraged it (Justin, Apol. 44: Cyprian, Ep. i. ad Donatum). Pamphilus is said always to have kept copies ready to give to Christians who desired them (Hieronymus, ad Ruf. i. 9). The Acts of the Church indicate the extent to which the Christians honoured and defended the Bible as their sacred possession and their dearest treasure. More than one martyr was discovered while reading the Scripture, and some of the acts (e.g., those of St. Epaphroditus) show that even St. Euplius of Catania, who read Mt 5th 10th before the judge, and, when asked why he had not obeyed the Emperor's injunction (dated 24th Feb. 303) to deliver up all Bibles, quietly answered: 'Quia Christianus sum et tradere non licet magis'; expedit morti quae peril equidem ad honorem et elationem meam ducet.' (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. vi. 20). The reproach which
was made against the Catholics by the Donatists, 'vult traditores in persecutione divinariae scripturam,' was keenly felt by the former as an attack upon their Christianity. No difference was made later on when the time of Constantine began to see the Church of Rome assuming to itself the Church of God except that exhortations to use the Bible at home were rendered more frequent by the neglect of the custom. Chrysostom assumes that his hearers possess a Bible, in which they can read the text at home; if they do not buy one in many places a Bible was probably laid out for public use. The lending of sacred books was considered to be pleasing to God. The diligent reading of the Bible took a specially high place among the virtues and merits of holy men and women. The acquaintances which these people had with the Bible was really astonishing. The sermons of the great preachers of the time were composed of Biblical quotations, and preachers counted upon their hearers to take note of and understand them. Pilgrimages to the scenes of sacred story, which at one time were more common, added to the knowledge of the Bible a certain knowledge of localities, however superficial and superstitions it may have been. The Aquitanian pilgrim (Silvia or Etleria?) informs us that at the moment of entrance the sacred peroration of Scripture was read to the pilgrims.

With the collapse of the ancient civilization and the decay of learning, the following centuries, naturally enough, brought a decline in the reading of the Bible. There came times when it was rare to find the art of reading outside the monasteries. Perhaps in the boudoir of a great lady there was still opportunity for the study of the Bible and Virgil. The laity, whether prince or peasant, and even the secular priests, were illiterate. We hear complaints about the uneducated clergy. The Bible is no longer to be found even in the ranks of the clergy. Charlemagne had to insist upon every priest knowing at least the Catechism. Petrus Damianus (+1072) and Aeneas Silvio (+1146) complained similarly of the small knowledge which priests possessed as compared with heretics. The Bible exerted only an indirect influence through the medium of preaching, poetry, and pictures, and even that was shared with much other material. It was not till the 12th cent. that the people again began to show a wide interest in the Bible, and to increase rapidly, though viewed with suspicion by the Church, and occasionally violently opposed, continued and increased in intensity and extent in proportion as ecclesiastical theology and piety became dissociated from the Bible. There were circles where Biblicalism went so far as to remove from the Bible everything that was not strictly Biblical, as, e.g., the prefaces—a purism to which sometimes even the prologue to the Gospel of Luke (114) was sacrificed. But though the Bible was really the devotional book of these circles (Thomas à Kempis, George of Kaysersberg on Right Reading of the Bible), the circles themselves were limited. Only few possessed a Bible, and the attempts to make it accessible to all in the adjoining rooms of churches benefited only individuals, and helped study rather than devotion.

With the aid of the new art of printing the Reformation first made the Bible in reality the people's book. From that point onward one can speak of daily Bible-reading as a Christian duty. Along with the hymn-book and the Catechism, it is the only book that most educated Christians know. It is their manual of devotion, and still more their reading-book. The wider circulation of the Bible, which followed the improvements effected upon printing, made its acquisition increasingly easy. At the same time, however, competition increased. Thus we find that, simultaneously with the widest circulation of the Bible which has ever been reached, there is a decline in the pious use of it. Here, however, there is this comfort to be laid to heart, that where it is read a really pious desire is the motive. Many German family Bibles are an exception to the rule. In Fine 'Kurzer Unterricht, wie man die h. Schrift zu seiner wahren Erbauung lesen solle.' Then also the emphasizing of the supreme verses of Scripture by special type, which we find in many Bibles, is significant. These are the utterances in which the patristic and medieval Expositions and Annotations ever reveals itself in experience, in which the troubled soul finds richest consolation, inspiration, and strength. We find this illustrated in an old family Bible mentioned by Hesselbacher. It was underlined by his great-grandfather in four different colours. 'What touched the sin of my heart:—Black. What inspired me to good:—Blue. What comforted me in sorrow:—Red. What promised me the grace of God in eternity:—Green.' With this the Gospels mentioned above, p. 563, belonging to the 14th cent. and written in four colours of ink, in order to see the difference between the objective treatment of the Bible by the Catholics and its subjective treatment by the Evangelicals, who always kept in view the literal sense of the New Testament. Naturally, we have no documentary evidence of the reading of the Bible in families or in retirement. An unusually favourable opportunity is afforded in the letters of Bismarck to his wife, from which we learn that the Bible was read daily by one of the greatest statesmen, one, too, who was certainly no pietist. Naturally, in biographies and memoirs there is little said of the devotional reading of the Bible in the quiet closet or in the small family-circle; it is taken for granted, and considered part of the daily routine. Of course, the idea of Bible-reading takes place in secret. So far as it is possible to observe, it would seem that the desire for God's word and the eternal truth which the Bible contains is again on the increase (A. W. Robinson, Co-operation with God, 1908, 114).

2. Bible-reading by the laity.—In the ancient Church every Christian could obtain access to the Bible, and this is the best test that the idea of late Judaism, that certain Scriptures were to be confined to a select circle, is to be found only in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies—a fact which is to be connected with the sectarianism of Jewish Christianity and esoteric literature elsewhere. Elsewhere the warning is limited to the reading of heretical works (Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. iv. 33). The sacred Scriptures included those which were for use in church and those which were for private devotional use (cf. Murat, Canon on the Shepherd of Hermas, and the canonical Scriptures were to be within everybody's reach. Anathematis proclaims heretics with preventing people from reading the Bible. Chrysostom combats the idea prevalent among the laity that the reading of the Bible was a thing for the clergy and monks. Later on this giving up of the Bible on the part of the laity led to its being withdrawn altogether, exactly as in the case of the communion cup. There came a time when laymen could not read, and when they had again learned the art they were not allowed to read the Bible. This was part of the medieval system of keeping the laity in dependence upon ecclesiastical authority, and was based upon the idea of the unfathomableness of the mysteries which the Scripture contained. The traditional exegesis of the Church was that by reading these, and the laity, left to themselves, always
wandered from the track. As a matter of fact, where Bible study was fostered in lay circles, there was to be found, as a rule, an anti-hierarchical, anti-clerical, sectarian tendency. It was believed that, in the Bible-reading conventicles of South of France and Lorraine, Albigensian and Catharist tendencies were to be found. Thus, Innocent III. wrote to the Bishop of Metz that conventicles of the laity for the purpose of reading the Bible were to be suppressed. The study of the Bible was to be encouraged, but theological training was necessary: the profunditas of the Scriptures was so great that even scholars could not quite understand it; the arcanum fidei were not for every man. Ex 19:4, the passage which was founded upon in this connexion: the beast that touched Mount Sinai was to be stoned. Of course this did not amount to a general prohibition of the reading of Scripture by the laity, but it bore a close resemblance to it, and without doubt the tendency gained ground. Against the Bible in the popular tongue especially, a continual, though sometimes veiled and certainly unsuccessful war was waged. Where the Church had no patience with these conventicles, people were driven into the arms of the sectaries, because it was these—especially Albigensians, Waldensians, Wyellites, and Hussites— who actively encouraged the popular reading of the Bible and a free field for its exegesis, which developed in increasingly acute form upon anti-papal, anti-ecclesiastical lines. This made the Church all the more anxious to keep its members apart from the movement. Soon it came to be that the reading of the Bible brought people under the suspicion of heresy. The decrees passed by Councils of the 13th and 14th centuries against the reading of the Bible by Waldensians, Wyellites, Beghards, and Beguines were followed by occasional local prohibitions. Like the Edict of Mainz (1458) this caused printers of the Bible not perhaps to suspend operations, but to omit their names from their work. In the period prior to the Council of Trent, therefore, we cannot speak of any general prohibition of the Bible. It was a time of unreality and confusion, and mystery pieté contended with ecclesiasticism for the supremacy. The crisis was brought about even in Catholicism by the Reformation, which successfully established the uncritical reverence in her quarters, and the reading of the Bible. It rested upon the perspicuitas, that is to say, the intelligibility of the Scripture to the ordinary pious mind—the victory of the devotional use of the Bible over the theological—and compelled Catholicism to take up a more definite attitude to the whole question. In England the first endeavour to spread the gospel brought about a persecution which recalled the time of Diodoletan. The Council of Trent (Sess. iv. Deor. de editione et usu sacrorum librorum) decreed, ad corcordia publicitatis tigenzis, that the exposition of Holy Scripture was to be guided by ecclesiastical tradition or the unani mai consensum patrum (cf. Conc. Vat., Sess. iii. Const. de jide, c. 2). Resting on this decree, the Pope announced that all Bibles containing annotations approved by the Church could be published, and their use was dependent upon the special permission of the parochus, or the bishop of the diocese. Practically this was almost the withdrawal of the Bible. The Protestant Bible was no antithesis to the Catholic, and had as falsified and dangerous to the soul. The same treatment was meted out to the Janissaries, especially in connexion with the translation and exposition of du Quesnay (Clem. i., Const. Unigenitae, 1713, prop. 79-82). In 1713 Prince Charles, propr. 67, of the Synod of Pistoa, which stated that the neglect of Bible-

**BIBLE IN THE CHURCH**


**3. The Bible in monasteries and reading-circles.**—From the moment when the masses entered the Church, and a distinction came to be drawn between half-Christians and whole-Christians, that is to say, between the secular world on the one hand, and monks, ascetics, and conventuals on the other, Bible-reading among Christians as such decayed, while in ascetic circles, where religion was taken as seriously, it increased. The controversy of the opinion popularly entertained that the Bible was for priests and monks. As a matter of fact, it was in ascetic circles like those which gathered round Jerome and Rufinus that Bible-reading was most diligently fostered. Melania, e.g., a noble Roman lady who renounced the world entirely, read the whole Bible four times every year, and knew large portions of it by heart. Jerome was quite pestered by the puzzles which his admirers put him from Scripture. Marcella showed intellectual and spiritual gifts, and above all, was a great lover of the easy and the less gifted Paula adopted more the style of the modern Biblical riddle. The same thing was repeated in the court of Charlemagne, where Alcuin was looked upon as an oracle for the solution of all difficulties. We possess the correspondence of two nuns of the 6th century, and find it to be entirely composed of passages from Scripture. In these pious circles the Psalter, as the daily prayer-book, played the chief part. The Egyptian anchorites passed days and nights in reciting the psalms which they learned by heart. This was held to be the surest weapon against the temptations of Satan. In the monasteries the Psalmodia (chanting of psalms) was regulated (at Studium and St. Maurice chanting never ceased, one choir relieving the other (Aememula)). At the same time, a free field was left to the pietas of the individual. It was in the monasteries, too, that the reading of Scripture was most practised. Not only were several services held every day (or were provided for by the regulations), but at meal-times, etc., some portion was read aloud. Sometimes it was the Scriptures, sometimes it was legends of the martyrs or lives of the monks. In the early period of the Middle Ages the monasteries were the only places where the Scriptures could be found. It is known how to use them and communicate them in some degree to the people. The monasteries
were the homes of writing, reading, meditation, and study. In the schools of the various orders we have already seen that Biblical sciences were fostered.

This condition of things was altered by the Reformation, in so far as the distinction between what belonged to Christians and what belonged to the Church was done away with. It was impossible, however, to remove the distinction between those who desired with their whole soul to be Christians and those who were Christian only in appearance. With all the emphasis on the Church and the duty of all Christians to read the Bible, Protestantism also possessed small circles of particularly zealous friends of the Bible. Just as these circles occur here and there in modern Catholicism, often in connexion with some monastery, e.g. Port Royal, so in Protestantism the influence of Pietism made itself felt. The necessary impulse was given by the *pia desideria* of Spencer, who thus came into line with the work of his opponent, Carpzov, in Leipzig. Thus there originated *Collegia Philobiblica*. At the outset, the mental features of the exegetical lecture and the devotional meeting, as was also the case with the Zürich *Prophecy*; but afterwards the strictly scientific lecture of the university became more and more separated from the devotional meeting of the Church. The latter frequently distributed the material of the former in the shape of a weekly service. Thus there evolved the necessary condition to the Church service, as in the case of the Lay-preachers of Württemberg and the Stundists of Russia; but it found acceptance outside the strictly Pietistic circles, and came to be a regular part of Church life in the shape of a weekly-day service. The more strongly Pietistic circles possess reading-circles of their own, as well as Bible-classes for students and schoolboys. It is here that extraordinary achievements in the way of continuous Bible-reading are accomplished. It reminds us of what we are told about the ancient Church, when we hear that the whole Bible from Gn 1 to Rev 22n was read through several times in one year (A. H. Francke is said to have read the Hebrew OT seven times in one year). The tables of lessons which are published by many societies (e.g., the Prussian Bible Society) distribute the material of the year, not in continuous portions, but in selected passages.

**LITERATURE.—Falk, Bibel am Ausgang des Mittelalters, 366.**

4. Substitutes and favourite passages. — It was not only its occult form that the Bible was in use. The substitutes which existed alongside of it were of great importance, and in the Middle Ages exerted a greater influence than the immediate use of the Bible. There were the select passages for Sunday in the so-called Plenaries, *Postilien*, and Books of the Gospels and the Epistles.

These were intended to be used not only in the services of the Church, but also, as is shown by the MSS and copies printed in the popular tongue, in private devotions, partly at least to explain the readings in the Church service. These were also excerpts from the Bible in the form of *Bible histories* (Bible historiale, *History-Bible*). These were characterized by the almost complete absence of the more important Didactic Books, the Prophets, and the Apostolic Epistles. Then also there were rhymed Bibles, containing the same material, but in verse, which, though not by any means good, was easy to remember. To these must be added the picture-Bibles, with their short descriptive paragraphs, including the so-called *Biblia Pauperum* (*Bible of the Poor*), which contained from 24 to 48 woodcuts illustrating the most important events in the OT and the NT in harmony. Lastly, there was the *Ars Memorandi*, where the contents of the four Gospels were suggested in rhymed form. Towards the end of the Middle Ages these were widely circulated instead of the Bible, not only because the great majority of the people were still too ignorant to read the Bible, and because the Church did not wish them to do so, but also because the piety of the age took more delight in the marvellous stories which the Bible contained than in the Bible itself. The Prophets and the Epistles of Paul. Even for the Psalms a substitute existed in the *Psalterium Puerorum*, a collection of certain Psalms much employed in Divine service, and of other important features in Christian instruction, e.g. the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

The Reformation demanded that the whole Bible should be given to the people and made free to everybody. Some difference of attitude, however, can be observed in the two Protestant Confessions. In Lutheranism the Catechism, with Biblical notes, took the place of the Bible to a large extent both in private use and in ecclesiastical teaching, while Calvinism adhered to the Bible itself. At the same time, the medieval substitutes continued in use, especially in schools, where Bible-history formed the foundation of the entire religious instruction. The school- and home-Bible that shall be intermediate between Bible and Bible-history is to be looked on with suspicion, both from the educational and from the ecclesiastical point of view.

The present Bible-reader of the old school read the whole Bible as the word of God. But it may be observed that various parts of the Bible produce various effects, according to the period and the people. In the ancient Church and the Middle Ages, Paul is little understood and valued, and yet Pauline reactions mark the critical epochs both in theology and in the Church. Mysticism adheres either to the Song of Songs or to John. The Spiritualists who broke with the Church, the fanatics of the Reformation period, and many sects of modern Protestantism, build almost entirely upon the Gospels. In the Middle Ages there were wide circles where the historical parts of the Bible were the only parts known, and even these only indirectly, through the so-called history-Bibles—that is to say, Scripture excerpts—by a way with many passages from extra-Biblical sources. The Didactic portions, the Prophets and the Apostolic Epistles, had to be re-discovered. The *Enlightenment* laid supreme value upon the moralizing Wisdom-literature. As has been recently noted, Frederick the Great's favourite book was Ecclesiastes. Of the Gospels, Luke's edifying narrative has enjoyed the greatest vogue among pious readers, while speculative theology (e.g., Schleiermacher's school) prefers John, and the historical school abides by Mark. Modern socialistic tendencies are manifest in the Gospels of James, which Luther once very wrongly threw into the fire as an *epistle of straw*. Speaking generally, interest in the Bible, which under the influence of materialism and naturalism was reduced to a very low ebb at the close of the 19th century, has again happily revived. The chief motive is the aesthetic one. Pearls of Biblical poetry are selected for books of wisdom and beauty (Freiherr von Grothus). Works on the beauty of the Bible (A. Wünsche, 1906) and on the poetry of Christ's gospel (O. Kommel, 1909) find a grateful public. Modern investigation and criticism of the Bible are beginning to create interest (Schiele's Religionsgeschichte, Volkbücher, and the more conservative Bibelze Zeit- und Streitspragen, by Kropatschek). More and more space is being given to Biblical
material in popular collections, which are meant to provide a general culture (Goethe's Saemmung, Teubner's Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, etc.). As the inevitable result of this, the religious interest in the Bible must receive a powerful stimulus, and Christian concept was forced to become more real.


5. The Bible and the Classics. — The Bible satisfies Christian piety, but it nevertheless has its place in history as a link in a long process of civilization. This fact explains the speedy development of two tendencies. On the one hand, there were those who placed the Bible, the book of Christian devotion, side by side with universal literature. In their opinion, both were possessed of rights, and the Bible was in alliance with culture. On the other hand, there were Biblicalists who put the Bible, and the sacred law, and even the language of the Bible, on a level with the Bible only the devotional Christian literature of a distinct ascetic colour. This was the view entertained in ascetic and monastic circles. Even in the ancient Church we meet with it in Syria, the home of ascetic tendencies. The Didascalia of the Apostles, e.g., ch. ii., contains the following exhortation:

"Keep away from the books of the heathen. What hast thou to do with the strange words, the laws, and the visions which tempt young people from the faith? What fault hast thou found in every house? Why dost thou take heed to the heathen tables? Why dost thou read the book of the Kings; wise men and philosophers? Then thou hast the Prophets, in whom thou wilt find more wisdom and knowledge than in the wise men and philosophers, because theirs are the words of God, who alone is wise; dost thou wish songs? Then thou hast the Psalms of David; an explanation of the world! then thou hast Genesis, by the great Moses; laws and commandments! thou hast the Divine law in Exodus. Keep entirely away from them, and the heathen books which are in the hands of these.

Later we find the same way of thinking in the monastic circles of Syria and Egypt, although it is to the everlasting credit of Syrian Nestorians that these Jews of Tyre, of Antioch, and his commentators— to the Arabs, from whom they were taken over again by Christians in the West. There is a typical presentation of this sentiment in the famous dream of Jerome. This master of rhetoric, who prided himself on his classical knowledge, wants the pious Eustochium to believe that he had been thoroughly chastised in the night-time for his admiration of Plautus and Cicero, and compelled to give up the Classics (Ep. 22)—a delicate little piece of rhetoric that quite gives its author the lie. This combination of reading, Jerome was not to be taken seriously. Later he insisted strongly that in education there should be a union of Christian and general culture, of the Bible and the Classics. But his fiction produced its effect, and in many a cloister-cell during the Middle Ages the dream was actualized.

It is true that the Greek theologians, and also the monastics, among whom were Basil and Theodore of Studium, etc., never quite gave up the idea of the churchmen and the clerics. Thus the Alexandrian Clement and his commentators— to the above-mentioned—were the chief of the thanksgiving speech of Gregory Thaumaturgus. But his opponent Methodius, the Biblical realist, also writes a Christian symposium. Special noteworthy, because they regulated the succeeding age, were the great orators of the 4th cent., Basil and the two Gregorys, who as young men at Athens had, along with their heathen comrades, familiarized themselves with the whole profane culture. Chrisostom, the public preacher, believed his duty to apologize for the rusticity of Biblical Greek; the Apostles were unculti- vated fishermen, but that only made the miracle which the Holy Ghost effected by them the greater. At the same time, Chrysostom himself was very sensitive for the strength of the Biblical language. He adored his brilliant orations with Scripture quotations, and so gave them the impressiveness which lifts them above the contemporary speeches of heathen orators, with their hollow phrases. The monastic tendency in the 6th cent., sought to introduce the popular Greek, which resembled more closely the Semitic element in the Bible (John Malalas of Antioch). It would be a valuable service to investigate the influence which the language of the Bible exerted, and the power of literature and Christian revisions of older material like the Romance of Alexander. But although monastic circles prided themselves no less on their modesty than on their simplicity of language, classicism, or the union of Christian and Greek culture, was always maintained in Byzantium, and after short periods of decline it never failed to revive. This was the case after the iconoclastic struggle in the 9th cent., chiefly through the instrumentality of Photios and Patristic writers, and after the Latin invasion of the 13th cent., through the Palaeologi.

Aretas, the Archbishop of Cesarea (f. c. 932), wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, and studied Plato and Lucian diligently. Eustathius, the Homeric commentator, who was afterwards Archbishop of Thessaloniki, wrote bitterly of the want of culture on the part of the monks, who could not appreciate the treasures of the monastic libraries. This classicism was specifically Greek in character, and it was not transmitted by the Byzantines to the Slavonic peoples converted by them.

In the West the development took a somewhat different course. There Jerome and Augustine provided a model of the noble union of Biblical and secular culture. But, just as Jerome sometimes felt that the letter of the new revelation was enough, so the case of Augustine, from the moment when he entered the service of the Church, an increasing Biblical element is found to colour his views and language. Cassiodorus and Boethius were still familiar with pagan culture, but such familiarity soon ceased. What little culture survived the migration of the peoples is monastic and Biblical. At the Court of Charlemagne the first revival of learning occurred. Along with the Bible, Virgil was studied. The Emperor himself was liberal enough to appreciate the value of the German epics. But so early as the time of the monk-emperor, Ludwig the Pious, this disappeared. As a matter of fact, Plautus and Terence were still read even by pious monks, but Hwold also endeavoured to suppress these heathen writers by his Biblical imitations. In the time of the Swabian dynasty there occurred another revival, and after the fall of the Empire (from middle of 13th cent. onwards) the foundation was everywhere laid of a real national secular culture, in opposition to the classic Latin. This spread from France to England and the German Imperial cities, and in an entirely independent manner it united Biblical and extra-Biblical material. Much more dangerous was the infiltration of the new citizens of the ancient form the Humanists made sport of the ancient religion as they understood it, and
some of them were ashamed of the Biblical element. This led to a strong Biblical reaction, especially in Calvinistic countries, while Lutheranism tried to reach a combination of both tendencies. The Enlighten-ment' became a new form of paganism, and while general culture, characterized in some cases by tendencies hostile to religion and the Bible, spread more widely. Here, too, a wholesome reaction can be hoped for only from the perception that the Bible, in its true character as the supreme book of devotion, cannot come into collision with any other means of culture.


6. Misuse of the Bible: Our sketch would be incomplete without some mention of the abuse of the Bible by misguided Christian piety. Although the idea that the Bible had fallen from heaven was never entertained, yet the conception of its sanctity had become so strong among the Jews that the roll of the Law was held inviolable. And it is not to be wondered at that one of these rolls was executed by the Procurator Cumanus to please the Jews (Josephus, Ant. xx. v. 4, B. i. xii. 2). Copies which had grown useless had to be carefully preserved in sacred burying-places made for the purpose (the Genizah at Cairo has yielded a rich harvest of extremely valuable ancient copies of the Bible). This material notion of sacredness, which was familiar both to heathenism and Judaism, was at first quite foreign to Christianity. It soon found its way into the Christian Church, however, and made the Bible, like other sacred things, taboo. Especially was this the case with the book of the Gospels which, along with the Host and the likeness of Christ, speedily came to be one of the most effective guarantees of the presence of Christ Himself and His miraculous power. This was the origin of kissing the book—still an important feature of the liturgies of the East—and also of the double procession, first with the Gospels and afterwards with the Communion elements. The official veneration by the Church gave to the Gospels the representative character of Christ, the place of honour. In the consecration of a bishop the Gospels were laid upon his head as the means of communicating the Spirit and Christ's indwelling, whereas they were placed in the reader's hand only as means of the literal reading of the text. They played a similar part in the consecration of the highest grade of Catharists. From the 4th cent. it became the custom to take the oath upon the Gospels, and on these occasions it was usual to turn up the beginning of John. In the Middle Ages we find, along with or in place of the Gospels which represented Christ, relies as representing the saints. The idea here is no higher than that which is embodied in the monastic legend that a Christian who was sorely beset by fleshly lust was enabled to resist temptation by having the Gospels hung upon his neck by a cord. One must beware of spiritualizing this to the extent of making it the psychological effect of reflexion upon the content of the book. It was to the book itself that the meaning of lips or 'dipping' in the Bible is similar. The method which the Romans followed with Virgil and other authors whose works were considered inspired and sacred was taken up by Christians and applied to their sacred books, according to the Latin and, in Spain, the opposition which met at the beginning from ecclesiastical authority, this method of consulting the oracle the future was long maintained among the people. We can observe the material view which was entertained of the magical qualities resident in the book, from the practice of writing the answers of the question on a scrap of paper or thread, and when the answers were read out of the Gospels they possessed a greater guarantee of being Divine oracles.

The magical effect of the Bible reached still further in the form of human superstition. There were certain passages of Scripture which were considered specially effective in defence and attack. The Lord's Prayer, inscribed upon a disc of clay found at Megara, was certainly possessed of this significance, just as in ancient and modern times Jesus' letter to Algar was attached to the doors in order to keep all evil and harmful influences far away from the house and its members. A sheet of lead inscribed with the 80th Psalm, which Hilper von Gärtringen found in a vineyard on the island of Rhodes, belongs rather to the ancient formulas of malediction, by which evil person was supposed to be brought upon some definite person. Chrysostom complained of the superstitious abuse of sayings from the Gospels (διαλογισμος ευαγγελιων) by the sick,wrapped round their neck. Augustine relates how the Gospel of John was laid upon the head of those who were ill with fever. Gregory M. sanctioned by word and example what the Church till then contended against as abuse. In the later Middle Ages the only reason why this superstition in regard to the Bible decayed was the keen competition which it had to face in the superstitious valuation of saintly relics.

The Reformation destroyed the material notion of sacredness which lay at the basis of all this error. The bibliolatry which Lessing and others opposed in the time of 'Enlightenment' had nothing in common with this Biblical magic. It was the domineering valuation of the Bible as possessed of infallible authority. Evangelical Christians have in the Bible not a book that is to be handled with timidity and awe, but one which is for the intimacy of home and private devotion. Where searching with the finger or 'dipping' in the Bible still exists as a practice in Protestant circles (Pietists and Moravians), it is but a sign of spiritual significance. At the same time it has to be said that the practice in Evangelical circles of making the Bible serve for pastimes (e.g. Biblical riddles) amounts to excessive familiarity and abuse of its religious and devotional functions.


VII. THE BIBLE IN THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

1. Bible and language.—The Bible has exercised great influence on the development of the language of the Middle Ages. Not only were the countless copies of the Bible made available to a whole array of peoples by giving them a written language in the same way as missionary enterprise still does, but in other ways language has been powerfully influenced by the Bible. The Latin Vulgate circulated in Western Europe, and thence the Romance and German languages, with the terms 'manna,' 'Passover,' 'Sabbath,' 'angel,' 'devil,' 'Paradise,' etc. The Biblical structure
of sentences—loose co-ordination of clauses and parallelismus membrum—has been largely adopted as a model. It may be noted that here three methods are to be distinguished: (1) The conscious imitation of the solemn music of the Philistines, which hardly exists in the Bible, but of which Lanmanais is a modern instance. (2) The allegorical use of Biblical names and expressions—a method specially favoured among the Greeks, who applied the typical names of the Bible to the men of the times (τὰς Ἰσραήλ ἡμῶν, Οὐραίος υἱὸς, etc.). (3) The adoption of the Jews of this period dated 1238, which is composed in this style, shows that one can learn the history of the Philistines, of Samson, and also of Jacob from it better than that of St. Francis. In later times the 'speech of Cannan' has been much adopted in pietistic circles, while it has been abhorred in others. (3) The unconscious absorption of familiar Biblical phrases—the normal and most widely spread form. Not only do the great preachers of the ancient Church and moderns like Bishop, and Dante, and other poets adopt the language of their Bible, but the masters of literature do so also. If Dante is the creator of modern Italian, Luther deserves the same title in regard to modern German, and it was through his translation of the Bible that the language was spread. In reading Goethe, one becomes aware of his lifelong familiarity with the Bible. The style of many Catholic authors shows that they do not have the same familiarity with it. It is an obvious mistake when Janssen's school attempts to transfer the credit which belongs to Luther to an obscure chronicler of the 13th cent., Eike of Repkow. In English-speaking countries the Authorized Version possessed the same importance. It came too late for Shakespeare, but even he could not have written his Faerie Queene without translations. The best age of French literature has more than a temporal connexion with the Biblical activity of Port Royal. The influence which the Bible has exerted upon literature deserves to receive more attention than it has done in the past. That, however, would require a wider acquaintance with the Bible than most moderns possess. More than any other book, the Bible has contributed to the familiar phrases used by numberless people who know nothing of their origin. But, that the Bible is a valuable source, these phrases are often used in a sense quite false and entirely opposed to their original meaning.


2. Bible and views of the world and human life.—To the language of the Bible must be added the general view which it takes of the world and human life; speech and thought are intimately related, the Bible contains no conception of the world peculiar to itself. What we find in it is the view entertained by the ancient world, and especially by the ancient Hebrews. The Philistines there was nothing strange in this, because their own view resembled it, and where there were differences it was easy to harmonize them. The Scriptures themselves, covering as they did a span of 1500 years, do not show many changes. The transition from the Semitic to the Greek method of thought was effected as easily as in the domain of language. Plate and Aristotle were read into the Bible involuntarily. This is shown very clearly by the abundant literature on the Hexameron. The Middle Ages looked upon this mixture of old Oriental Biblical ideas and Greek philosophy as authoritative ecclesiastical doctrine. It was surrounded by the mystery of the times, and there was then no possibility of a critical examination of the subject, and so the theory was widely accepted. It was by no means infallibly true. Every consideration against it and every attempt to account for the world empirically (as Bacon, e.g., demanded) was authoritatively suppressed. The effect of this was that the concept of the Bible was felt till within recent times. Luther was so far from seeing how little of the Bible there was in this ecclesiastical theory of the world, that he called Copernicus a fool (Table-Talk, Förstemann-Bindseil, iv. 575); the Roman Inquisition compelled Galileo to retract; Kepler encountered great internal and external difficulties in accepting the credibility of the Bible as it was conceived in his time; while Newton combined with the exactitude of his physical theories a Biblicalism which we find difficult to understand. The 'Enlightenment' settled the dispute in which it sees God's hand in everything. It secularized science and emancipated views of the world from all Biblical ecclesiastical authority.

The great discoveries of the 16th cent., the transition from the speculative methods of scholasticism to empirical research, not only in the domain of natural science but also in that of the Bible and the Church, were the result of a growing dissatisfaction with the Biblical view of the world. Here we come upon the leading problem of the Bible for moderns. Can the Bible still possess value when it contains views about the world and man belonging to a stage of human thought now outgrown? That heaven (or the 3 to 7 heavens) arches over this earth, that the stars encircle it, that the earth is surrounded by the great ocean (only the parts bordering on the Mediterranean being then known), that its central point is Jerusalem, that all the peoples on the earth are descended from the three sons of Noah, who was rescued from the Flood, that their languages can be traced back to one single confusion—all these ideas represent only the primitive thought which the Biblical authors shared with their contemporaries in Babylon and Egypt. It cannot be denied that man has engraved these notions nowadays. But this admission does not by any means overthrow all Biblical authority. What the theology of the last decade has toiled to show and has succeeded in showing is gaining increasing recognition, viz., that the Bible is not a revealed text-book of nature and history, but that God speaks in it to men about the salvation of their souls. To every pious conception of the world and its course as a whole and in detail, the Bible will always be possessed of validity because of the way in which it shows God's hand in everything and teaches people to see God's saving intention in fortune and misfortune, the way in which it places the whole history of mankind under the point of view of an education to the stature of manhood and independence in Christ. In a word, the Bible will always remain the book of pious devotion, and such pious devotion will always be easily able to surmount any difficulties which arise from different conceptions of creation. As in language, a kind of adaptation of Christological apologetics must learn, however, is to abandon the desire to justify every Biblical utterance, and after every discovery in natural science and history to begin at once to search about for some statement in the Bible which has been forgotten. The danger of confusion where what is needed is clarity. It is true that, so long as men read the Bible, the
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Biblical view of the world and human life will remain popular. Without regard to the millions of stars, men will speak of heaven as the Divine dwelling-place and the goal of pious desire, and of the earth as the central point of the Divine plan of salvation with man as its special object. In their thoughts of good and evil, love and hatred, righteousness and sin, they will speak of the heart and not the brain. But what there must be no doubt about is that these are only poetical forms of speech, which, though fully justified in ordinary life, ought not to be put on the same platform as what is strictly true.

3. Bible and law.—Of greater practical significance is the influence of the Bible upon the life of the people. The adoption of Christianity by the State made it necessary that the revealed book of Divine law should regulate the civil and the ecclesiastical law. As early as 340 a Colleto administrator of the Ostrogothic Kingdom (ed. Th. Mommsen, 1890; Collectio librorum inuris antieristiati, iii., ii.) of ancient church legislation even more than that of all other nations, but declares that, since the time of Christ, the only obligatory law is that of Christ given through the Christian church, Constantine, Theodosius, and Leo 4. As a matter of fact, this was more than anything else; for the legislation is drawn almost wholly from Greco-Roman law. The same thing may be observed in the case of German law. Alfred the Great placed the Decalogue in front of his Laws of England. The ancient Bavarian and Frisian codes, as well as those of the Swabians and ancient Saxons, contain introductions full of ecclesiastical Biblical ideas. The law itself, however, is national. There are only a few traces of any Christian Biblical influence to be observed. The law was to be made one with, not based on, Constantine's legislation. The abolition of branding the face is based upon the Biblical doctrine of the Divine likeness (C. Th. ix. 40, 2); the second marriage of a divorced person is punished except when the first marriage was of displeasure and the other party was guilty of adultery (C. Th. iii. 16, 1, ed. Mt 5:32); two witnesses are required (C. Th. xi. 39, 3, ed. Mt 19). The influence of Christianity becomes commoner under Theodosius, Leo, and Justinian, whose 'novels' (i.e. supplementary laws) refer directly to the sacrae scripturae (e.g. Nov. clx. 1). The severe language of the OT is echoed in the legislation of Charlemagne; the continually recurring morte maturi of the pitiless Saxon law is Hebraic. Justification was found for the bloody persecution of the OT condemners of the OT condemnation of the obedient. Demands which were originally made by the Church to safeguard Christian morals were all incorporated in constitutional law under Charlemagne: keeping the Sabbath-day holy, the prohibition of interest, etc. What is still more important for Charlemagne's conception, however, is that the whole theocratic idea was considered to possess immediate significance for the present. He felt himself a modern David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah. This state of things, however, soon gave way under the influence of the ecclesiastic idea that the State was opposed to God and was to receive recognition only in the service of the Church. The conflict gave birth to the modern State, which takes no interest in ecclesiastical or Biblical authority. In Biblicalist circles the obligation of the OT, and especially of the commandments of the Gospel, is more and more emphasized. This gave rise to the refusal to take an oath (Mt 5:5, Ja 5:5) among many sects down even to the Mennonites, while the Church sought to Christianize the oath by furnishing it with the Trinitarian formula and the three benedictions. In the Council of Trent the church of the Middle Ages on the relics of saints. It was from the OT that ecclesiastical law derived the prohibition of marriage with a sister-in-law. From it also Joseph Smith drew the Mormon commandment of polygamy. In a purely legal way the party of the Reformers also sought to realize the theocratic idea, as Calvin aimed at training Geneva to be a city of God. The Sabbath commandment still calls for Sunday rest in Calvinistic countries. These genuinely Biblical influences are to be distinguished from those which are due to the century-long effect of Christianity upon the life, the customs, and the legislation of the nations. It is to this latter influence, e.g., that we owe the abolition of slavery—not in the 1st or in the 4th, but in the 13th century, for N. Europe, and in the 19th century, for S. Europe. Over all this the Bible had no direct connexion, for in the American Civil War both sides took their stand upon Biblical authority. Here too, however, there was an indirect and educative influence exerted by the Bible upon the moral and social thought of mankind.


4. Bible and art.—Specially interesting is the powerful effect which Biblical motifs exercised upon art and through it upon the national consciousness. The Christians of the first centuries adorned with Biblical symbols not only the graves of their dead in the catacombs, but also the articles which they employed in daily life—lamps, tapers, etc. Noah in the ark with the dove. Jonah swallowed by the whale or lying under the gourd, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, etc., were favourite subjects. At first these scenes were of a purely symbolic nature. The 4th cent. began to show interest in the story, and continuous Bible illustrations were made even before 10 in the apse in the famous tomb of St. Lawrence in Brus. The first Bible with all the Gospels, a Latin Bible dated 1598, contains no illustrations. But the picture became separated from the text: the illustrations suppressed and took the place of the text. In the famous Joshua-roll in the Vatican, supposed to be a 9th cent. copy of an ancient Christian original, there is a series of scenes with small inscriptions like those upon the Trajan and Marcus Aurelian pillar. Towards the close of the Middle Ages the picture-Bible shrank more and more to a picture-book. Great favour was accorded to the Biblia Pauperum, a pictorial representation of the Bible in simplified form, occasionally with explanatory notes. Picture-Bibles of this kind without any text, or with at most brief explanations like those which were made by Hans Beim (1537) and Mich. Graf (1538–53), were known occasionally also in the 17th and 18th cent., while the 19th returned again to the complete Bible and illustrated it. Besides Bible illustration, however, there was the art of painting in general. The long walls of the basilicas were picture-books of Bible-history, and every city had its Cabinet of Churches. The fall of the empire, and the beginning of the Renaissance period (cf. above, p. 600). Gothic art changed the telling of a story into the sculpture of individual figures, and preferred the multitude of ecclesiastical saints to the Biblical characters. Then the Renaissance went back again to Bible-story, and at
this stage it was ancient mythology instead of the legends of the saints that interfered into serious competition with the Bible. The Churches were ornamented with stories from the Bible (Giotto's cycle in Padua, Madonna dell' Arena, indicates the beginning; and the culmination is found in the two walls of the Cellas of the Sistine Chapel by Tintoretto, Botticelli, etc. Religious rooms also contained similar ornamentation, and it was in the loggie that Rafael executed his famous Bible in fifty-two pictures. So far as altar-pieces, stained windows, and other ornamentations are fostered in the Catholic Church, it is a mistake always to draw them from the Bible instead of from favourite stories of the saints, as was the custom earlier.

Besides the sculpture of sarcophagi in the 4th and 5th centuries, there is also the stone and wood work of the doors of churches (S. Sabina in Rome, S. Ambrogio in Milan). At a later date bronze castings became usual (baptistery at Florence). The art of weaving was also employed in Bible illustration. We hear of Biblical scenes not only upon tapestries and wall hangings but upon private drapery (Asterius of Anaesia). In the Middle Ages, besides the rich ecclesiastical vestments, there were embroideries for household use. From the 13th cent. onward the crafts received a great impulse from the new Biblical and legendary material. Painted and inlaid cupboards and presses of the 16th and 17th centuries, show whole rows of Biblical pictures, and even the easy-going Rocco period ornamented the toilet tables of its ladies with pictures from sacred history. Nor did this custom, in itself a profanation of the Scriptures, cease until the art of the 'empire' began to look for themes in the Classics. The following period made extreme simplicity its goal, while the eyes of modern naturalism Biblical themes present no attractions. This, however, is not to be deplored, for Biblical art must always be of a pious character.

The number of passages employed for illustration naturally varied very much. In certain branches of art a strict tradition came to be formed. Walls provided scope for more scenes than sarcophagi, and book-illustration made more detail possible. It would be a useful task to investigate systematically the differences which mark the various series of illustrations. Great interest attaches to the scenes which were preferred by individual artists. It is possible in this way to discover what acquaintance with the Bible different periods possessed, not only in regard to the artists who were dependent frequently upon a pattern, but also in regard to the beholders upon whom the pictures, usually explained by notes, produced their effect.

It must not be overlooked here that the subjects were often drawn not directly from the Bible but from some intermediate source or other. The peculiar choice of scenes which the early period of Christian art made has been connected with their employment in sermons or in prayer. In the Middle Ages, St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei, the Historia scholastica of Peter Comestor, and the Speculum historiale of Vincent of Beauvais provided artists with their Biblical material. This explains the Apocryphal tales, the story of Christ ranging from the birth of the Virgin Mary to her ascension and coronation. Not till the advent of Protestantism did the immediate influence of the Bible become dominant. Then there was a different choice of scenes and a different arrangement of them. Much legendary material was dispensed with, and in its place much that had long been unobserved was utilized. The finest service was here rendered by Rembrandt. As a good Calvinist, he was so familiar with his Bible that he could always find new and uncommon subjects for his paintings. He could always count, moreover, upon his being understood both by the public. See Art (Christian), vol. i. p. 555.

Besides the graphic arts, the art of language and tone is also naturally concerned with the word of Scripture. Poetry has found its highest impulses in the Bible. In this field is much bazing had to meet with, and literary recreations like the turning of the Gospels into Homeric and Virginian cents are common (4th and 5th cent.). There are also the rhymed Bible epics of the Middle Ages, and in the 15th century influenced by humanism, we find the Christiales and Christiast. But there are also masterpieces to be included here—the old Anglo-Saxon poetry, the Heliod, Milton's Paradise Lost, and Klopstock's Messias. This is to take no account of the inspiration, the images, and the expressions for which the greatest poets, Walther von der Vogelweide, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe, are indebted to the Bible. As a rule, Biblical poetry is epic, but occasionally, and especially in imitations of the Psalms, the Biblical and legendary material is specially interesting. Not the clumsy Byzantine Χριστός πάσχας (about 1100), which lays hands upon the verses of Euripides but despises all stage-craft and probably was never produced, not even the Biblical and legendary materials of the pious Hovius of Gandersheim (+1001) tried to suppress the comedies of Plautus among the nuns, but the ecclesiastical dramas of the end of the Middle Ages, which, with a gradually increasing and finally almost exclusive participation of the laity, brought the Bible-history to the popular eye and ear simultaneously in the most effective manner possible. Adam's fall, the stories of the patriarchs, and above all the life and bitter sufferings of Jesus, were lived over again by actors and audience, sometimes in the most emotional realism. Medievalism was naive enough simply to transfer the story to its own time in matters of costume and background. There was besides, however, a reciprocal action between the ecclesiastical drama and the reports which pilgrims brought about the holy places of Jerusalem. Here, too, there was an admixture of the Apocryphal element. A complete play (four days) begins with the creation and goes on to the judgment day, following the Church practice rather than the Biblical. Only in single places, as in the English Passion play, the Dormion Passion, has survived, in a greatly altered form, to our own time. Humanism and the Reformation opposed those plays equally, though from different motives, and when modern dramatic art makes an attempt to bring Biblical material upon the boards, cultivated Christian taste rightly feels it to be a profanation.

Protestantism possesses something which the more ancient period entirely lacked—the Biblical musical composition. The 'Bible songs' of Joh. Kuhn (1516) contained trilling, but the oratories of Heins. Schütz (+1672), J. Seb. Bach (+1750), and G. Fr. Händel (+1759) have attained to the most perfect artistic rendering of Biblical material. A distinction is marked by the fact that while a Palaestrina felt his task to be the creation of Masses and Requiem, they devoted their attention to Cantatas (Psalms) and Oratorios. And if the Catholics Joseph Haydn (+1809) and H. von Herzogenberg (+1869) joined them, they were fewer under Protestant influence. When a Passion by Bach, with its moving arias between the recitatives, is compared with the medieval Passion Play, the same difference meets us which we found in our comparison of the two coloured Bibles (see above, p. 607). In the one

* E. von Dobschütz, Christusbibel, 252 f., 534.
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BIBLE CHRISTIANS—BIBLIOLATRY.

This term usually means the excessive veneration of a book regarded as being Divinely inspired. The phenomenon is applied to a religious one, and is found in the faiths known as "book-religions." It is to be noted, however, that our view of the merits of any given book-religion or sacred book will deeply affect our judgment as to the possibility or unreasonableness of that particular case. One who rejects the infallible authority of a certain book will see bibliolatry where another sees no more than a legitimate reverence. Hence, if we would accurately define the term, we must lay down the limits of its exact usage, seeking to determine not merely the qualities that give it a relative and variable applicability, but rather its essential characteristics. For this purpose a preliminary historical survey will be of service, after which we shall seek a more precise definition and then present the rules of the causes and consequences of the phenomenon.

1. Historical survey.—Nearly all the higher religions are book-religions, i.e., their teaching is deposited in a sacred book, which ranks as a Divine revelation. These religions usually have in them who regards himself as the official interpreter of the book, and bases his authority upon it, and whose concern it therefore is to have the book recognized as of Divine character. So true is this, indeed, that even when the book is of no set purpose given to the people for their private instruction, the cleric still retains its accredited interpreter. This is precisely what we might expect, since the homage paid to the book rests upon the authority of the community and of their representative, the cleric. This authority, however, commonly involves a perfectly definite doctrine as to the sacred volume—a doctrine which sets forth its unique position in the most express form. In fine, the cleric supports the authority of the book, and the book the authority of the cleric; and there are few exceptions to this general rule.

We must, however, bear in mind that no such sacred book is ever a complete whole from the outset, and that the several parts which go to the formation of the Canon are never appraised as absolutes. The religions usually have in them, indeed, that the deification of the work is always a later process, as will be shown by the following examples:

(a) The Veda (which, as it be remembered, were not committed to writing till long after they had been collected, but were handed down orally from one generation to another by precise and highly elaborate methods) were not regarded by their writers as they are now regarded by the Brahmins. The Vedic poets compare their work to that of the weaver or the carpenter. Their words are 'shaped in the mouth' by the scribe;' or they are inspired by the Soma-cup. But at a later period they are looked upon as of Divine origin; the gods themselves are the authors. The poems are collected, and form a sacred code, declared to be infallible. Their authority, in the period of the Gitas, is the most successful. The Vedic singer, the poet, is the objective proof of its beneficent operation.


In order to rob the Bible of its value, it has been pointed out that other religions make the same claim for their sacred books. That is true only to a limited extent. But the Bible does not need to dispute its position with the book of any other religion. This portion of universal literature is the most influential book that ever existed, says Jülicher (Introd. p. 2); and Harnack (Ikonen und Aufsätze, ii. 105) speaks as follows: 'It is enough to reflect upon the book as the ancient world, the book of the Middle Ages, and—though not perhaps in the market of the book of modern times. Where does Homer stand compared with the Bible? Where the Vedas or the Qur'an? The Bible is inexhaustible. Each succeeding period has revealed some new aspect of it. The Bible itself has given the Dogma of the Sacred Scriptures. It is upon and round the Bible that all the studies of the theological faculties ultimately concentrate and group themselves. Whenever a single individual—layman or theologian—has been enabled to draw fresh and full out of the Bible and present to others what he has thus obtained, the inward life of Christendom has been raised to a higher level.'

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BIBLE CHRISTIANS.—See Methodism.
for a sacred book holds no such place in Buddhism as it does in Buddhism as such. Its reception is, on the other hand, not revealed to the Mahayana doctrine; it is said to have been obtained by Buddha himself from the breasts of the serpents which listened to his discourses. With this point of contact the minds of his disciples, notably Vangisa, by inner illumination. However, the doctrine of the Buddhists is not so much built on trust, but distorting from it the earthly exemplar as the work of human hands. The Arabian philosophers Avicenna and Aver- Saraiah's view; that of the, essential character of a doctrine; and that of the scholar, asserting that it is the task of philosophy to furnish proofs for the faith which spake in popular metaphor, and that a distinctive Christian character is necessarily inspired, even to letter and sound, with punctuation and vocalization to boot, as an appeal for acceptance, to co-ordinate with the Qur'an. Muhammad had explained that in matters regarding which he had given no instructions men must rely on the judge's judgment after his death. The need for an authority became dominant, precepts being desired for every detail of life. Accordingly there grew up the Sunna, the collection of the early pronouncements and utterances of the prophet. It was compiled by Abu Hurayra, his successor, and the need was felt of a written word, the Qur'an, as extinguished all liberty of thought. (c) Finally the law of Zaraushtha plays a great role. This religion, which has been described as the basis of all the religions of the world, became a marked and authoritative character. He who would claim the cause of Ahura Mazda must stringently keep the law of Parsism or Mazdaism. Parsians deny absolutely the existence or knowledge of the transcendent being, and word in this case is regarded as the soul of the holy spirit, the holy frasazi of the sacred book, the Avesta, is still acknowledged as a Divine revelation, even if the religious significance of the book might be misunderstood. The guardians of the tradition and of the authority of the sacred book, the priests, are the living embodiment of the Divine character of the sacred writings with the authority of the Ahatians, or priests of the later Avesta, being the interpreter of the sacred writings.

(d, e) The two great Semitic religions, Judaism and Muslim- The Alexandrian version of the LXX had come by the time of Christ to enjoy such a preeputation that the OT quota- tion of the sacred books is for the reader an extension of the text. After the destruction of Jerusalem, however, the Jews in their growing exclusiveness began to rank the LXX as no other book. So the question of the Canaanite script and of the Cana- 

dination is that the writings should be of Apostolic authorship, and conform to the Rule of Faith. This was the case with the Bible of Tyre, in the case of the LXX, with the Bible of Alexandria, of which the 

and illustrated were also the writings of the Apocalypse. They were read at the Council of Laodicea (A. D. 360) was declared that none but canonical writings should be read in churches; and Augustin- 

ecnons, and the doctrine held regarding the inspiration and authority of the sacred writings. The general rule was that the Canon was the complete body of canonic literature, and this was the rule applied to the New Testament. The New Testament, moreover, was to be interpreted by the Sacred Scripture authority to its final conclusions, as the Reformers, following the example of outstanding personalities who lived at the close of the Middle Ages (Wyclif, Hus), and in view of the frequent errors of the Church tradition, and of the fallibility of the Church and its representatives, believed it possible to fall back upon the authority of the Bible itself. In such a case the whole question of interpretation and the theory of the 'manifold sense' of Scripture. But, such questions notwithstanding, the word 'canon' entered into a new kind of usage. The word, it was interpreted on traditional lines, i.e. according to the regulus fidei and the decisions of the Councils, which were now becoming recognized as infallible. The word 'canon' was engendered by the sense of incompatibility between a fixed interpretation and the doctrine of the 'manifold sense.' In reality an infallible Scripture without an infallible interpretation would have been of little value. Only with the rise of the Church of the Reforma- tion, however, was the doctrine of the Canaanite with authority, since it was the Church that laid down the conditions of canonicity. Though inspiration and sufficiency were ascribed to the Scriptures, this gave them prominence over all other literature, as containing a Divine revelation, yet they were read with the Church's eyes, and the doctrine held regarding the inspiration and authority of the sacred writings. The general rule was that the Canon was the complete body of canonic literature, and this was the rule applied to the New Testament. The New Testament, moreover, was to be interpreted by the Sacred Scripture authority to its final conclusions, as the Reformers, following the example of outstanding personalities who lived at the close of the Middle Ages (Wyclif, Hus), and in view of the frequent errors of the Church tradition, and of the fallibility of the Church and its representatives, believed it possible to fall back upon the authority of the Bible itself. In such a case the whole question of interpretation and the theory of the 'manifold sense' of Scripture. But, such questions notwithstanding, the word 'canon' entered into a new kind of usage. The word, it was interpreted on traditional lines, i.e. according to the regulus fidei and the decisions of the Councils, which were now becoming recognized as infallible. The word 'canon' was engendered by the sense of incompatibility between a fixed interpretation and the doctrine of the 'manifold sense.' In reality an infallible Scripture without an infallible interpretation would have been of little value. Only with the rise of the Church of the Reforma-
in matters of faith. Philo’s doctrine of inspiration is thus again to the front. Inspiration was held to be the gift of God to the Church. The author of the Gospels in the pens (collina) of the Holy Spirit. It implied great naivety to suppose that Scripture was self-inspired, but it was a notion that was to be entertained in this instance too; it was interpreted in the sense of the Confessions.

The theory of the ‘manifold sense’ had now been abandoned, and that of the ‘personal, grammatical, and literal interpretation’. But it is obvious that an absolutely infallible Scripture could be of no service without an infallible interpreter, which, according to the Church, was the Church itself. It was the Church, which, in fact, sought in dogma. This view still survives, though, as an instance of the indescribable way in which those who desire to possess the Divine in a finite form, immediately present to the senses, who in their religious life all claim to self-reliance, i.e., the absence of the infallible worth, will always hold with a community that proffers guarantees of salvation, in virtue either of its alleged possession of the Holy Spirit, or of its adherence to the Church, which, alone, either as the Host or a sacred book. When the early Protestant dogmatics took their stand upon Scripture alone, they forgot that the corpus of Scripture, the canon was a product of the Church, and that only an infallible interpretation of the Canon could make the infallible book infallibly intelligible. A matter of fact, the logical outcome of the situation was the institution of a ministerium verbi dietici, an office of the means of grace, to which was the proper execution of the office—the work of the clerk.

The Reformed Church also maintained the view of verbal inspiration, but its permanent and distinguishing feature was its doctrine of predestination. Hence the Scripture was for this Church but the infallible document from which men could assume that the plan of God was to be enshrined in all its purity. In this case it is the need of an authorship by which the infallibility was rendered necessary. But no means of grace was not put in place of God, or, more generally, as the distinction between creature and Creator was still a distinction in the mind of God, the infallibility was not absolute. The Reformed Church was satisfied to see in Scripture the absolutely inerrant revelation of the Divine will, as something to be personally appropriated; but the inerrancy recognized by Scripture gave no information regarding the election of any particular person. Men have no need of an interpretation of the Book of Scripture from other sources; such certainty was in fact given by the Holy Spirit. But the claim for the unconditional recognition of Scripture as the infallible document from which the Divine will was to be clearly read, is, so to speak, the Divine will in person, in which man must acquiesce. Again, indeed, we see that the absolute infallibility is a requirement of the inspiration of the Book, and not the principle of inner certainty. If such certainty be a fact, infallibility is superfluous. But if infallibility be necessary, the infallibility of Scripture is at least functionally the same as the depository of the Divine will, and inner certainty is a chimera. Besides, the community from the Canon is corroborated by the fact that the Reformed Confessions expressly enumerate the several books contained therein; and that scholars interpreting in the sense of these Confessions is beyond the need of proof.

Bibliolatry, then, as the foregoing survey shows, is found in book-religions generally. Its essence lies in the belief that the group of sacred written books is the plenary depository of the Divine Spirit and that, as such, it is of eternal duration and of superhuman origin; that it transcends all created things, or that, at all events, it possesses the quality of absolute infallibility, being, in the latter sense, unchangeable revelation. Of this latter view, in the eyes of those who so estimate it, such a book proscribes all criticism, and ranks as the one all-sufficient standard of appeal in questions of belief. We are thus dealing with a conception which is to be defined not quantitatively but qualitatively, i.e., which marks out the particular sacred book as possessing qualities absent from all other literature, namely, exclusively Divine authorship, absolute infallibility, immortality from all natural influences in its origin; and hence also its recognition as an authoritative fact, a matter of no small interest in comparison with all individual judgment. Absolute submission to this sacred book is the obligation of the bibliolater. Outside it there exists no final tribunal in matters of faith. It is all-sufficient, and shares in the sovereign prerogative of God.

2. Causes of bibliolatry.—We would first of all observe that bibliolatry never exists where religion has the character of spontaneity, or where there is no conscious busyness that finds free and natural utterance. But whenever religion takes the form of this spontaneous enthusiastic character, when the Deity is no longer supposed to manifest Himself directly, then, in place of such immediate intercourse with the Divine, there comes into operation the mediating function of the community and of its religious institutions. Men, in fact, have a guarantee of salvation, of eternal authority, and this they find in Scripture only when they regard themselves as being, so to speak, yet in their nonage, i.e., at that stage of consciousness when man assumes his entire incapacity of making judgments regarding the Divine, and when the individual makes full surrender of his private judgment. The necessary condition for the acceptance of any new revelation is that it must move the souls of men. But it is only after a society has been persuaded that a superficial revelation that means are employed, in the succeeding generations, to preserve the original message. Accordingly the message is committed to writing, and in its written form is looked upon as the authentic source of the revelation. Now, the less capable people are of personally experiencing the truths thus won, the more eager are they to find guarantees thereof, and such they believe to exist in the inspiration and Divine character of the written word, and not in the actual message, which the written word itself cannot convey. In fact, even when the sacred writings contain such a maxim as ‘Prove all things; hold fast that which is good’ (1 Th 5:20), men still prefer not to ‘prove’, but rather to give a blind adherence to the authority of the Divine book. But now, such a course can be justified only upon the assumption that this book is free from all human elements, and thus arises the theory of unconditional inspiration and the act of dedication. Wherever we find men holding to a revelation in external and perfect form, we find also the need of infallibly preserving the revelation to all time, i.e., of a Scripture whose inspiration is absolute, pure, and Divine.

The origin of bibliolatry is therefore in part subjective; it presupposes the complete religious ignorance of man, and his need of an absolute authority, as also his lack of such genuine religious emotion as might furnish a personal experience of the Deity. But bibliolatry has likewise an objective source, viz, the belief in an external revelation supposed to be infallibly and unchangeably embodied in Holy Writ.

This explanation, however, does not cover the whole case. Since the seal of sacredness is stamped upon the Scripture not by the individual but by the community, bibliolatry in the event leads the former to bind the revelation of the Divine, and when the individual assumes his entire incompetence in religious things, he will pin his faith, not to his own understanding, but to that of the expert, i.e., the clerus. Thus bibliolatry brings us back to the infallibility of the Church, upon which it originally rests, since it is the Church that determines the Canon. Such has been the process in the religions of India, as in Muhammadanism, in Judaism as in Christianity. And if the same cannot be said of all, as, e.g., Protestantism, which puts the Bible freely into the people’s hands, the exception is but apparent, particularly in professionally orthodox circles, since, for one thing, the sacred book owes its prestige to the Church, which brought its contents together; and for another, the clerus and his judgment is an institution, which finally, orthodoxy holds to the necessity of a ministerium verbi dietici, an office of the means of grace, by which Scripture shall be interpreted in the sense of the Confessions. The moment, however, that the Bible-worshiping becomes an institution, as it does when bibliolatry begins to wane, and is seen to be a mere transition stage; the unmethodical exegesis of non-experts reveals
such diversity as convinces even the unprejudiced observer that these interpreters are the victims of a subjectivity which but ill accords with their assumption of the purely Divine nature of Scripture. It thus becomes obvious that bibliolatry either issues in the recognition of an infallible Church, which delimits and interprets the Canon, or, in other words, in the supremacy of the clerus, of whose authority the Scripture provides the grand support; or else it disintegrates itself by subjective exegesis, thus losing whatever significance it may have had—a result ever the more certain the more religion is required to meet the needs of the age.

5. Consequences of bibliolatry. The consequences of bibliolatry is that the people upon whom it is laid as an obligation become bound hand and foot to a fixed point of view—a result specially disastrous when the sacred book not only prescribes religious or ceremonial ordinances, but also enacts laws for social and political affairs. Mahommedanism wrecks itself upon the Qur'an. The Christianity which is tied to a stereotyped interpretation of a supposed infallible book becomes ossified; and the same may be said of a Christianitv which would make the Bible the standard for life as a whole, or which in particular cases uses random passages as oracles, thus assuming the individual's incapacity for moral freedom. The existence of innumerable commentaries to the sacred books of all religions is at least partly explained by the effort to find a ready-made interpretation which shall be of service to the contemporary generation, or to harmonize the writings with some private point of view. Men have often tried the experiment of combining their recognition of the absolute authority of Scripture with the gomers of, or by, the sect or church to which they belong, of virtually emancipating themselves from the burden of the book, while preserving their nominal adherence to it by exegetical means, they have striven to satisfy the demands of progress. Such methods, of course, do scant justice to the requirements of historical veracity. Then the ossification resulting from bibliolatry is sometimes kept in abeyance by dint of associating tradition, especially a traditio constitutiva, with Scripture. But in truth both interpretation and tradition are more palliatives. Only on condition that religion be a living fact, and that the personal element therein be given its full due, and not suppressed, is the escape from bibliolatry sure. For then the venerable documents become but invitations to the personal experience of religion, and are no means to be ignored without examination. It is impossible that a genuine piety should curb the spontaneity of the individual soul; it should rather animate the same in its various manifestations. Accordingly it is the privilege of the soul, if it is granted in conjunction with the sacred volume answers to his own experience, and at the same time to subject the documents themselves to a continuous process of criticism, in order to separate between what is merely temporary therein and their permanent eternal truth.

BIGOTRY—BINDING AND LOOSING

This page contains a passage discussing the concept of bibliolatry and its consequences, particularly in the context of religious interpretations and the effects on personal freedom. The text critiques the binding nature of religious texts as infallible, leading to a form of idolatry that restricts individual freedom and perspective. It argues for a more open and dynamic approach to religious texts, allowing for personal interpretation and the spontaneous experience of the spiritual life. The discussion is framed within a larger context of religious history and the evolution of religious thought, exploring themes of tradition, interpretation, and freedom in religious practice.
hands of a Gentile on the eve of the Sabbath (Jerus. Shabb. fol. 4. 1), the beginning of voyages, or the gathering of wood (Jerus. Tom. Tobh. fol. 61. 1). They are used, in doctrinal and judicial matters, of things allowed or not allowed in the Law. The reason of this is that Hillel and Shammai, "The House of Shammai binds . . . the House of Hillel looses." Interpreting the former passage in Mt. by the normal usage of the time, we shall conclude that our Lord declared St. Peter to be a competent Rabbi, whose decisions in the matter of conduct (halakha) would be ratified by the Heavenly Tribunal. In the exercise of his authority, he would forbid (bind) certain things, and permit (loose) others. In view of the close connexion in Mt 16:19-19 between the keys and the power of binding and loosing, we may note that the power of the keys (e.g.), equally with that of binding and loosing, belonged to the office of scribe or teacher; the scribe, when admitted to office, received 'the key of knowledge' (Lk 11:52). Thus St. Peter was qualified to be a scribe fully in- structed in the office of the Holy Ghost, endowed with legislative power concerning things, not judicial power concerning persons. In Mt 18:18 the sense of 'bind' and 'loose' has developed in view of the context, and its positive content has become greater: the power to exclude from the society in view of Mt 18:19, to retain to judicial action is involved; vv. 19, 20 as well as vv. 12-17 show that the new society is regarded as possessing powers of self-government from God, and that its decisions will be ratified by God.

Mt 16:16 and 18 cannot legitimately be connected with Jn 20:23 ("whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained"), though, as we shall see, the identification began very soon and became more and more common. Jn corresponds to Heb. נקבות and Aram. κακοί; נקבות to Heb. נקבות and Aram. כקרים. The most that we can say is that in Mt 18:18 the context seems to show that the power of binding and loosing implies, among other things, the power of treating sin as pardonable or the reverse, with reference to admission into, or exclusion from, the community. And this conception can be obtained only from the context; it must not be read into the words, for whereas such a phrase as δια τὴν ἡμειαν might be allowed, the corresponding בכרה את לא מיは何ה in the Vulg. (Wof. 151) Jesus, 216) partially supports the Patristic connexion of Mt 16:16 and 18 with Jn 20:23. He thinks it doubtful whether Matthew understood Jesus as merely bestowing on His disciples power to give authoritative decisions in matters of conduct, and points to the exclusion from the community, which, admittedly, is involved in the context of Mt 18:18. Therefore, with the inclusion of the conception of St. Peter as the steward of God's house on earth, who possesses the keys, and has power to open and shut, we allow to St. Peter the latent in the passages of Mt., since 'exclusion from the community on account of some offence includes the "retaining" of the sins; the re-admission of the sinner includes the "remission" of his sins.' Yet, while the natural connexion in thought between the passages in Mt. and Jn. is not to be denied, we ought not to interpret the Matthew passages by the later passage in Jn.; nor can we say that the gift of the power to open and shut, to bind and loose, was only promised in Mt 16:19, 19, and not afterwards in Mt 28:18-20—a position adopted in The Papal Cutiment. The power to remit and to retain sins is not without analogy with the power to bind and loose; but it was a distinct and additional power. The restricted interpretation of 'bind' and 'loose' in accordance with the practice of the Rabbinic schools is the natural and obvious one. Neither Lange's objection, in his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, that Christ would not have spoken merely after the Rabbinic pattern, nor Dalman's inference that Mt. can hardly have understood Christ in that sense, since διατεταγμένος and Αυτή οὐκ εἶναι λύγος do not in his Greek mean 'forbid' and 'permit,' is really a serious objection to this view. We may give adequate weight to the fact that our Lord and His disciples must have interpreted the power to bind and loose, as possible in accordance with the Jewish usages of the time, while Dalman's objection to the interpretation of the Greek translation given in Mt. is that agreed that the Aramaic words used by Jesus were the same as those so constantly found in the Talmud. But the evidence indicated in Mt. is no need to suppose that Mt. found in the passage some force other than 'forbid,' 'permit'; he used διατεταγμένος and Αυτή οὐκ εἶναι λύγος as being the nearest equivalent in their meaning to the English words. We may regard as instances of loosing and binding in the Apostolic Church, the action of St. Peter in having intercourse with Gentiles (Ac 10), and the letter of the Church of Jerusalem with reference to abstention from things offered to idols, blood, and fornication (15:2). The same assembly refused to bind distinctively Jewish customs upon Gentile Christians. St. Paul's action with regard to the incestuous person (1 Cor), which was ratified by the community, and led to the excommunication of the offender, was one of considerable information as to the influence of these texts, and the manner in which they were utilized in the interests of disciplinary authority. In the Clementine Homilies, ad Jac. ii., St. Peter is represented as communicating to Clement the power of binding and loosing, 'so that with respect to everything which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens. For he shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed, and shall judge the Church.' The natural, Rabbinic meaning of the words is kept here, though the sentences which immediately follow seem to point to a power extended over persons as well as things. Tertullian deals with the question in de Judic. cxxi. His strictness in his Montanist days led him to combat the notion of discipline and forgiveness generally prevalent in the Church. In the chapter referred to he distinguishes between the doctrine of the Apostles and their power, and argues that, even if they had that power now, this power will be against God, the prerogative to pardon which, in accordance with Mk 2, belonged to God alone, they did so in the exercise of power, not of discipline; such power was akin to their power of performing miracles, both of healing and destruction. Tertullian demands an equal display of power before he will recognize in the Catholic clergy the power to remit sin; since the mere fact that the functions of discipline had been entrusted to them carried with it no such capacity. As to the argument that, in view of Mt. 28:18-20, it is interesting to note that Mk does not deal with Jn 20:23, the Church has the power to bind and loose, Tertullian answers that this gift was conferred personally upon St. Peter, who made use of it by bringing men to Christian baptism, and so into the Kingdom, 'in which are loosed the sins beforehand bound, and these which have not been loosed are bound in accordance with true salvation.' The same power was exhibited in the death of Ananias and the healing of the impotent man, while both operations were seen in St. Peter's name. According to St. Paul, the two parts of the law were loosed and others bound. Tertullian does not give any proper weight to the fact that the letter of the Jerusalem assembly was the work of the whole local Church, and not the mere outcome of a number of individual opinions, of which St. Peter's was the first. In any case,
if we accept Tertullian's distinction between the doctrine (i.e., discipline) of the Apostles and their power, it can hardly be denied that the 'binding and loosing' letter falls under the former head. But Tertullian's chief anxiety in his discussion is the abuse of the power and the 'remitt sins against God'—the only point round which controversy could rage—been granted to the Apostles, much less to the Church.

Questions with regard to binding and loosing naturally arose in connexion with the controversies in which Cyprian was involved. While he urged with ever-increasing force against the Novatians that the power of loosing from even the gravest sins existed in the Church, Cyprian maintained against Stephen that outside the Church there was no one to bind and loose, to baptize and give remission of sins (Ep. 73, 1, ad Juba.). In the same letter he shows that he completely identifies the power given to St. Peter in Mt. 16 with the power with which the Apostles in Jn 20. To 'loose' is for him the same as to 'remit sins'; and as in Ep. ad Magnum 11 he seems to make of 'baptizare et remissum peccatorum dare' one idea, it is likely that 'loosing' was in his mind specially connected with baptism. The same idea is in Mt. 16 where with Jn 20 is reversed in the letter of Firmilian to Cyprian (Migne, PL iii. 1201); he insists on the power of forgiveness having been given to the Apostles, from whom it descended to the bishops ordained by them, and so on in continual succession. We see from this how the use of the power to bind and loose was being regularized in the interests of Church order and a ministry that was becoming increasingly sacerdotal. Ambrose, as well as Cyprian, attacked the Novatian restrictions on the Church's power to loose. Novatian and his followers had denied that the Church could extend forgiveness to the lapsed or to those who had fallen into any of the graver sins. Ambrose (de Don. i. 2), relying on Jn 20, replied that the Church had power both to bind and to loose, and turned the attack upon the Novatians by arguing that, as they rejected the power of loosing, clearly they had not the power of binding.

Origen, in his treatment of Mt 16 (Comm. in Mt., tom. xli) is more careful to insist on the spiritual character of the gift. According to his idea the power is given both with the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, to open to those who were loosed on earth, that they might be loosed and free in heaven. While allowing that bishops also had the right to pronounce things bound on earth, which would then be bound in heaven, Origen insists on two qualifications for them, before they can exercise such power. (i.) They must possess that ἔγορα in virtue of which it was said to St. Peter, 'Thou art Peter.' (ii.) Their character must be such that the Church can be bound and loose—there are, however, the 'remiss sins' would bind and loose in vain. It is clear that Origen is maintaining the necessity for soundness of faith and life, if the bishop is to be able to bind and loose—a doctrine of the worthiness of the minister which not unnaturally alarmed the annotator of Jerome's exposition of the same passage (PL xxvi. 131). In another place, Origen shows the same tendency to urge spirituality rather than office as the essential thing for one so exalted. He insists that while we can all forgive sins against ourselves, we on whom Jesus has breathed as on the Apostles, and who can be recognized as made spiritual through the gift of the Holy Spirit, forgives what God would forgive, and, on the other hand, retains sins which cannot be healed. Of other Eastern teachers we may notice Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria. Chrysostom (in Mt., Hom. iv.), while interpreting binding and loosing as the power to retain and remit sins, which belongs to God alone, in which he agrees with Tertullian, differs from the African theologian in interpreting the power in Mt 19 also as that of second binding and loosing. Cyril (Com. in Mt. iv., commenting on Mt 16), postposes the actual delivery of the power of the keys till after the Resurrection, as recorded in Jn.; with Jn 20 he writes that Christ gives to those who have obtained the office of teaching the power to bind and loose, which suggests a possible appreciation of the original force of the words, and their connexion with Jewish custom.

The Apostolic Constitutions (ii. 11) connects binding and loosing with the bishop's authority to judge offenders, and interprets Mt 18 as specially addressed to the bishops. The great Fathers of the West came to connect binding and loosing more and more strictly with penalties and priestly absolution. Origen and Ambrose, for instance, differentiate between the 'loose' equivalent to letting go free, and makes use of the words of Jesus to Lazarus in Jn 11, λύσατε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔφεστε αὐτὸν ὡς γένεσα, to enforce his meaning. As Lazarus was awakened to life, and came forth at the word of Christ, so does the former speak of the one 'who has obtained the power to loose his sins'; but, as all had not been done for Lazarus till the disciples loosed him and let him go free, so the penitent needs the Church's absolution. Hilary interprets binding on earth as leaving entangled in the noose of sin, and loosing as receiving into the safety of pardon (PL xi. 1021). Jerome, commenting on Mt 18 (Comment. in Ev. Mt. iii. cap. 18), says that priests and bishops have no power to bind and loose of themselves, but can only decide who is pure and who is not, who is to be bound and who loosed, and compares Lv 18-20 elsewhere (in Ev. Mt. iii. cap. 16) he says that the Church has judicial power to declare those freed whom God's grace has freed within; those bound who are not so loosed. Gregory the Great (Hom. 26 in Evangeliis) says that the bishops have the power of binding and loosing, but that it is lost by those who use it for their own ends, and not for the advantage of their penitents. He also makes use of the raising of Lazarus to show that the Church has power to loose those who are bound, and that God turned and revived by His grace. Gregory warns against unjust binding; yet, at the same time, bids the penitent ever fear, lest, even if he be unjustly bound in connexion with the particular matter which he confesses, the binding may be merited, and therefore valid, owing to some other fault. Gregory connects the official sentence most closely with the sinner's inner feeling, which, in fact, the loosing and binding of the bishop regularizes. Rabanus (Comm. in Mt. 20, lib. vi.), differentiates the gift to St. Peter and the gift to all the Apostles, points out that, while the power of binding and loosing was given to all, as is clear from Jn 20, St. Peter had it conferred upon him in a special way, so that no one separated from the mass of faith and communion with him could be loosed, i.e., absolved. Paschasius Radbertus distinguishes between the power of binding and loosing given to St. Peter in Mt 16 and that given to all the Apostles in Mt 18. The latter, he says, are urged to do this which he himself before binding him, while St. Peter has the keys of all heavens, not merely the power of binding in heaven (Exp. in Mt. lib. viii. cap. 16). Bernard, Abbot Pontius Calidi, interprets 1 Co 5 as a possible instance of binding by excommunication. In Thomas Aquinas the power of the keys and the
power of binding and loosing are identical, and he distinguishes, in binding and loosing, between the power of authority, which belongs to God alone, the power of excellence, which belongs to Christ, and the power of ministering, which belongs to the priests (Stimmata Theol. 3° s. Qu. xvii.—xx.).

God has power to bind and loose equivalent to the power of the keys, and interprets it of absolving or retaining sins. Mt 16:19 was addressed to all Christians, and may apply to any one who confesses his sins privately before a brother. He does not distinguish between Mt 16:19 and Jn 20:23. These words are intended to call forth the faith of penitents, so that the word of the Divine promise may free them. A Christian should know that, if he believes and is absolved, he will be truly absolved in heaven. For Luther the power of the keys belongs to the Church, not to the Pope, and the Church's judgment, if the Church be truly spiritual, is God's judgment. Binding and loosing could be exercised both in preaching and in private absolution. The Church, which possesses the power, alone binds and looses the keys of life (Haller's Primary Works, ed. Wace-Buchheim; also Of the Keys). Melancthon (Loc. Comm., 'de Confess.') interprets Mt 16:19 of the giving of the power to his disciples. Calvin distinguishes Mt 16:19 and Jn 20:23 from Mt 18:18; the former passages have to do with the ministry of the word by preaching, the latter with the spiritual jurisdiction and discipline of the Church. Of Mt 16:19 he says that the keys apply to teaching, and he compares Lk 11:10. Loosing is directly connected with the forgiveness of sins; the doctrine of the gospel is applied to the loosing of our bonds—that being loosed on earth through man's testimony we may be loosed in heaven also; binding, on the other hand, is accidental to the gospel. In Mt 18:18 the discipline exercised by the Church is in question, and Calvin understands by the Church's sentence on the offenders, which God ratifies, the sentence pronounced by the Church. ('Harmony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke,' ii. 292).

The Council of Trent (sess. 14, vi.), in opposition to the teachers of the Reformation, insisted on the application of Mt 18:18 strictly to bishops and priests; already Luther had made the Church (Dium ecclesia) 5 argues that by the keys delivered to St. Peter the supreme power is intended, as may be seen from Mt 18:20, since in the Scriptures he is said to bind who gives orders and punishes. Cornelius a Lapide (Commentarius, tom. 15) goes with some fullness into the question. He argues that in Mt 16:19 'quodcumque' (6 et qui ergo) is equivalent to 'quemcunque,' but that the neuter is used as more universal, since the Pope binds and looses sins, vows, etc., as well as men. Binding is exercised by excommunicating, (1) enjoining penance, (2) excommunication and other censures, (4) laws and councils, (5) binding Christians to a confession of faith; while loosing is to release from these obligations. By a curious piece of exegesis he refers 'super terram' (18.19) to St. Peter, not to the thing bound.

Hooker (Eccl. Pol. vi. 4) discusses the question. He argues that the office of regent over God's Church consists of functions both of doctrine and of discipline, contained in the name of the keys; there is in the Church a perfect communication and makes sinners as heathens and publicans. God has promised to ratify what is done by His Church, first by the Apostles, then by their successors. The custom of binding by ecclesiastical censure and retaining till repentance leads to loosing has been adopted as the most expedient method for the cure of sin.

Modern commentators on Mt., while slightly differing among themselves as to the exact force of the words, agree in dissociating the passages in Mt. from Jn 20:23. For a point of view which confines the power to the ordained, and refers to any discipline in the visible Church, admission to or exclusion from the Kingdom of Heaven, or specific authority of the Apostles over the Jewish law, see Lyman Abbot's New Testament with Notes and Comments. He interprets the promised power as in the universal Church. See Another Christian, permit themselves, God will permit; whatever they prohibit, God will prohibit; the passage is therefore the spiritual Magna Charta of Christ's disciples. But such an interpretation is too individualistic, and does not do justice to the historic situation, or to the obviously present idea of a community in Mt 18:17. The idea of the power of self-government in the Church is the nearest modern parallel to the idea conveyed in Mt 16:18 and 18:17.


J. K. MOZLEY.

BIOGENESIS.—Biogenesis is a term used to express a fact of observation in regard to the present-day beginning of living organisms, that they arise from parents approximately like themselves, and in no other way. It is perhaps possible that they may arise in some other way, e.g. from not-living matter, or from parents quite different from themselves—both of these hypotheses have their supporters, but as yet no exception to the fact of biogenesis has been proved. The fact is often expressed in the aphorism omne vivum e vivo, which in most cases may read omne vivum ex ovo; and is under no circumstances applied of this as 'the law of biogenesis,' for the biologist who states that he does not know of any form of life arising except from a parent form of the same kind is not thereby denying the possibility of abiogenesis in the past, the present and the future. The term 'abiogenesis' is sometimes used to mean individual development—a usage which should not be encouraged. Thus Haeckel's 'fundamental law of biogenesis' states that individual development (ontogenesis) tends to recapitulate racial evolution (phylogeny). See RECAPITULATION.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

BIOLOGY (biōs, 'life'; λόγος, 'discourse') is the science of life in the widest acceptance of that term. It deals with the general conclusions of relating the different absolute facts, and the result of study of the structure and activities of all living things. As such it is as intimately connected with the activities of the human organism as with those of the malarial parasite that passes a stage of its existence in men's blood; it concerns itself with every feature in that apparently passive manifestation of the oak tree's vitality, as in that of the active gall-fly, whose developing eggs stimulate the gall-formations upon its leaves. In popular thought, life displays itself in two great, apparently unrelated, fashion—corresponding to the animal and vegetable kingdoms respectively—types which undoubtedly are sufficiently distinctive and apart in their most highly developed representatives, but which, as they are studied in a descending series, are found to become ever more
simple until forms are reached which, from the point of view of morphology, are practically alike in the two instances, although still differentiable physiologically; while eventually, certain forms are reached when the last \textit{differentia} ceases to hold, and partial changes pass through, are then passed upon their animal or vegetable nature. Yet let it not be imagined that to study life in these simpler forms does anything more than eliminate certain secondary constituent elements. ‘Liveness’ in itself is not more intelligible in the amoeba than in the elephant.

At the same time it is convenient to think of the subject-matter of Biology as comprising, in the first instance, the two great realms of animal and vegetable life, corresponding to the sciences of Zoology and Botany. An individual in either of these realms may be studied from the point of view of its gross build and form (Anatomy = Morphology, in the strictest sense of that term), or minute structure (Histology); from the point of view of general functional and adaptive relation to environment (Ecology); and the ability to do work, associated with definite organs (Physiology proper). Morphology and Physiology suffer, however, more than any other two aspects, from separate consideration, for in life they are modified in accordance with the forms into which conditioned by the function to be performed; in fact, they are the dynamical and statical aspects of one and the same thing. Further, the living organism may be studied stage by stage as a developing organism (Ontogeny), or the historical treatment may be extended to its ancestral ancestry (Phylogeny, expressed in some classes by Palaeontology); it may be regarded in connexion with its various \textit{habitatios} the earth’s surface (Geographical Distribution), or its place in a scheme of classification (Classification). Further, as is the case with all things, a study of the causes that have combined to make it what we find it to be (Etiology). Finally, in each of these subdivisions the individual may be studied in relation to other individuals more or less like it, which will give us, as in the first instance, Comparative Anatomy and Comparative Histology. Nor should it ever be forgotten in what intimate and often conditioning relation these different aspects stand to one another, so that biological interpretation is incomplete to the extent in which it is split up.

The importance of biological study, not merely as a discipline, but from the bearing of its varied subject-matter upon human life in general, can hardly be exaggerated. To recognize the truths of Biology, and the demands of them arising from the spirit of whole life, is to recognize that the life of the spirit is grounded in them. In connexion with questions of human health and food supply, and the various other economic aspects of living forms that stand in desirable and undesirable relation to man, a knowledge of Biology should be part of the equipment of every educated man; Psychology and Sociology are tenuis-like studies in so far as they are not recognized as grounded on Biology. In the same way Biology rests in great measure on Physics and Chemistry, while the relations to and influence on Philosophy, Sociology, and Theology of such an integral component of biological construction as Evolution are a leading element in modern thought.

The initial question of Biology is the nature and characteristics of living matter—the determination of that wherein ‘livingness’ consists. Curiously this may be best attempted by consideration of the simplest forms of life; yet to solve the problem of their ‘greatest common measure’ does not necessarily mean that we have determined the unit of life. Wherein, then, does ‘livingness’ consist? Possibility we should instinctively reply, movement —movement, either purely locomotive, or such as is involved in the maintenance of the functions of nutrition and reproduction. Yet in the case of any seed or egg, life is somehow there, but we see no movement in the eggs of the salmon or the egg. Is it alive? or, Is it capable of living? but these are obviously two very different questions. It is known that if dry seeds be kept for a long period in hermetically sealed jars they cease to respire, failing to manifest any chemical production of CO$_3$, one of the great signs of life. Has their chemical answer to the question, Are you alive? failed? But does it necessarily imply that they are dead? And again the answer is No; for, if released from their prison and placed in suitable conditions, they will germinate and produce new plants. ‘So that a seed, in so far as it does not manifest chemical change, is proved to be alive; and, inasmuch as it germinates, is proved not to be dead’ (Waller, \textit{The Signs of Life}, p. 5). Of course, the usual escape from this dilemma is to say that the seed is in a state of latent life, during which there is a complete suspension of all the chemical changes that are characteristic of the living state. But a more correct statement is that we have no means of chemical investigation sufficiently refined to reveal to us the infinitesimal changes that are probably going on in the apparently dry state. It is at least possible, if not more or less rapid chemical changes, which our methods are too crude to detect, are going on in the seeds, simply is the experience in the first place that seeds that are kept for a long time do wear out, and that the percentage of seeds that germinate and grow gets smaller and smaller the longer they are kept. The deterioration is more or less rapid to the nature of the seed and its costs, but in every known instance there is deterioration sooner or later—deterioration, i.e. change, chemical change. We do not know, but it is not unreasonable to suppose, that these changes are due to the instability of the part of the seed molecules because of the lack of stimulation. A stage is reached when no response is offered. Similarly, in the contrary direction, the process of growth when once begun cannot be arrested; it must proceed, or the organism will disintegrate immediately. Life is a process rather than a condition. When once, as in the case of the developing egg, a certain temperature has disturbed its statically arranged molecules, proper energy must be furnished for maintaining the structure and the structure comes tumbling down, and we say that the thing is dead.

Hence, with Waller, we ought probably to specify the character of the seed or the egg in this way: Matter—Not living.—Formerly living. Capable of living again. They are physico-chemical structures whose life may begin, rather than living things themselves. Further, it has been shown that the vitality of seeds can be tested by the electromotive method (electrical changes being taken as the token of chemical changes, which are in turn a sign of life); so that in addition to the question, Are you alive? we can put the question, How much are you alive? to the seed, and learn its answer in terms of electric units. Heat with which our previous discussion was full, the degree of chemical vitality will be shown corresponding with its age. At the same time we have made little advance in our inquiry as to wherein livingness consists. For the simple reason that we do not know what it is. Yet if we cannot tell what life is, we can state what living things do. It is possible to make a series of statements descriptive, if not definitive, of living things.

(1) All living things consist of a colloidal substance called Protoplasma. As seen in the simplest plants and animals, it is viscous and translucent,
generally colourless, immiscible in water, and yet composed of it sometimes to the extent of 90 per cent.
Chemically analyzed, after treatment by re-agents, which rob it of its essential character, it is found to consist of carbon, oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, together with traces of various salts; but this complex of proteins \((\text{C}_n\text{H}_{2n}\text{O}_m\text{N}_p=\text{possible minimal composition of a molecule of egg albumen})\) exhibits such a variety of qualities that the mere chemical synthesis of protoplasm is no longer a simple and obvious task. Whether these proteins can be compared with the actual constituents of protoplasm or its first decomposition products is difficult to decide.

Chief amongst these characteristic qualities is the fact of its organization. Careful examination shows that proteins or protoplasms are present, one of which, the more liquid ground-subsance, is continuously distributed throughout the meshes of the more active and, at the same time, firmer spongoplas or reticulium, as the second constituent is called in true histology. Here the greater divergence of opinion occurs, possibly because each of the two views that are most in favour expresses a part of the truth. Batschi, and with him a considerable and latterly increasing number of workers, subdividing the reticulum, see it as a truly liquid, or rather a mixture of liquids showing a foam-like structure in which the firmer portion forms the walls of separate chambers that are filled with minute, closely crowded drops of the more fluid portion. Any reticular appearance is therefore an illusion, being the sectional aspect of the alveolar structure. With singular skill that investigator has succeeded in preparing artificial emulsions which show a striking resemblance to actual protoplasm. The majority of the cell biologists, especially the younger generation of school, hold to the view that asserts the presence of extremely delicate, though coherent, threads which extend through the more liquid ground-substance, either forming an uneven but continuous meshwork like the fibres of a sponge (Klein, van Beneden), or consisting of disconnected threads and their branches (Flemming). Now, although it is undoubtedly true that in many instances protoplasm does present a vacuolar or foam-like structure, to admit this does not necessarily commit us to Battschi’s opinion.

On the other hand, the fibrillar network so often and so widely demonstrated, especially during cell-division, seems to be a general, perhaps the more typical structure. Hence we come with Oscar Hertwig to the conclusion that the protoplasm of different organisms varies in its material, composition and structure. Apparently, however, these important differences are due to variations in molecular structure. There is no universal mode in its structure; protoplasm is polymorphic, and it is just possible that the different types represent different phases.

In virtue of this organization, the attempt is continually made to offer a complete explanation of the living thing in terms of mechanics. The living organism is certainly more of a mechanism than of a chemical compound, and its activities will find a better explanation along these lines than in the mere consideration of its chemical nature. Doubtless the protoplasm of a cell can in some way be traced to chemical forces, just as in the case of the activities of the steam engine; but it is not at all evident what chemical forces explain the motion of the steam engine. The action of the living cell will be better explained in terms of its mechanism than of its chemistry, yet even here imperfectly. Superficial resemblance discloses themselves, that in their greater or less completeness simply serve to hide the critical points of difference. Thus it is obvious that the first place in this case is not the second law but the requirement to be more or less continuously supplied, that this fuel or food is subject to transformation by the processes in the mechanism of the process in which heat is evolved, and that waste products are formed. Yet the living organism is unlike a mechanism in various respects.

(e) The organism is itself continually being changed in the course of its automatic developmental activity. The engine may be said to consume the fuel supplied to it, but it is not incorporated with it. The food, self-procured, of an organism is in a sense its fuel, but it becomes directly transformed into the machinery that is, its work. (f) A mechanism has a provision for self-preservation, and this self-regulation amounting to self-preservation, which has not been added to it from the outside, nor is a necessary property of the machinery of a mechanism. The organism, on the other hand, is of no use to it in the line of preserving its integrity. (g) The organism has a certain reproductive power; in other words, it is the actual machinery, and food repairs both the gaps left in the mechanism and any imperfection by which it may be inflected. The coal supplied to an engine does nothing to repair its tear and wear, nor can the engine execute its own repairs. (h) A mechanism is constructed to perform a certain function or limited number of functions, and these it perpetually performs in the same way; the organism’s range of activity is inconstant and varied as its method of organic growth. The organism can completely reproduce itself by means of parts thrown off from itself; there is nothing analogous to sexual reproduction in the biologic kingdom.

(1) The activity of a machine is usually the sum of the activities of its constituent parts, but in the case of the organism it is something more, for its living unity is not merely represented by the sum of its organs, but involves a certain subtle interplay of all the material. Therefore it is an organism; the true activity of the organism is the activity of its organs in their interrelationships, i.e. the activity of the organism is the activity of all its organ systems, including the organ system of self-regulation, which is quite as real as the organ system of self-provision, the nutritive activity. (2) The activity of the organism is the activity of its organs. (3) The organism has a certain reproductive power; in other words, it is the actual machinery, and food repairs both the gaps left in the mechanism and any imperfection by which it may be inflected. The coal supplied to an engine does nothing to repair its tear and wear, nor can the engine execute its own repairs. (h) A mechanism is constructed to perform a certain function or limited number of functions, and these it perpetually performs in the same way; the organism’s range of activity is inconstant and varied as its method of organic growth. The organism can completely reproduce itself by means of parts thrown off from itself; there is nothing analogous to sexual reproduction in the biologic kingdom.

In conclusion, it is to be observed that the term "living" indicates some characteristic of a living thing that is not found in the lifeless. It is the essence of the living thing that is thereby indicated. And the essence of the living thing is that it is self-regulatory and self-reproducing. It is this characteristic to which the term "living" is applied. The term "living" is applied to all things that possess this characteristic. It is not applied to inanimate things, because they do not possess it. It is applied to all living things, because they all possess it.

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transformations. Certain physical and chemical characteristics abide with the cells in death as in life; but when the typical energy phenomena are no longer in evidence, we say that the thing is dead. Life, then, has to do with energy, but is not itself energy, not even a specific kind of energy; its characteristic is seen in the way in which the energy is directed and controlled. Every living thing is not merely a centre at which energy is being constantly transformed—a mechanical energy-transformer—a centre, further, at which the tendency to degradation of energy is resisted, but it also acts as a direct channel along which energy can flow to accomplish specific work: as long as the organism is alive it is continuously disturbing the equilibrium which should otherwise arise between itself and the environment. Life is unceasing, directive, and selective control of energy; but it is also accumulation of energy, e.g., in specific tissues, and a transformation of it leading to further availability. The organism up to a certain stage appears to be continually gaining energy at the expense of the environment, and in reproduction the process is perpetuated. Other controls of energy: temperature, e.g., controls its passage in the form of heat from the hotter to the colder body. But this passage involves not merely degradation in that particular form. Hibbert brings out very clearly the great difference in temperature as a determining factor, and that in any calculation of the work done it will find a place; whereas it is impossible to show that life is a factorial element in any calculation of the work done by a living organism. The nearest parallel, yet hardly a parallel, would be in the unique characteristic of reproduction, when, owing to the accumulation of energy, it may reasonably be conceived that the control or potential factor exhibits itself in the process of division. This control is supertensively seen in the development of the segmented egg to its predestined goal in the typical adult form. Accordingly we conclude that after the methods borrowed from the analysis of inorganic nature are exhausted, there is a residuum of fact which is untouched by them, viz., the directive control and co-ordinated activity of the organism by its own end. The biological whole is greater than the sum of its physical or chemical parts. And it is no objection to urge that we are not objectively aware of this particular control, for the same is the case with physical actions, as, e.g., gravitational attraction. Life is known to us as control and guidance of energy, interacting with matter in ways that, if not yet wholly intelligible to us, are clearly not covered by what we know of its physico-chemical properties.

(3) All living things are characterized by cellular structure. Life, that is to say, so far as we know it, appears only in one form—that of the cell. The further apart living forms are from the point of view of classification, the deeper is it necessary to go to find community. In extreme cases this may be found only in their cell-structure and protoplasm; hence the fundamental importance of these aspects. Briefly, the cell-theory amounts to the statement that the bodies of every form of life, plant or animal, are composed of one or more minute structural units known as cells, out of which, in the case of higher forms, directly or indirectly, every part is built; all organisms consist of cells, bacteria being but a sideline. The body is a mosaic rather than an asphalt, but the cells are in communication, unisolated by cement. From the view-point of this cell-theory, the animal kingdom (as likewise the plant kingdom) may be regarded as an ascending series, at the bottom of
matter. Already in 1833 Dujardin gave the name of 'narcocyte' to the substance composing the bodies of the ciliate protozoa, he was examining. But it is not till we reach the names of Schleiden and Schwann (1837-1839) that we have before us the foundation of the true line of events. More recent work seems entirely composed of them, and that these aggregate to form the typical chromo-

some. The number of the chromatin granules is of the first importance in its relation to the chromosome. But are these chromatin granules ultimate units, and can we assign to them the value of individual entities?

The problem only becomes the more interesting when we begin to investigate the view of the existence of the chromatin network of the nucleus and cytoplasm. Recent research tends to confirm van linden's conclusion, reached already in 1855, that the chromosome network is not the nucleus, the reticulum, and even the nuclear membrane, but is built up of microscopic units by connective substance, and that even the nuclear membrane is formed in the cytoplasm, and is not the membrane of the nucleus, although close to it; sometimes, however, inside (acinus urinariae). It is generally surrounded either by a membrane, or by a reticulum, or by a cyto-reticulum, or by an attraction-sphere, or by a cyto-attraction-sphere or cyto-atmosphere; or by an area of protoplasm denser.

Next to protoplasm—the fundamental constituent of the cell—the second most important element is the nucleus: indeed, its significance is hardly less than that of protoplasm itself. The cell, with few exceptions, is a characteristic of every cell. Modern theories of heredity are theories of the cell-nucleus.

In any ordinary nucleus, the following structural elements may commonly be recognized:

(a) The nuclear membrane, which is probably a condensation of the general protoplasmic reticulum, although its existence has not been demonstrated in every case. It has a variable staining capacity.

(b) The nuclear reticulum, which is composed of two distinct substances—chromatin and linin. The former is the nuclear substance par excellence, in that it is restricted to the nucleus, and is generally seen as irregular granules and mass, when deposited, as it were, on the threads of linin; sometimes the relation is of a more intimate character, and the chromatin seems embedded in the linin, giving the impression of an intimate relation between the two substances. Some of the most recent work, in fact, suggests that the chromatin, on which hitherto such stress has been laid in connection with theories of inheritance, is nothing more than a secretion of the linin; the linin, on the other hand, is not destroyed by the identification of permanence and individuality should be associated. The most striking support for this view is found in the way in which during the main critical phases of the cell's cycle, and finally at the time of division, the chromatin decreases in amount, sometimes even to the vanishing point. It is supposed to have been employed in nourishing the cell during the stage in question. The linin likewise after treatment shows a granular structure, and seems similar in composition to the cytoplasmic reticulum. The quantity of chromatin in a cell is not constant, but in the processes connected with cell division and fertilization the granules form large units known as chromosomes, which are now regarded by many as the vehicles of inheritance. The ultimate units which constitute the chromosomes is constant for each species. It is still, however, an open question whether the chromatin-granules of the reticulum are individually identical with those forming the chromosomes (Wilson, "The Cell," p. 27). At certain stages the chromosomes appear perfectly homogeneous, and the same is sometimes true of the entire nucleus.

The evidence thus goes to show that in the great majority of cases the chromatin thread is built up of a series of minute deeply-staining granules (chromosomes) that are embedded, as it were, in the linin, sometimes irregularly, sometimes with such regularity, that the whole network seems entirely composed of them, and that these aggregate to form the typical chromo-

some. The number of the chromatin granules is of the first importance in its relation to the chromosome. But are these chromatin granules ultimate units, and can we assign to them the value of individual entities?

The demonstration of these microsomes—intra-cellular units of a lower order—has an interesting bearing upon biological theory. Dujardin's conception of the nuclear theory of protoplasm, ill-founded as it appears to be in relation to his own understanding of the protoplasm, regarded protoplasm as consisting of extremely small, or the most minute, or even elementary, units, which he called biolasts. In a real sense, these microsomes, evidence of the division of function, correspond to Atman's theoretical units, and invite consideration as more elementary individuals than the cell, standing between the latter and the ultimate units of the microsomes. Herbert Spencer's 'integral units,' Darwin's 'germules,' and Weismann's 'biolasts,' are analogous to Atman's theoretical units, and may be viewed in the same way as Atman's conclusions in the theories of regeneration, development, and heredity associated with these great names, would thus appear to correspond in a real sense to the view of the existence of a universal unit of life.

As to the ultimate independent unit of living matter—the smallest mass that exhibits to the biologist the phenomena of life, and which, however, perhaps, might be supposed to be able to make any precise statement. Everything depends upon the criterion that we use. If we demand in all cases to show the phenomena of life, we might suspend growth and assimilation, the division unit would have to consist of protoplasm plus nuclear substance; if we admit the absence of nuclear control, then the division of life is at an end. This has been experimentally proved on a very extended scale by merotony and numerous investigations in regeneration. On the other hand, it is irrational to believe that there will be a smaller and simpler form of division to which the manifestations of the life of the organism might exist, unless a metaphysical statement is made about the universal unit of life.
BIOLOGY

than the rest of the cytoplasm (archoplasm): sometimes in the 
vegetable state it is extended by and among the living 
materials, and is then very often difficult to demonstrate. Typically 
the centrosome, which stains deeply, is a single organ; but, as a 
rule, it is divisible into an axial mass of the succeeding division in 
which each of the daughter- 
cells receives one of them. The failure to substantiate its 
existence in the case of the cells of many higher plants, and 

the fact that in some instances at the close of cell division, 
or in very young animals, it reappears again as such, rather 
militates against the earlier view of its indispensable and dominant function, and tend to 
relate the centrosome to the time at which an organ that assimilates, grows, divides, and is in many cases 
passed on from cell to cell, it also answers to the conception of an 

independent organism essentially a centre of determining activity, and it seems finally to 
dissapoe with the loss of the power of reproduction.

With regard to the protoplasmic membrane, it has already seen 
that its importance is now perceived to be secondary. It is 
important without the aid of some other organ.

In the case of the higher animals and plants, the distinctive elements of irritability, studied 

singly as tactisms in the case of unicellular forms, may function in a specific way in the parts of a 

multicellular organism, giving rise to those move 

ments that are known as the various tropisms: 
such a characteristic turning towards the sun gives 
its name to the flower heliotrope. It is found that 
many movements of animals and attitudes of 

plants depend on the mechanical arrangements of 
the structural and symmetrical distribution 
of irritability on the surface of the body of the 
organisms' (Loeb, Dynamics of Living 
Matter, p. 5).

Now, if lines of force (e.g. light, heat, etc.) 
average in some way (e.g. by diffusion) strike an 
organism with greater profusion on one side than 
on another, the tension of the contractile elements is unequal, and if the animal moves, it 
tends to turn in such a direction that the lines of force 

having equal density at symmetrical points, and 

at the same angle on both sides, and will 
continue to move in that direction, or away from 
it, according as it is apparently attracted or 

repelled. Such automatic orientation is known as 
a tropism.

The external stimuli which act upon the world of 
life are manifold; but we may consider five 
important groups—(a) thermal stimuli, (b) light 
stimuli, (c) electrical stimuli, (d) gravitational 
stimuli, and (e) chemical stimuli. The reaction of 
an organism is, then, simply its response to particular 
stimuli. The experience of everyday life is sufficient to show us that, under 
the same stimulus, the reaction will vary con 
siderably with different individuals. In fact, the 
same stimulus may produce totally different effects 
on different individuals. The external stimuli are 
different response in the case of a stone, a bulldog, 
and a Skyte terrier; under electrical stimulation the 

salivary gland yields its saliva, the liver its bile. On 
the other hand, it does not strike one as 

quite so obvious at first sight that very different 
stimuli give identical effects upon the 
same protoplasmic body. Apply to a muscle cell 
electrical, chemical, in short any possible form of 
stimulus; it has but one answer,—it contracts. 
The same holds true for many Protozoa; they 
have but a single characteristic response to all 
kinds of stimuli. We have thought of the stimuli 
as exciting, or even producing, an increase of the 

specific activity in various forms of living sub 
stance: its action may, however, also result in a 
diminished activity, and under certain conditions the 
activity is considered to be a fundamental property 
of living protoplasm, but it expresses itself in 

specific actions, according to the specific structure 
of the organism, under the influence of the 

external world.

(a) With regard to thermo-tactism, it may be noted that the 
temperature of the environment is of vital importance to every 
organism. There is a limit above which the life of 
organisms is hindered, and indeed with the stage of 
its development. The maximum temperature for plants
627 through this some-. but plant could the pro- sort found free-moving the most they absorb stimulus 124). most is we symmetry galvanic animals. (59x714)
and earth while ture, zero distinctive. that accelerator refractive index, consist curiosity, creatures not in influ- ences rent. heliotropism. When the--heliotropic phenomenon is probable when the-- heliotropic occurs more due to the injury of the organism, the-- animal's reaction to the stimulus is determined the free-moving plant. The response of the--
(6) Chemotropism is the name applied to the reply made by plants to the presence of substances emanating from a centre of diffusion: those which are attracted or repelled move or itself in the direction of the lines of diffusion. The term is sometimes applied to the reaction of some animals. Chemotropism, inasmuch as the 'lines of diffusion are commonly dis- turbed by currents due to changes and variations in tempera- ture' (60). They are, however, an attractive power over freely moving experiments. Cells can be arranged by which that gas can be introduced into water crowded with free-moving. leucocytes are observed that very quickly surrounded the weed, for the sake of the oxygen that it liberated by means of its chlorophyll. It then only. leucocytes which are more might be used as a delicate test for minute quantities of oxygen.

The whole question of the chemical irritability of cells has a very luminous bearing on the question of the irritability of colours of blood corpuscles known as leucocytes. The modern germ-theory as applied to most diseases holds that inflamm- ation is set up by micro-organisms and their metabolite pro- ducts (i.e. the products due to chemical change in the micro- organisms themselves); these various toxins are carried in the circulatory system to all parts of the body. Now Mitchelskov has shown how certain of these colourless corpuscles, by their absorbing the injuring elements, constitute themselves the very guards of the organism. He has shown that, the--the cocci of erysipelas, the spirula of relapsing fever, and the bacilli of anthrax, are all rendered harmless or their toxins neutralised by the antidotes elaborated by these wandering ameboid, cells, and he considers the leucocytes as the first line of foreign micro-organisms and the leucocytes continual war is waged, and the life or death of the organism depends upon the result of this warfare. The leucocytes are stimulated to the destruction of the leucocytes are simultaneously stimulated by means of chemical sub- stances produced by the micro-organisms; such stimulation can turn the leucocytes from intelligent soldiers to idle--(by the leucocytes) are killed.

5) All living things are further characterized by continual change, physical and chemical, of the material of which they are made. Certain parts are being continually used up, and fresh material is brought in and built up into its place. This ceaseless internal cycle of supply and waste, and supply, is designated by the term meta- bolic. The living organism is as a flame that fed with oil preserves its outward form, yet all the while the substance by which the flame is fed is being decomposed into its constituent elements and passes off transformed. Biology, apart from Morphology, knows no limits. Nutrition and digestion, excretion, and circulation, are various phases of this comprehensive activity. In order to live, the cell must absorb nutrients substances which it proceeds to elaborate, retaining some portions within its body, and rejecting others. Continually, in the living cell, substances of complex molecular, and in that measure unstable, structure are being built up from substances less complex and more stable, with the absorption of energy; concurrently, other substances--food reserves or the leucocytes, for example--are being broken down in order to provide the energy required. The more intense the life, the more comprehensive are these parallel processes of construction and destruction. And yet, if parallel, they are hardly equal. In the period of youth the constructive is in excess of the destructive, and we say the organism grows.

Now all living things grow in a sense that is not predicable of other objects to which the word may be applied. For in the saturated solution of salt if a little more salt is added, the whole volume of solution is increased, the crystals grow. But in the living body, when new parts are added on the outside, layer by layer; living things grow by taking up particles of matter in between already existing particles at every point—interstitially, as it were. Then, following the crystal growth, the growth of the new parts,--in the case of the body--probably due to the stimulus of gravitation. Although the problem is still far from solution. Loeb (op. cit. p. 152) considers it prob- able that the reason for the tropism is that other animals are determined in certain cells of the inner ear, or in certain cells of the brain, through an influence upon the reaction velocity of certain chemical processes.
makes the materials of its growth, manufacturing particles like itself out of material different from the medium which it is transformed in. The metabolism of the ciliate protozoan, Paramecium caudat., if kept in a hay infusion at a definite temperature, will grow and reproduce by binary fission at a definite rate. This growth and reproduction are accomplished at the expense of elements in the medium which are transformed into the protoplasm at the same time other substances appear in the medium which are the waste from the growth process. If we call these last b, and let a represent the material that goes to form new Paramecium, then the growth may be constructively compared with that of any purely chemical equation, with the result that a striking difference is noticeable. In the case of an effective chemical reaction between different compounds, the result will be found to be of the general character A + B = C + D; i.e., different substances are found in the two terms (e.g. Zn + H₂SO₄ = ZnSO₄ + H₂). In the former equation the fact that P appears on either side constitutes a veiled expression of a characteristic of life: that it occurs in a greatly increased amount. As a matter of fact, however, this formula represents but half of what is actually in progress; for at the same time other processes of a contrary or destructive character are in operation, and the organism is alive only so long as they do not gain the ascendency over the processes of construction.

From the work of destruction, which may involve the breaking up of complex substances into simpler ones, or their combination with oxygen, various end products arise, some useful to the organism, e.g., bile, others not so useful, or positively harmful, as urea, carbon dioxide, and mineral salts. In the case of animals the whole of their energy is derived from waste; in plants only a small part is thus derived, the rest being obtained from sunlight. The metabolic processes that are going on in any higher organism, plant or animal, are manifold in the extreme, and even in the case of unicellular forms our understanding of them is far from complete. At the same time the unity of the entire organic kingdom is well illustrated in a restricted series of fundamental metabolic processes which are common to every living creature.

(a) Every plant and animal respires, i.e., it takes up oxygen from its environment, whereby it oxidizes the carbohydrate and aluminous substances of its own body, producing as final product carbon dioxide and water. (b) The food materials of all living organisms, plant and animal alike, are originally prepared from the inorganic through the instrumentality of chlorophyll. Further, while it is true that growing plants are able to live on simpler compounds than animals, yet a study of the development of the embryo in the seed (also the growing cells in a young stem or root) shows it to be without the adult capacity, and dependent on manufactured carbo-hydrates, proteins, and fats, as is the case of animals. The differences relating to the mode of supply in the case of the two kingdoms are ultimately reducible to differences in the cell structure. The exaggerated development of the vegetable cell-wall prevents the ingestion of solid material.

(c) In both animal and vegetable kingdoms, characteristic compounds are formed during the grouping and absorption, such as ptyalin in animals, and disaccharides in plants. These substances are known as ferments or enzymes, and particu

larly in the constructive process, as it occurs in plants and animals, they play a very important part. In many cases of destructive processes, i.e., in destruction of waste, it is reported that the cell produces an enzyme for this end. So fundamental is the action of these enzymes that there is a very true but obvious saying: that they may be said to be life of a series of fermentations. The evidence goes to show that to a soluble enzyme is added to every functional element of the digestive system and its diagram is due in part to the action of popin which breaks up proteins. Respiration is achieved only through the presence of oxides, which carry oxygen from the lungs, and transport it to and from the blood corpuscles of the body. Under certain conditions—commonly greater concentration of the solution—the action of some enzymes increases, they can produce, against what they have taken apart, and there are others that devote themselves solely to the breaking down of the matter. Still other enzymes in its inner nature is still unknown. It appears to be ciclopedia, and, in several cases, is certainly not protein; still, as a rule, in elementary structure it is more like a protoplasm than anything else. Positively it is produced through the presence of enzymes, and these enzymes, however, in large measure to be a hydrolysis; the substances of food lipids are then undergoing decomposition.

(d) As the result of these metabolic processes, corresponding products are obtained, the plant absorbing starch in plants and glycosides in animals, oxides and tannins in both. We have spoken of the point of view that likens life to a series of fermentations. Investigation into the nature of these enzymes promises instruction in many matters that have not been achieved in the separation of them and the investigation of them to work apart from the living environment (e.g. rennet). Nevertheles it should be pointed out that these enzymes may help our ultimate account of life, because no account of enzyme action, however complete, gives us any clue to the characteristic achievement of the cell in co-ordinated and regulating these various activities that take place within it. Each enzyme is usually able to act in its specific way only upon one definite type of molecular arrangement; but the cell as an energy transformer is distinguished by the way in which it connects the varied complex reactions effected by these enzymes which it has itself produced. Accordingly, to consider the cell activity as simply the sum of its varied enzyme activity, is to make the same mistake as to suppose that an organism is the sum of its organs. It is to offer only a partial account of cell life. If regard were had only to the action of the enzymes, the interpretation would be purely katabolic, and there could be no account of the building up of compounds with higher chemical potential, which is a constitutive a factor in life. Each enzyme is the study of isolated, yet highly selective, activities—each enzyme must fit its substratum like lock and key, or the reaction does not take place: but the changing cell is seen in the connecting of one reaction with another, and in the using of the free energy of one reaction to carry on another. In this direction we have the distinctive character of life.

In metabolism there are three great stages which may each be characterized by a single word—Absorption (of new material); Transformation (in the interior of the protoplasm); leading to Excretion and Excretion the intercellular process capable of absorbing or exerting matter in either a gaseous, a fluid, or a solid condition.

The differences between Metazoa and Metaphyla are based on broad lines, physiological rather than morphological. It is from the food that we have seen that all the organic substance in the world is ultimately created by plants under the influence of sunlight. Animals, so far from creating, are continually destroying organic matter and re-solting it again into its original components. The food of plants exists in a gaseous state in the atmosphere, or as salts in solution in water; it requires therefore no preparation, and can be directly absorbed by the surface of the roots and leaves. But the food of animals, being compound matter, is usually in a solid state in a condition, which necessitates the presence of an internal reservoir in which the food can be stored until it is reduced to a more or less liquid absorbable condition. That is to say, almost all animals require a stomach, and in the case of the Protozoa the whole creature functions as such for the time being.

Again, the food of plants is everywhere present. Every wind that blows brings food to the leaves: rain-water with salts in solution bathes the roots. Their food may be anything that they have to seek their food—food; it does not usually come to them. Hence the nature of animal food requires that they shall have a definite mouth, a digestive tract, organs to carry the body in search of food, organs to seize it when found, and definite-ex
cretery organs to get rid of the waste. Free locomotion in the case of plants, apart from the Protophyta, is confined temporarily to the male cells, and, with the absence of movement, the function of the female substance is lost. Plants and animals thus differ in the nature of their food, yet both are dependent on the environment for supply, and that food, when elaborated into 'the physical basis of life' by contact with the living body, shows little chemical difference as animal or vegetable prolapse.

(6) All living things exhibit cyclical phases of activity known collectively as a life history, in which they manifest various degrees of vitality, sometimes with accompanying change of form. Every living creature, unicellular and multicellular alike, passes through a regular cycle of changes mainly determined by forces within itself, to which there is nothing comparable in the inorganic realm. Reference has been made to a period of youth characterized in both cases by active cell-proliferation; the constructive (anabolic) phase of metabolism is then in excess of the destructive (catabolic), and the creature grows. This is followed by a period of adolescence, in which, although at first the two phases practically balance, yet the energy of either later diminishes and is accompanied by certain morphological changes in the cells previous to fertilization—that process whereby the energy for division is renewed. This in turn—particularly in the case of unicellular forms, when fertilization is not effected—is succeeded by the period of old age, in which destruction slowly overtakes construction, and eventually the organism dies. The unicellular organism dies from protoplasmic senile degeneration just as surely as does the multicellular form. Now this 'capacity for death' is one of the distinguishing features of all living things. In a very real way, moreover, death is the servant of life, holding the balance between unlimited reproduction and limited feeding area. To it is due the circumstance that life is periodic in appearance; the recurrence of the living individual is a phenomenon unique in the realm of nature. This intermittent character of life is, however, seeming only. The death of the individual that has reproduced by means of a germ cell divided from its body involves no break in that series of continued divisions which thus extends backwards to the dawn of the race.

To this cyclical movement there are apparent exceptions. Weismann long ago suggested the immortality of the protozoa, but this is disavowed by the process of reproduction. In some cases of parthenogenesis that procedure is apparently strictly followed throughout the specific history, but again there is always, ultimately, death of the individual. In some of the higher plants and trees, construction appears to be continuously in excess of destruction, and the tree may be said to grow as long as it lives; nevertheless the individual eventually dies, even although, e.g. by grafting, we have perpetuation of the race without fertilization.

Further, we remark that not merely during those internal changes of every part which comprise metabolism, but in those changes of the whole which are involved in the conception of its life history, the living organism maintains its individuality and its integrity. In spite of the constant metabolic change, in spite of growth and decay, the living organism possesses a more or less constant form which serves as the arena in which those changes are displayed. We are aware of the persistence of a state of dynamic equivalence between the organism and its environment; in the inorganic realm. Continuously it is alive, and yet its material identity does not depend upon identity of matter. The matter changes, but the form remains more or less constant, the indivisible characteristic of the whole.

(7) All living things are capable of reproduction. Having a definite term of existence, they must reproduce themselves; otherwise the organic kingdom would soon pass out of existence. The individual die—is intermittent in form—not, however, before having, in most cases, by a kind of discontinuous growth, given rise to forms more or less like itself, which in their turn grow and reproduce their kind. No non-living thing reproduces itself in this way.

(a) Cell-division. The simplest form of reproduction is by cell-division. The need for this arises directly out of assimilation. For the due interchange (e.g. respiration) between a cell and its environment, a certain ratio is necessary between surface and bulk. But this ratio is disturbed by the growth of the cell. Such growth is accompanied by a change in form, insomuch as, while the bulk varies as the cube of the diameter, the surface grows but with the square. Further, as we have learned, the nucleus which is so intimately concerned with assimilation, is limited in the area of cytoplasm which is affected through the continual intercourse between the two. Accordingly the requisite surface is gained through division of the mass, and the mother cell loses her identity in that of the two daughter cells. Such reproduction accordingly takes from the living texture of the race, and the whole, then, is primarily assimilation, secondarily cell-division—the multiplication of cells.

Since 1846 it has been clearly recognized that new plant cells arise only from previously existing cells by the division of a mother cell into two daughter cells (Biogenesis): it was not till many years later that enough was known about the genesis of cells in the animal kingdom to overthrow for ever the doctrine of spontaneous generation.

Today, then, we maintain that the cell has no other mode of origin than the division of a pre-existing cell; and knowing something of the importance and permanence of the nucleus, we are also prepared to believe that it plays a special part in the process of multiplication by division. Fifty years ago Remak very naturally thought that division must commence in the very centre of the cell, and he pictured the process as beginning by division of the nucleus, followed by constriction and division of the nucleus, and completed by constriction and division at the opposite end. He did not press the point about the nucleus, this description holds good for cases of division in protozoa, and animal and vegetable kingdoms. It is termed Direct Division (Amiasis Division).

Such a method of division seems very natural, and, if it were conducted with regularity, it would obviously result in a fair division of the total mass of nuclear substance. But so delicate is the balance of nature that this method is found to be in operation with comparative rarity; nay more, evidence is gradually accumulating to show that direct division, which is a division of the mass of the nuclear substance without formation of chromatic thread or chromosomes, rarely occurs in embryonic cells or in some tissues of the adult. The original point of view was that of the occurrence of such division, or conjugation, but an adequately large number of diseases of chromosomes, associated with highly specialized cells whose nuclei are commonly of unusually large size; here it has proved again and again that the chromatic thread is the basis of the whole. The other method typically called Indirect Division, or Mitosis (after 'a thread'), is complicated, and involves the breaking up of the equator of a spindle of thread, the breaking up of this thread into the characteristic number of chromosomes, their arrangement by the law of the equator on the equation of a spined form of ellin, their exact longitudinal halving, reduction towards the pole, centromeres, and re-construction of the nuclei. The nuclei are termed as the result of a division of the cytoplasm of the mother cell in the region of that same equator.

Biologists speak glibly of the separation of the chromosomes.
from the division of the fertilized egg remain associated together, thus forming a complex colony of cells, an organic individual, however, of a higher order than the Volvox community. In a sense this multicellular organism is in certain respects comparable with the sum of the cells produced by a-sexual division from two unicellular ex-conjugates. The cycle closes in the higher forms when the sexual cells have become mature, and separate from the parent to unite in the process of fertilization, which forms the starting-point for the new generation of dividing cells. All this, of course, is a very complicated process in the case of the vertebrates and invertebrates, but in the lower multicellular Algae it is relatively simple. The capacity which every cell, e.g. of Pandorina, exhibits of helping to reproduce the whole multicellular organism is not seen when the organism is somewhat more highly developed. For in that case the cells of the body sooner or later become differentiated into two great classes, the members of which Weismann has termed somatic and germ cells respectively. The former are of prime importance for the individual life, being differentiated into those various tissues which collectively form the 'body.' The germ cells, on the other hand, have a great significance for the individual life, but in eventually giving rise to new creatures are intimately concerned with the interests of the species. This differentiation is already noticeable so far down in the animal scale as in Volvox globator. Amongst the very numerous cells that constitute this colonial form some remain vegetative and others are transformed into reproductive cells. The eggs are large, and are fertilized by minute biflagellate male spores which are produced in dozens by the division of a mother sperm-cell. Indeed, we may consider that in the plant world egg- and sperm-cells are derived from reproductive cells which initially are similar in size, appearance, and origin, but have become differentiated through developing in different directions. The evolution can particularly well be traced in the group of the Alge. At the same time it is right to bear in mind that the distinction, even in the case of the higher animals, is only relative, since both sets of cells ultimately have a common origin in the parent germ-cell.

Associated with fertilization is the formation of these higher forms is at least one interesting phenomenon complicating the life history. We have seen, e.g. in the case of Paramaecium, that between two acts of conjugation a great deal occurs in the way and in the result of the division, both mother and father. The analogous state of affairs amongst higher forms. Sometimes the individual proceeding from the fertilized egg is unable itself to form reproductive cells. It can multiply only by means of buds, spores, or parthenogenetic eggs. These, or their asexually produced descendents, become sexually mature and produce eggs and spores. Such a cycle is known as an alternation of generations. It occurs in the life history of some worms, as also particularly in the case of some members of the Coelenterata.

There is, then, a stage in the development of every multicellular organism at which the progenitors of the germ-cells are apparently alike in the two sexes, and for that matter indistinguishable from the surrounding somatic cells. When in the course of development follows their differentiation from these somatic cells, and eventually a divergence in themselves corresponding to the different functions that they will have to perform later. The female germ-cell, ovum, or egg supplies most of the substances and nourishment that the embryo stores the food whereby it is nourished. Accordingly not only is it large, but its cytoplasm is laden with yolk or food-matter, and it is usually
surrounded by one or more membranes for the protection of the developing individuals. All its activities are, therefore, anabolic or constructive on the whole; for the early life of the egg consists in the accumulation of cytoplasm and the storage of potential energy. On the other hand, the metabolism of the male germ-cell or spermatozoon is destructive or katabolic. To the mass of the embryo it contributes merely a nucleus, centrosome, and a minimum of cytoplasm. Its early life is spent in the accumulation of food material; it has almost it not more protoplasm than is sufficient to form the typically single flagellum by whose active, rapid movements it seeks the ovum. Hence in their final mature state the ovum and spermatozoon have no external similarity. What we find is a physiological division of labour between the cells which are to join in the act of fertilization, in virtue of which one of them becomes active and a fertilizer, while the other remains passive and capable of being fertilized. In fact, we are forced to the conclusion that it is the arrangements and adaptations connected with sex have the same two-fold object, namely, to facilitate the meeting of the sexual cells and to arrange for the nourishment and protection of the egg. The organization that develops as a result of the sexual cells is the one that carries out the other we term female. These relationships are secondary and have nothing whatever to do with the process of fertilization itself, which consists of the union of two different and apparently similar nuclear substances derived from different cells. This means, in its turn, that the original morphological equivalence of the germ-cells (seen, e.g., in the Protozoa) is lost; what is left is an equivalence of nuclei. Hence the essential fact of fertilization and the conditions of its production consist in a union of two identical and apparently identical nuclei; and to this all other processes are tributary. Although the cell character of the ovum was perhaps recognized by Schwann, yet it is not so many years ago (c. 1878) since the fact that the spermatozoon is likewise a cell was universally admitted.

With regard to the growth and origin of the germ-cells, it may be stated that both ova and spermatozoa take their rise from the somatic cells which are not identical in the two sexes. These identical primordial germ-cells are produced in the case of species some animals like marsupials and eutherians that separates ectoderm and endoderm. In the Cestodera they arise in a germinal epithelium which may be either ectodermal or endodermal in origin, but in the higher animals it is mesodermal. What exactly determines the subsequent differentiation is not yet clearly made out. External conditions play an important, a decisive role, as some investigators, experimenting upon tadpoles, found that by increasing the richness of the nutrition in which the kept they the early undeveloped (3) forms, he could raise the percentage of females. Manseau seemed to show with regard to rotifers that a high temperature results in the production of males. A true reading of the facts shows that the higher temperature induced greater activity, resulting in a speedier exhaustion of the food, and, in consequence, a tendency to the production of males. It is doubtful, however, how far these experiments correspond to real facts. The decisive factor in the determination of sex is still unknown; indeed, there is considerable evidence that it may be determined by factors other than nutrition as well as previous fertilization, which simply in that case provides the egg with the material condition to develop.

The essential activity of these primordial germ-cells has been very carefully investigated by different workers (Hertwig, Hamburger, Stieve). They have been tracked very far back in the developing egg, and identified at their earliest appearance. In the case of the roundworm Ascaris, Boveri already recognized the first appearance of the germ-cells in the two-cell stage. Further, it has been shown that this progenitor of the germ-cells is a somatic cell, not in its greater size and richness in chromatin of the nucleus, but specifically in the manner of the subsequent distribution of this chromatin. It has been observed in the production of germ-cells that, on the one hand, the 2-4 of the egg-chromatin handed down from the parent, since the germ-cells in the early (6 or 9) divisions cast out a portion of this substance in the case of one of the daughter cells into the surrounding cytoplasm, where it degenerates, so forming somatic cells with less chromatin. Fertilization can now state to be a process by which the energy lost in a continuous cycle of divisions is restored by the admixture of living matter from another cell. It consequently entails the blending of two independent lines of descent. But when we ask—What then is the ultimate end of fertilization an answer cannot be given with certainty. It is perhaps more a question of the question involves that introduction of teleological considerations which is the bane of Science, according to some of her foremost exponents; yet every one has attempted his rationale of the phenomenon. Fertilization may be, as Manseau and others believe, rejuvenescence of the conjugating individuals; in the case of the Protozoa it certainly has this effect, for it is always the commencement of a new series of divisions. In fact, strictly speaking, the formation of a new individual in protozoan and metazoon alike. Further, the usual assumption in the case of Paramecia is that the two ectopic eggs are equally stimulated to divide; but the more recent work of Calvin shows that in the majority of cases, while one individual of the original pair is markedly vigorous after conjugation, the other one either forms a weak strain or dies off at an early period (Biol. Bull. vol. x. p. 242). Now, if this is the case, it suggests in these apparently inosaged conjugants a hint that differentiates results in a spermatozoon losing its original identity and becoming a union of half-equivalent nuclei; and to this all other processes are tributary. The sexual cells are perhaps recognized by Schwann, yet it is not so many years ago (c. 1878) since the fact that the spermatozoon is likewise a cell was universally admitted.

Previous to fertilization, a ripening process takes place in both ovum and spermatozoon, which is usually termed maturation. With this phenomenon is intimately connected a reduction in the number of the chromosomes to one-half the number characteristic of the species—in this way a progressive elimination of the chromosomes throughout succeeding generations is prevented. The procedure is very complicated, and still imperfectly understood; but it is probable that, previous to the penultimate of the two final divisions by which the definitive number is secured, the condensation of the chromatin thread (synapsis), and its appearance ultimately in a number of bodies corresponding to half the typical number of chromosomes, really represent in each case a conjugation of the maternal and paternal chromosomes, the paternal being hitherto remained distinct, followed by a division in which these double chromosomes divide longi-

FIG. 3.—Fertilized ovum of Ascaris; male and female germ-nuclei, with chromatin at continuous thread stage; the centrosomes are separating. To the right are the extruded polar bodies. (From Walker's Essentials of Cytology, by kind permission of the publishers.)
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Bovari has summarized the process of fertilization in the following words: "The ripe egg possesses all of the organs and qualities necessary for division excepting the centrosome, by which division is initiated. The spermatozoon, on the other hand, is provided with a centrosome, but lacks the substance in which the organs and cell-elements, i.e. their chromatin, are equal in amount from both germ-cells. In general terms the statement is true, but it is doubtful whether the actual centrosome of the spermatozoon identically persists as the organ around which the division centers in the ovum, or whether it is simply a locus, e.g. of enzymes, under whose influence a new centrosome is formed in the egg cytoplasm. Further, it has been questioned whether the sperm centrosomes are actually identical with the segmentation centrosomes, for there are cases where the former seem to disappear for a time, although this may be due to variation in staining capacity at a critical period. Still the general fact remains, that something certainly is introduced into the egg by the middle piece of the fertilizing sperm which either is the original centrosome, or has the power to stimulate the formation of one out of the egg cytoplasm—something that can divide and produce division of the cell-mass independently even of fusion of the nuclei, something that is in some way directly connected with the corresponding apparatus of the succeeding division. What it is, however, that actually starts the segmentation cannot be definitely determined; but it need not necessarily be the sperm centrosome or even its centrosome. Artificially fertilization has been induced in sea-urchin eggs by exposing them to sea-water whose concentration has been increased some 50 per cent. by the addition of Na Cl; development takes place right up to the larval stage (Loeb); Nathansohn has caused the parthenogenetic development of the eggs of a fern (Marilia) by simply keeping them at a sufficiently high temperature, thus suggesting that the mechanism of development is in the egg, and that all it requires is a certain stimulus to set it in motion; such a stimulus in this case is the difference in temperature by which the egg is warmed before its rupture. Accordingly we conclude generally that while the stimulus to development is normally connected with the sperm centrosome, yet this is not the only way of supplying the conditions requisite to initiate the process. While undoubtedly in some forms (e.g., the development of the Tarzona of fennel) the nucleus of the sperm-egg-nuclei takes place, and out of the mixed chromatins chromosomes arise, yet in other and probably the majority of animals the two nuclei simply lie closely side by side, and in that position give rise each to its own group of chromosomes preparatory to the first division. Thus the paternal and maternal chromatin may remain distinct and separate in the later stages of development, possibly throughout life. Accordingly the problem arises that the body of the child may receive from each parent not only half of its chromatin-substance, but one half of its chromosomes, as distinct and individual descendants of those of the parents (Wilson, op. cit. p. 208).

Every nucleus, then, arising by the segmentation of a fertilized egg-cell contains a double set of chromosomes, nuclear substance derived from both parents. As a matter of experimental fact, however, it has been ascertained in certain instances that either for the purpose of cleavage develop-ment, at least as far as the larval stages. The egg may be caused to develop without the presence of paternal chromosomes, while, conversely, development has been induced in a sperm-fertilized egg from which the maternal nucleus was removed.

For these and many other reasons the chromosomes are now regarded as the vehicles of inheritance.

The question of the individuality of the chromosomes has lately received very close attention. From a theoretical point of view the denial of their individuality seems to make mitosis meaningless. Why this careful and accurate division of the chromosomes, if after every such division the substance of the different chromosomes remains the same as that of the father's or mother's chromosomes? The assumption of their stability likewise gives us the better explanation of their constant number. From the physiological side Ray and Raper have maintained, as the result of study of mitosis in the epithelial cells in the salamander, that the chromosomes do not lose their individuality on segmentation, but are simply distributed in the cytoplasm of the segregated nuclei. He ideas was the reticulum arises as the result of a transformation of the chromosomes in the spermatid which gave off cytoplasm, the threads, causing the temporary appearance of a network that was again lost as the reticulum contracted at various definite points to form the typical number of original chromosomes. Bovari, in particular, and others have further shown that whatever be the number of chromosomes entering into the composition of a nuclear reticulum, the same number issues from it at a later stage, and in very much the same position. This is particularly striking in certain abnormal cases of fertilization, where it was noticed that the irregular number of chromosomes persisted from one cell generation to another. In such cases the number of chromosomes appearing in a nucleus during mitosis is the same as the number of chromosomes from which it was originally formed (Ray and Raper, The Essentials of Cytology, p. 156). In certain species the chromosomes can be distinguished during the resting stage of the nucleus; and even in most cases it looks as if the identity of the chromosomes was lost at this stage, yet this does not prove, of course, that it is so lost. In other species the chromosomes appear to show constant differences of size and shape, so suggesting that they may possess specific individual characters. Finally, Hacker, Hertig, and Zojer have shown that the centromeres (axial or equatorial plates) do the germ-nuclei not fuse, but they give rise to two separate yet parallel series of paternal and maternal chromosomes that remain perfectly distinct, as far as the chromosomes are studied in the twelveline-stage, and probably throughout life. Indeed, as the result of the later researches of Muntzing, it seems that we must as a synapse their differentiation of homologous chromosomes which are later separated in the reduction division; as a final result we have two series of whole chromosomes. Here then, in general, is an important—if it can be absolutely demonstrated—a epoch-making discovery. With Harvey's name we associate the discovery Of scions: a tree.
Virchow, we owe the induction Omnipus cellula e cellula. Stu- brander first clearly established the truth Omnis nucleus e nucleus. And with Boveri's name it is just possible that we shall have to establish the further truth that there are chromosome generations corresponding to cell generations, that the chromosomes of one generation arise endogenously in the chromosomes of a previous generation, that growth and reproduction, characteristic features of living things, are predictable of those intracellular units—in short, Omnis chromosoma e chromosomate.

Boveri has further shown experimentally that qualitative physiological differences exist amongst the chromosomes; complete development is apparently possible only in presence of a particular combination of them. This suggests that some definite relation exists between individual chromosomes (or possibly the chromosomes composing them) and the development of definite characters or groups of characters. What interaction takes place during the conjugation of chromosomes we do not know. If we assume that the hereditary characters are distributed amongst different chromosomes, then their segregation is achieved at the reduction division, the results are in accordance with the Mendelian view-point (see art. Haeckel), and the individuality of the chromosomes is fairly established. But in any case it is difficult to banish the idea of some more or less persistent morphological organization corresponding to what we at present roughly include within the conception of the chromosomes.

As a result of some form of stimulus consequent on fertilization, the egg commences to segment. These cleavage divisions are similar to what has been described in connexion with mitosis, except that very early they are accompanied by differentiation. Differentiation in the higher forms of life is expressed in the establishment of tissues and later of organs, in connexion with that physiological division of labour which usually means so much greater capacity for doing work. The more complete the organic structure the more detailed is this subdivision of labour; the greater the degree of co-ordination and unification of these activities, the higher the creature stands, as a general rule, in the scale of life. How all the different stages have arisen with their genetic continuity is the story of evolution, most interesting, if most difficult, in the lower grades of life, where, however, modern study, e.g., of the Protozoa, sheds floods of light upon the question. In the course of this differentiation considerable change is often noticed in the functions of organs; what at one stage played one particular role is found at a later stage to function in a different manner.

Again, the cleavage divisions of the developing egg are often effected in planes that show some definite relation to the structural axes of the adult body. Typically, the cells divide rhythmically into definite groups around the part of the egg, the plane of division tends to intersect the preceding one at right angles. Variations, however, occur not merely in the rhythm, but in the quantitative character of the divisions, as also in the direction of the cleavage planes; these variations are of regular occurrence. Not merely do the cells divide in accordance with the requirements of definite mechanical conditions, but also, and more distinctively, with reference to the future cell-orientation and structure of the animal; of this we shall speak more fully in the next section. 

Wilson has argued that the cleavage planes—i.e., the planes of division—are not chance events, but are fixed, as it were, determined endogenously by the egg. The speed with which cleavage begins is, however, subject to control by the conditions, and these may be quite different in different species. Again, a different is made, by Wilson, between final, or definite, and pre-localization, or pre-determination, of egg and stage. Final determination of the egg occurs before fertilization, and it is a matter of some dispute whether the whole egg, or only a part, is determined in this manner. 

The egg then is determined on every side. From the moment of fertilization it can be said to be a definite entity, and the whole process of development may be thought of as the functional expression of this determination. It is a most important point that the determination is much more definite in the egg than it is in the spermatozoon. The spermatozoon is a microscopically limited nucleus, specialized only for the process of conception; the egg, on the other hand, is a cellular and nucleated body, the determination of which is much more definite and permanent. It is this determination of the egg which, in Wilson's opinion, is the essential characteristic of the fertilized egg. The immediate result of fertilization is the formation of a new egg, which has all the characteristics of the original egg, and is a definite entity. 

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Fig. 5.—Cleavage of the ovum of the sea-urchin Toxopneustes (Cten.). The successive divisions up to the 16-cell stage (f) occupy about two hours. 1 is a section of the embryo of three hours, consisting of approximately 126 cells surrounding a central cavity. (From Wilson's The Cell, by kind permission of the publishers.)
condition in the early cells, until at last in each cell there is simply left that particular determinant which controls it. But of these qualitative divisions, save in the reduction division in matura-
tion, there is no evidence whatever; and facts like regenerability, the ability of a single cell of the two- or four-cell stage to reproduce the whole of the embryo (Amphioxus), although on a reduced scale, 
seem to negative it; while in the cases where, as in the frog, the right cell of the two-cell stage appears to contain the material for the right half of the blastema, that cell does not itself give rise to anything different; in other words, its prospective value is a function of its position (Studien, iv. 39).

The suggestion bears a true relation to what does occur in many instances; but it is evident that now, merely by the position of a blastomere to its neighbours, the position of its own offspring becomes determined. Thus, to Morgan has shown that even in the case of the two-cell frog the single isolated cell may give rise to a half embryo or to a whole embryo of half size, as in Amphioxus, according as the isolated cell is left in its normal position, or turned upside down. This seems to indicate that all the material for a complete, if half-sized, embryo exists in the single cell of the two-cell stage, and that at this stage, as in Amphioxus, the blastomeres are not so firmly set that it can only develop into the half of the creature that normally it would. In fact, embryology discloses a whole series of forms in which this equivalence of the cells at the early stages is greater or less, some easily overcoming the tendency to develop only (as normally) into a part, others doing so with greater difficulty, and even failing, with the result that a monster (defective larva or adult) is formed. Accordingly it would seem as if primarily the egg cytoplast is equipotential, in the sense that the various regions do not stand in a fixed relation to one another, but are co-ordinate, and that sooner or later differentiation of these regions, resulting in a mosaic-like development, does take place from causes that we do not understand—sooner, as in the case of the molluse Dentalium, whose single cells when separated cannot completely overcome the tendency to form a part and develop into monsters resembling pieces of a single egg (and the same result is achieved by artificially cutting off pieces of the egg); later, as in the case of Amphioxus, where a cell of the two-cell stage, when isolated, develops into a complete dwarf adult, either half or quarter size. A suggested solution of this phenomenon consists in assuming the various protoplasmic constituents as arranged in bands or zones (cf. Wilson, Science, vol. xxi. No. 530). In Amphioxus the first division would separate these symmetrically and equally. In Dentalium the division may be apparently symmetrical but really qualitative, so that all of one band or zone passes into one of the others.

Further, it is difficult to avoid believing that differentiation of a kind, slight perhaps but still effective, has not occurred much earlier, even previous to fertilization, for the egg has a developmental history previous to that experience. These axial differentiations are probably due to the nucleus, and form the scaffoldings, as it were, within which the development after fertilization goes on. The ability to re-adjust or to develop the isolated blastomeres largely depends on the degree to which this scaffoldings has been effectively reared.

But the storehouse of the kind, these differentiations, which may be cast out of the nucleus, or dissolved, or be transformed into something else. The former circumstance has been indeed observed by Boveri in the early somatic cells of the developing Ascaris. Driesch's conception of the nucleus as a "storehouse of ferments which pass out into the cytoplasm and there set up specific activities," is at least interesting. Certain it is that 'specific protoplasmic stuffs' are distributed to the cells in a definite way from the very earliest stages of development, and since they have a definite arrangement, it would, to Morgan, to whom development is mechanical, and the cleavage mosaic is an actual mosaic. If it could be shown that initially protoplasm contains only a few of these specific stuffs, that, as development proceeds, new stuffs are progressively formed and finally that their number decreases and that they weaken as differentiation progresses, we should have an interpretation of development that is essentially epigenetic—progressive in the sense that now additional parts not already there are formed; and in this combination of the two older and contrasted view-points of pre-formation and epigenesis the truth is probably to be found.

Finally, we are unable to forget the dominating role of the environment in all development; without it the stimuli the inherited organization of the living creature would not work itself out. The living form is at any moment the resultant of external stimuli acting upon its inherited organization. This has been experimentally proved time and again: a normal development is the response to normal conditions. The development is thus reduced, and it may be modified by the environment; but the fundamental character and cause of it lie in the inherited organization. The developing organism and its environment react on one another. The progress of the adaptiveness the organism continually sets itself free from the control of the environment and proves itself the more constant of the two. Separation of the two is practically impossible; we are almost compelled to consider the organism and its environment as a single system undergoing change.

In conclusion, we re-affirm that of that marvelous co-ordinating power which guides development rhythmically and orderly to its predestined goal we have no explanation. As Wilson puts it, we have no more knowledge of this development of the germ-cell involves the properties of the adult body than we know how the properties of hydrogen and oxygen involve those of water" (op. cit. 433). Of the origin of that 'co-ordinated fitness, that power of active adjustment between internal and external relations,' that capacity of the idioplasm of the germ-cell to respond to the influence of the environment, so as to call forth an adaptive variation, we are in complete ignorance. This directive control, as we already saw, is the distinctive characteristic of life. See also art. DEVELOPMENT, EVOLUTION, HEREDITY.
BIRDS—BIRTH (Introduction)

Hindu, popular (W. D. Sutherland), p. 651.
Jewish (M. Gaster), p. 652.
Muhammadan (S. Lane-Pool), p. 659.
Roman (E. S. Hartland), p. 665.
Teutonic (E. Mogg), p. 662.

BIRDS.—Soo ANIMALS.

BIRTH. (Introduction).

In the lowest stages of civilization the observations connected with pregnancy and child-birth are relatively simple, though the germs, and frequently something more than germs, are found of ceremonies which underlie elaboration as civilization advances. Such rites and observances may be considered under six heads:

1. The rite of the conception of child and birth.
2. The dangers from evil spirits and from witchcraft.
3. The preparation of the woman for her readmission to society.
4. The attempt to secure good fortune for the child.
5. The admission of the child, and the re-admission of the parents, into society.
6. The condition of tabu.

It is rare to find an expression like that made by an experienced missionary in reference to the Murray Islands, that 'the woman was not considered unclean after childbirth, but, whether marriage necessary, for her readmission into society' (JAF xxviii, 11). On the other hand, this condition of tabu is sometimes, as among many Bantu peoples, emphasized by the separation of husband and wife at an early stage of the pregnancy. It is continued right into the higher stages of development, in which, during the pregnancy, it is perpetuated in various ecclesiastical and traditional observances. The husband and sometimes all the household are also affected by the condition of tabu, according to the well-known law of its contagiousness. A condition of tabu is conceived of as a material infection communicated by contact with the person or with anything used by him, or even by relations of kinship or neighbourhood. Women are, during the whole of their reproductive life, specially subject to it. From the attainment of puberty, at which stage the first menstruation occurs, as well as at every pregnancy and parturition, they are under its ban. It is a condition associated with the mysterious, the awful, and the relations of beings more than human with mankind. The processes of generation and reproduction, so mysterious even to us, are in lower stages of culture the object of emotions, which we can hardly understand. Blood, too, is regarded with horror. The slaughter even of an enemy is enough to place a man under tabu: hence warriors returning from even a successful raid may be required to be purified. But of all the blood that inspires horror, that which proceeds from the female organs of sex is the most effective, perhaps because its normal cause is unknown. A menstruating woman is set apart; her touch defiles her; her ordinary utilizations to husband and household are suspended. It is therefore not wonderful that pregnancy and child-birth are conditions of tabu, and that others than the woman, especially her husband, are involved.

(a) Couvade. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that all the prohibitions imposed on husband and wife during pregnancy and at child-birth have reference to the considerations just mentioned. Many of them concern the welfare, present and future, of the child. Such, it is now well recognized, is the intention of the couvade.

Even before the child is born, the father abstains for a time from certain kinds of animal food. The woman works as usual up to a few days before the birth of the child. At last she retires alone, or accompanied only by some other woman, to the forest, where she ties up her hammock; and then the child is born. Thereafter she goes back into the house, Oxford, 1905),

BIRDS.—Soo ANIMALS.
hair, otherwise his wife will speedily die (Riedel, Stiek- en broeikhare vraes, p. 292).

This mystic sympathy extends to parent and child. Many peoples are still at the stage in which relationship is not reckoned between father and child, and there is no purely matrilineal reckoning of kinship generally prece-
ded which that recognizes the father's relationship. The custom ofouvade proper does not appear to exist among purely matrilineal peoples, for the sufficient reason that they do not recognize the tie of kinship on which it depends. In the result of inquiries by Prof. Tylor and Mr. Ling Roth, it is found in the strongest force among those peoples in which matrilineal is in process of transition to patrilineal kinship, and its frequency and elaboration diminish with the gathering strength and prevalence of paternal kinship, although, even in the higher civilizations, where kinship is reckoned through both parents, observances linger which are based upon the same idea of mystic sympathy (J. A. I. xviii. 235; xxii. 204). Whether its gradual diminution is a result of migration into the south of Europe, of the influence of the civilization which has fallen into the background with the advance in civilization has not finally been determined. Another cause has been suggested. Bouchen (Mutterrocht, 1897, pp. 17, 235) saw in the conviuve the desire of the men to possess the child, and the mode by which he claimed it for his stock rather than the mother's. Prof. Tylor, after hesita-
tion, gave the great weight of his authority to this opinion, which is supported by some of the cases. But it is clear that the quasi-legal fiction which would be thus created must be founded on the pre-existing idea of mystical sympathy and the practices connected therewith. When patrilineal reckoning became fully established, the stage of legal fiction was past. The conviude became un-
necessary, and this with the patrilinearity, and there-
fore would in time be dropped. (In addition to the works cited above, discussions on the conviude will be found in Tylor, Early Hist. of Mankind, 1878, p. 291; Hartland, Legend of Perseus, 1894-96, ii. 400; Crawley, Mystic Rose, 1903, p. 416.)

(6) Delivery in seclusion.—It follows from the condition of tabu imposed on a parturient that child-birth must almost always take place in seclusion. Among many peoples, where the climate permits, the event takes place in the open air. In the Batu, the mother is delivered behind her mother's hut; and after the birth she is placed in a small hut, where she re-
 mains until the navel-string drops from the child (Dannert, Zum Rechte der Herero, Berlin, 1906, p. 19; S. Afr. F. L. Journ. i. 41, ii. 61). In British Columbia the Kwakiutl woman is delivered out of doors; the Sk'omcic woman retires to the woods, unless it be winter or retirement to the woods be for any other reason inconvenient, in which case she is delivered behind a screen of reeds-
mats in the general dwelling which is of considerable size (Boas, Brit. Ant. Rep., 1896, p. 573; 1900, p. 479). Among some of the tribes of New South Wales it is said that the spot to which the parturient withdraws is fixed upon by the elders of the band (Matthews, Ethnol. Notes, Sydney, 1900, p. 15). In tropical countries delivery frequently takes place in the forest; in the Babar Archipelago, on the seashore (Riedel, p. 354). The Indians of Rio de la Plata are delivered on the shore of a lagoon or river, where immediately afterwards they wash themselves and the infant (Graux, Travels in Patagonia, etc., art. 119). It is probable that in the other alleged case mother-right, though still the rule, has begun to give way. More information is desirable on the Arawak and their surroundings.

Rio de la Plata, Montevideo, 1896, p. 66). Where parturition does not take place in the open air, a special hut is commonly provided for the purpose.

In Japan this hut used to be a mere shed without a door (Aston, Shinto, 1907, p. 113). Where a separ-
ate dwelling is provided for menstruant women, as they often are, the moiety for whom the delivery is to be performed in the house, the other occupants also being under tabu, no harm can be inflicted on them by her presence. This is the practice, for example, of the Konos of the Nilgiri Hills and other tribes in the south of India. In comparatively civilized countries like Russia, among the peasants of the Government of Smolensk, the woman is placed for delivery in a barn or a hut at a distance from the house (L'Anthropologie, xiv. 716). The Vottak woman gives birth in the family dwelling, but behind a curtain, for it would be a bad omen for any one but the woman in attendance as midwife to see the birth (Rev. Trad. Pop. xiii. 254). This clearly means that it is not a desire for privacy on the part of the patient that leads to the seclu-
sion, but as a rule the part of the other members of the household.

Where the seclusion cannot be carried out by de-
livery in the open air away from the community, or where by custom or special circumstances delivery is artificially prevented, the woman takes place in the hut, or is otherwise protected from the house, just as when a person is dying there, else they would be unlucky (J. A. I. xix. 299). When a birth takes place in the house, the Indians of the Umpqua Valley in Brazil take everything out of the house, even the pans and pots and bowls and arrows, until the next day (Wallace, Trav. on the Amazon, p. 345). All these objects would be affected by the unclean-
ness of child-birth if allowed to remain, and prob-
elly would have to be destroyed, as is done, among some of the tribes of New South Wales, with the bodies of the men. A similar custom is also found in seclusion (J. A. I. ii. 268). So contagious is the tabu, that, if the men do not avoid the neighbourhood of the hut, they, it is widely believed, will be un-
lucky in their own occupations, as in the New Hebrides, where the yams they cultivate will be spoiled (J. RW. x. 516).

(c) Absence of the father at birth.—As a rule the husband, in common with all other men, is required to be absent on the occasion of child-birth. The reason of this requirement has been supposed to be the condition of tabu under which the parturient woman lies—a condition that would be communi-
cated to every one present. But the explanation will not fit the facts everywhere. Thus among the Opatas of Mexico a parturient is attended by her nearest relatives; but so little is seclusion deemed necessary, that men, and even children, may be present (Amer. Anthr. [N. S.] vi. 80). In the Loyalty Islands, again, the act of birth is a spectacle that everybody—men, women, and children—likes to see. Moreover, except the husband alone must be absent. During the whole of the woman's subsequent seclusion, which lasts until the child is big enough to crawl, her husband never pays her a visit, though he occasionally sends her food (J. A. I. v. 383). In Bolivia the husband is obliged to be present when she is delivered, or act as midwife, while all other
men must keep away. This is the custom of some of the wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula (Skeat and Blagdon, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, 1906, ii. 20, 22, 25). Among the Yaroinga of Queensland the parturient is attended by an old woman as midwife, but the husband is at liberty to be present if he chooses. The act of delivery is contrary to the practice of the neighbouring Kalakadoon, who allow only a very old man or two to be present (Roth, Ethnical Studies, pp. 152, 153). The active assistance of the husband is expected in the Andaman Islands (J.A.F. xii. 206) and in the Babar Archipelago (Riecel, op. cit. 354), as well as among the Basques (ZE xxxii. Verhandl. 292); while among the Bontoc Igorot of Luzon he is at least present (Jenks, Ethnol. Survey, Philippine Islands, i. 59). In the Marquesas Islands he is not only at hand, but must have conjugal relations with his wife almost immediately after the birth when she goes to bath (L'Anthrop. vii. 546).

Moreover, presence at the birth is not necessary to render the husband unclean, or, in other words, to render him liable to the tabu. This is the case among the Pomoans of California (Black, Tlele. p. 197). In the Steppes the Kadoon, Queensland, and some other groups, the man is already subjected to it by the mere fact of his relationship to the parturient. In many cases his uncleaness is expressly affirmed; in others it is to be inferred from some of the tabus by which he is bound, and which are not to be explained by his conjunction with the mother. In the case of the tabu extending more or less to the whole household, or sometimes even to the whole community. The Kafirs of South Africa seem to regard all the members of the kraal as unclean, for they 'eat medicine,' as a result of the body death (Leslie, Among the Zulus, p. 197). The Sulkas of New Pomerania are similarly affected; and not only the men, but their weapons and the cuttings of plants they are about to put in the ground, require to be purified (A.A. [N.F.] i. 209). To the same origin we may probably attribute the stories, framed as they now stand at a period when the custom was no longer understood, of the famous couvade of the Ulstermen, when all the male population was annually laid up as a penalty for an act of cruelty to a woman about to be delivered.

In these circumstances an alternative conjecture may be hazarded that the husband's enforced absence is to be regarded as a relic of earlier social conditions, when the wife dwelt at her mother's house, and descent was counted only through the mother. Such a theory accords with the fact that the father of the child would be of small importance, and might even be unknown, and the occurrence would be one in which he had small concern. The conjecture is supported by the frequent, if not always, presence and assistance of the parturient woman's mother when alive and within reach. This might be supposed to be merely natural, were it not that the large divergences of custom and feeling between the lower culture and our own hinder any cautious anthropologist from laying down as a genuine and natural what is not. It is further supported by the custom of sundry African and Indian peoples, whereby a woman, particularly at her first confinement, returns to her maternal home, and is there delivered and remains in seclusion for a ritual period, apart from her husband and unvisited by him. Among one of those peoples at least (the Basuto) the first child belongs to, and remains with, the mother's parents (FL xv. 250).}

(d) Tabu of the child.—The condition of tabu thus far described, not being, perhaps, need not be said, to the newborn child. It is unclean, and must be cleansed by a rite of purification which assumes various forms among different peoples; and this purification, as in Christian baptism (q.v.), is the rite of introduction to, and incorporation in, the community. Sometimes father, mother, and child are all purified together in one and the same rite. Among certain Indians in the north-west of Brazil both parents and child remain in seclusion for five days. The parents neither work nor wash, and their diet is strictly limited. If either of them does not observe the obligation they will be injurious to the child. At the end of the five days the husband's father gives them permission to bathe and resume their ordinary food, and a common bath by the young parents and their child is the last tabu. Shortly before the close of the period, it may be necessary to refer to the father's and mother's marriage, to the child's birth, and to the marriage of others, and all men are expressly stated to be absent at parturition (Globus, xc. 351). The Swahili of East Africa, who are nominally Muhammadan, have a similar rite for putting an end to the forty days' seclusion and dieting of the mother. At the end of that period she and the father are required to resume cohabitation. After the first occasion of cohabitation, the father, mother, and child are considered together, and after the other in the same way. This ceremony is called by the Arabs, 'diet-breaking,' and it is held necessary for the child's health. Ordinary life is then resumed (ZE xxxi. 61). It was perhaps some rite incidental to the tabu and purification of the infant among the ancient Egyptians (see the references there). Indeed, it is said by Herodotus (v. 4) when he described the kinsmen as sitting round the child and lamenting the ills to which it was heir. That the Trausi, in opposition to the general sentiment and practice of mankind, were peculiarity philosophers of the type implied by the historian is hardly credible. They arise from two sources—evil spirits and witchcraft. Against them a pregnant woman provides by means of ceremonies (often with the co-operation of priests and shamans), abstinence, and amulets. Thus, in the Pomoans there is an alternative ceremony, the So-cem, for the protection of the newborn child. In Christian countries baptism is of all protective ceremonies the most effectual. It is probably due as much to the belief that the devil and other evil spirits have no identity with the Christian body, as to the ritual of baptism, which purifies a child and often for snatching it away, as to the theological doctrine of original sin, that baptism has been hastened so eagerly and widely. At Gossensass in the Tirol the devil is believed to have power over both mother and babe. Until the one is christened and the other christened, something may befall them. They must not be left in the house alone; and the nurse in attendance must not sleep, but pray without ceasing. It would be useless to make the sign of the cross by way of blessing an evil child, as it is in the nature of the devil, on an unbaptized child, and often for snatching it away, as to the theological doctrine of original sin, that baptism has been hastened so eagerly and widely. At Gossensass in the Tirol the devil is believed to have power over both mother and babe. Until the one is christened and the other christened, something may befall them. They must not be left in the house alone; and the nurse in attendance must not sleep, but pray without ceasing. It would be useless to make the sign of the cross by way of blessing an evil child, as it is in the nature of the devil, on an unbaptized child, and often for snatching it away, as to the theological doctrine of original sin, that baptism has been hastened so eagerly and widely. This ceremony is performed over the corpse of such a woman to prevent her returning for mischief (cf. FL ii. 289-274). To evil spirits are ascribed difficulty of navigation, the storms of the parturient, the infestation of the child, the infliction of disease on the child, the carrying off of a child or its exchange (see CHANGELINGS). Witchcraft is often practised by means of the evil eye (q.v.). Where the exclusion of all stragglers, as such, is rigid, the reason,
express or implied, very often, if not always, is the danger from this source. In war, sanitary reason precautions are observed, as in Macedonia (Abbott, Maced. FolkL, p. 123), in summoning the midwife. On the island of Kythnos, in the Greek Archipelago, all the mirrors are covered during labour, no one is allowed to enter the birth-chamber after sundown, and, during the first three nights, to turn away the evil eye and conciliate the Fates, all the mother’s trinkets (such as ear-rings, brooches, rings, and so forth) are laid out on the bed with a pot of jam (Hautecoeur, Folkl. Kors. 295). On the island of Karpathos the child is washed and swaddled in unbleached cloth, and no one is allowed to enter or leave the house until this ceremony is over and the priest has blessed the babe (Bent, Macmillan’s Mag., July 1886, p. 201). But witchcraft may also be practised by ceremonies, as in Ovid’s account of the birth of Hercules retarded by Lucina sitting before the door muttering charms, her knees pressed together, and her fingers interlocked about them, until the yellow-haired Galanthis, one of Aeneas’ attendants, prayed for a report of the mistresse’s delivery to spring up in surprise, and thus undo the spell (Metam. ix. 205). Difficult delivery may also be caused by the acts, even unintentional, of the husband. Among the fisher-folk of Lower Brittany delivery is harder when the husband has or has not the intuition that the island of fisherman (Schiollot, Folkl. des Pêcheurs, p. 3).

3. Attempt to obtain easy delivery.—Against the agony thus inflicted and the disasters which may ensue, various countervailing means are employed. It is not an unreasonable conjecture that this is the reason why delivery is often required among savage and barbarous peoples to be effected in the open air. Probably not merely the convenience of washing but the sympathetic influence of the free waves causes the seashore to be selected in some of the Moluccas as the proper place for parturition. In the Philippines the husband strips stark naked, and stands on guard either inside the house or on the roof, flourishing his sword incessantly to drive away the evil spirits until the child is born. The recitation of charms is common. Offerings and prayers are made to gods and spirits, wherever the development of religious belief sanctions them; and these are sometimes combined with a banning of the malevolent spirits. Thus, among the Chingaw of Upper Burma sacrificed to the powers of the sky, the image of the god is brought to the house, either inside or out; or they are laid or hung in or upon the bed of the lying-in woman, or the cradle of the child. When a population has passed into the age of metals, metallic objects are held to be of special value as amulets. But such various objects as parts of sundry animals and plants, stones of remarkable shape or rarity, egg-shells, bread, besoms, salt, pitch, the husband’s clothes, mirrors, crosses, consecrated girdles, magical or sacred texts, Bibles—anything, in short, that may be supposed, though for reasons often obscure to us, to cause difficulty or be repugnant to malignant spirits or evil influences—are employed; and they avail not only for assisting delivery but for protecting the mother and babe during the period of the child’s life and following birth. The use of fire and lights is almost universal. The rule that, where a mother and new-born child are lying, fire and light must never be allowed to go out, is equally binding in the Highlands of Scotland, in Korea, and in Basutoland; it was observed by Bent in the present century. The present time as attested by books of the Parisis enjoin it as a religious duty; for the evil powers hate and fear nothing so much as fire and light.

4. Attempt to secure good fortune for the child.

The child’s future must be divined and provided for. Before birth, means are frequently taken to divine the sex of the infant, or even to ensure the sex desired. There are lucky and unlucky times for birth. The qualities and fate of a child born on one day of the week or of the month may differ from those of a child born on another day—a superstition not quite extinct in England. In Greece the three Fates are believed to visit the child three days after birth, at midnight, and decide its destiny—another relic of pagan belief. To welcome and propitiate them a feast is provided. In Karpathos the ceremony is very elaborate. The child is placed, stark naked, on a pile of its father’s clothes in the wooden bowl from which the family eat on feast-days. This stands in the middle of the room, and is filled with honey. In every one stands a long candle specially made for the occasion. The priest blesses the candles, and they are named after various saints. They are then lighted, and the extinction of one of them is awaited in silence.
The first to go out indicates the saint who is to be the child's protector. In the evening, guests assemble round the bowl to eat from it a confection of flour, water, honey, and butter. When they disperse, the bowl is again filled with the same mixture and left all night for the enjoyment of the next day. So come and bless the child (Bent, loc. cit. p. 203). The child's destiny is supposed to be written by the Fates on its nose or forehead, and any little mark or abrasion of the skin is called 'the fretting of the Fates' (see Magessi). The child is expected to sport the lot of a wholly happy life (Rodd, Customs and Lore of Modern Greeks, 1892, p. 111). Elsewhere, ceremonies are performed to ascertain the child's fate and to provide, according to its sex, that it shall grow up with all the qualities necessary for its after-life. First, however, where exposure of children or infanticide is practised, a decision must be taken whether it is to live or die. Where the lineage is reckoned through the father, the child's life is usually in his hands, as among the ancient Romans and Scandinavians. In other cases the mother decides. The child is regarded as in a state of 'the mother's care' until death. If the mother dies in childbirth, savage peoples as a rule bury the child with her, on account of the difficulty in rearing it; or sometimes because they fear that she will not rest without it. In Sweden and New Zealand a similar fate befalls the child when the mother dies. Afterbirth is buried at the foot of a young tree. The Hupa of California split a small Douglas spruce, place the umbilical cord in the opening, and tie the tree together again. 'The fate of the tree is watched, and the future fortune of the disposal of the afterbirth and navel-cord, and of the caul when there is one. The Swahili inter the placenta on the spot where the delivery took place, in order that the child, through a mystic power, even after it has grown up, may feel itself continually drawn to its parents' house. The cord is worn round the child's neck for some years, and afterwards is buried in the same place. By this proceeding it is believed that the child's growth is promoted (ZE xxxi. 62). The Australian natives on the Pennefather River in Queensland hold that part of the cho-i ('vital principle,' 'soul') of the child remains in the afterbirth. The latter, as soon as it comes away from the mother, is buried in the sand, and a number of twigs are stuck in the ground to mark the place, and bound together at the afterbirth. It is called after the goddess of the dead, Anjea—a supernatural being whose business is the making of ladies out of mud and their insertion in the womb—recognizes the spot, takes out the cho-i, carries it to one of his haunts, and keeps it for the insertion of another child at a later date. When he has formed a baby, he puts it into, if a boy, a portion of the father's cho-i, or, if a girl, a portion of the father's sister's cho-i. He takes an opportunity of secretly placing the baby, thus completed, in the womb of the mother for whom it is intended (Roth, Bull. North Queensland Ethnog. v. 68). The Toba-bataks call the placenta the younger brother of the child. They hold that every man has seven souls. One of these abides with the placenta, which is buried, because it can live on its own without a father. If it belongs, or, if he be acting rightly, to encourage him and thus play the part of conscience. The Javanese believe that the souls of their forefathers are housed in crocodiles. In the interior of the island, after the birth of a child, the women are accustomed to take the placenta, surrounded with fruits and flowers, and lighted by little lamps, in the dusk of the evening to the river, and commit it to the waters as a gift for the crocodiles, or rather by way of dedication to the gods. The same view is held in the Kruy, Anonyme in den Ind. Archipel, pp. 25, 159). Europe, on the other hand, what is most dreaded is that the afterbirth and cord should be eaten by an animal, or exposed to the evil offices of fairies or sorcerers. In Spain, for example, if one part of the placenta were eaten by an animal, the infant would be possessed of all the bad qualities of the animal in question (Sébillot, Paganisme, p. 30); for the placenta and cord are regarded as being an essential part of the child. Moved by the same belief, the Kwakiutl of British Columbia take the placenta and cord away from the child and throw it down by the side of the placenta where it will be eaten by ravens: he will then have the gift of foreseeing the future. The same tribe bury a girl's placenta at high-water mark, in order that she may grow up an expert in clean-disguise (Boas, Rep. Brit. Ass., 1896, p. 574). The Swahili compiles a charm, a verse, of which not eating the cord is widespread. Even in Europe the cord is preserved and often worn as a talisman, or given to the child at different crises of life to suck. The custom of planting a tree at a birth is common among sedentary nations. Such a tree is regarded as having a mystic relationship with the child. It is an index of the child's condition and fate: it grows, prospers, and decays with the child. Very often the placenta and cord are buried beneath it, as in countries so far apart as New Zeal and Syria. Some Irish believe that when the afterbirth is buried at the foot of a young tree. The Hupa of California split a small Douglas spruce, place the umbilical cord in the opening, and tie the tree together again. 'The fate of the tree is watched, and the future fortune of the disposal of the afterbirth and navel-cord, and of the caul when there is one. The Swahili inter the placenta on the spot where the delivery took place, in order that the child, through a mystic power, even after it has grown up, may feel itself continually drawn to its parents' house. The cord is worn round the child's neck for some years, and afterwards is buried in the same place. By this proceeding it is believed that the child's growth is promoted (ZE xxxi. 62). The Australian natives on the Pennefather River in Queensland hold that part of the cho-i ('vital principle,' 'soul') of the child remains in the afterbirth. 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sarily that which the child will bear throughout life. These three objects are effected in Christianity by baptism; and there can be little doubt that Christianity has in infant baptism taken up and modified, to suit its own teaching, certain pre-existing ideas (see Birth). (a) Visit of friends.—Prior to the ceremony of reception, however, the relatives, and especially the female friends of the mother, despite her tabu, often pay her a formal visit to offer their congratulations and inspect the baby. It is an occasion for rejoicing, on which the relatives either bring or receive presents. It is not, however, without danger for mother or child. The evil eye is particularly dreaded, and the guests are expected to put themselves above suspicion by their expressions and conduct. They must, as usual at other times for this purpose, either salute the child in the name of God, or speak of it as a nasty, ugly little thing, or use some such offensive expression. This is the only way open to them of praising it; direct praise is dangerous. A very common rite is to give the newborn baby a cow, which is eaten (see EVIL EYE, SALIVA). In Austria, visitors are sprinkled with holy water. Among some peoples the neighbouring children are invited to examine the child, if the child and, as it is practised—a custom customary of the Continental Jews, the Watusiba Islanders, the ancient natives of Mexico, and others. It is perhaps a rite of sympathetic magic. (b) Recognition by the father.—Formal recognition of the child as his by the husband is among various peoples a preliminary to the actual reception into the community, though it is sometimes combined with that ceremony. Occasionally it is preceded by a test of legitimacy, as among the Baganda (T. p. 23), where the rite is performed not by the husband, but by his father. Recognition is effected in various ways. The Santal father murmurs the name of his ancestral deity, and puts his hand on the child's head (Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 293). The Fijian father makes a gift of food (JAF, xiv, 28). Among the ancient Norse the child was laid on the earth when born, and not lifted up until the father gave permission. This permission decided the child's fate, for otherwise it would have been exposed to demons. But doubtless it involved also an acknowledgment of paternal recognition by the father involves reception into the immediate kin. Among the Amakosa a feast is given on the occasion; the father goes to the kraal and chooses a cow from whose tail he pulls a tuft of hair and hands it to the mother. She fastens it round the child's neck. Neither the cow nor any of her posterity may be sold or disposed of in any way to strangers; but if the child be a girl, they are handed over with her on her marriage (Frisch, Eingeb. Süd-Afr. p. 108). Among the ancient Welsh it was usual and seems that there was no binding recognition by the father until the mother had first taken a solemn oath upon the altar and the relics that he and none other was the father. If the father then did not doy the child by an equally solemn ceremony within a year and a day, he could not afterwards deny him. The mode of reception into the kin was by a kiss; for a kiss, says the code of Gwynedd, is a sign of affinity. If the father were dead, the ceremony was performed by the chief of the kin of the child of the first-born of the kin and the person of the kin, if there were no chief of the kindred, then by twenty-one of the best men of the kindred; and once performed it was conclusive (Anc. Laws of Wales, Venedotian Code, ii. 31). (c) Presentation of the gift—Sometimes the child is presented to the divinity. The Chinapaw of Upper Burma formally announce the birth to the house-spirit, and place the infant under its protection (Internat. Arch. xvi., Suppl. 60). In Mexico the Tarahumara mother on the fourth day after delivery goes to bathe, and lays the child down bare, and exposed to the sun for an hour, that Father Sun may see and may say (San Juan, 237). The Wichita present the child to the moon, praying for its growth and other blessings (Dorsey, Myth. Wichita, pp. 11, 19, 29). A somewhat similar ceremony is performed by the Bonga mother in South Africa; but, since the Baronga do not worship the moon, the words used are rather an incantation than a prayer: *Grow, grow, grow; there is thy moon!' (Janod, Baronga, p. 17). Among the Basuto, in the second month after birth, the child is made to look at the moon, which is called his wife if a boy, or her playmate if a girl (Bull. Soc. Neuchât. Géogr. ix. 121). On the island of Kytinos, if the child suffers from any complaint, it is presented to the new moon with the prayer: 'O new moon, I shall be as the cow and I will cure my child' (Hant-tecur, 9). In direct contrast to these practices is the Albanian forbidding of children to look at the moon. The Eauhlyi of New South Wales also forbid them to look at the full moon. Among the Hupa of California the most usual method of presentation to the divinities is practiced. A priestess then takes the child she helps to dress and the ceremony takes place in the house set apart for women in a state of tabu. The first ten days are a period of great danger to the child; and they are spent in rites to ward off evil spirits. At the end of the period a little of the child's hair is cut off and put in the fire. 'It was thought that the divinities on smelling the burning hair became cognizant for the first time of the child's existence.' The ceremonies culminating in the burning of the hair are thus, it would seem, not merely intended to ward off evil spirits; we are justified in thinking that they are ceremonies of purification. After they are over, the mother and child leave the parturition-house, though the mother is under tabu for some time longer (Goddard, Hupa, Berkeley, Cal. 1905-4, p. 51. The author states elsewhere that the mother remains in the parturition-house for a longer period (p. 18). (d) Ceremonies of admission.—The community into which the child in lower stages of civilization is more or less incompletely urbanized. It is that of the kin; and, wherever ancestor-worship or the cult of a divinity in the more accurate acceptation of that term is practised, reception into the community and presentation to the divinity are, as a rule, only two aspects of the same ceremony. Thus, among the Chukchi, on the fifth day after birth the mother and child are drawn in a sled round the tent, sunwise, to the place of sacrifice. The reindeer employed to draw the sled is then slaughtered; the mother and child, at least two other members of the family, the sacred amulets, and the three central poles of the tent-frame are painted with the blood. The mother then proceeds to divine which of the deceased relatives has returned; and, on this being ascertained, the name of the relative in question is imposed upon the child by acclamation of the people present (Jessup Exper. vii. 511). The painting with blood of the sacrificed reindeer has placed the mother and child under the protection of the divinities, and has also united them with those who have been thus blessed. The child has been painted and by the other persons present. And this is completed by the identification of the ancestor who has returned in the person of the child. The Herero of German South-West Africa perform an analogous ceremony, to which the child is released from her seclusion. She takes the
child to the sacred fire, which burns on the hearth in the open air at the eastern side of the hut where the chief of the verul lives. She is sprinkled with water by the chief’s eldest unmarried daughter, whose duty it is always to be in a state of purity and without any bodily defect. She daubs herself on the outside of a ox, and the chief spurs a mouthful of water over her and the child, afterwards addressing his ancestors: ‘To you is a child born in your village; may this [village] never come to an end!’ Then he rubs mother and child with fat and water, taking the child upon his knees in doing so. He takes the child in his arms, and, touching its forehead with his own, he gives it a name. The other men present repeat this action on the child, uttering the name already given by the chief of the verul or the mother, if they please, each giving a new name (S. Afr. F. L. Journ., ii. 66). Here both the mother and child are purified, and the child is presented to the ancestral spirits and received into the kin. Where, as, for instance, among the ancient Mexicans, the worship of gods had been evolved, the ceremony took place at the temple. There the child was presented to the god, and there it received the gifts which were a recognition of its membership of the kin (Payne, Hist. of Ancient E. E. 1899, ii. 47). Among the Bengalese a child is admitted into the family by a secret rite which includes the recognition by the father of his paternity. Admission into the clan is more public; it takes place three days after the birth of a girl, or five days after the birth of a boy. The child’s head is shaved. The clansmen stand round, and sip water mingled with a bitter vegetable juice. The father solemnly names the child, and the midwife thereupon sprinkles rice-water over each of the visitors, pronouncing, as she does so, the child’s name. The baby, which up to this moment has been unclean, is by the ceremony re-admitted with the newborn take into the clan, and the kinsmen on both sides sit down to huge earthen pitchers of beer previously provided. Admission into the wider circle of the race takes place some four or five years later. It consists in marking the child’s right arm with the spots indicating its Santal nationality, and the drinking of beer by the friends of the family, who, irrespective of clan, have been invited (Hanna, Bengalese, 1897, p. 293). The bestowal of a name among the Kikuyu and Kenyuhals of Borneo is accompanied with great formalities. It is the starting-point of the child’s life in its social aspects; before it is named, the child would not be enumerated as one of the family, and would not be mourned for any more than if it had been still-born—it is, in fact, non-existent (Furness, Born. Head-hunters, p. 18).

(c) Admission in the higher religions: baptism. In the higher religions, as in Muhammadanism and Christianity, the dedication of the child to God, and its entrance into a wider society than that of the kin, and the importance of the ecclesiastical rite tends to efface its social meaning. The ecclesiastical rite insists on the relation between the child and the Deity, and the effect on the child as a social being falls into the background. But outside the ecclesiastical rite the occasion is often made one of social interest. The Swahili, a Bantu people of East Africa, have accepted Islam, which they practise diluted with much of the ancient pantheon, and, at baptism, all friends of the house assemble for the baptism of the child. The whole night is occupied with ritual readings from a sacred book, repeated after the reader by all present. At four o’clock in the morning (the hour when the Prophet was born) the actual baptism takes place in the house, and the celebration is then closed with a feast (ZE xxxi. 67).

Throughout Europe the most curious ceremonies and superstitions attend the baptism of a child. The utmost importance is attached to the choice of godparents, for the child inherits their qualities. They must always be married, preferably in a state of purity and without any bodily defect. In the Sollinger Wald, for example, they must take care to rinse their mouths with water before going to the ceremony, and abstain from spirituous liquors until it is over (Am Urspel, ii. 198). In Provence, if one of them were one-eyed, a stammerer, badly-legged, or a hunchback, the child would be afflicted in the same way (Bercinger-Férand, Trad. de la Provence, p. 171). The invitation to become godparents is frequently of the most formal and deferential character, by special messenger or the father in person, or else by letter. It is sometimes, as in the south-west of France, given before the birth. This is a practical necessity where baptism follows speedily on birth. The number of godparents varies; in one German family as many as twenty-three are recorded on one occasion—a luxury in which only wealth could indulge. The child’s future depends on the conduct and even the dress of the godparents. On the way to the church they must not look round, or consult their personal needs. Their thoughts must not wander during the ceremony. Above all, they must make no mistake in repeating the Creed; nor must the clergyman stammer or make a mistake in the service. On the way back from church the same care is necessary; but now they are expected to give alms, especially to children. There are also rules as to the manner in which the children are held at the font, as to the order in which they are to be presented if more than one child be baptized. The child is kept dry for as long as much of the child’s luck depends. The parents themselves do not attend the baptism. They are (at least the mother) still under the ban, being as yet unchurched. But where this is the case, their occupations during the absence of the little one do not affect it an any the less. The Estonian father runs rapidly round the church during the service, that his child may be endowed with clearness of foot (Grimm, Teut. Myth. iv. 1845). The mother, in some parts of Germany, must read her经文 from the Bible and after she has completed it to learn easily. Elsewhere she has to perform nine kinds of work, that the child may become active. The child’s conduct at the font, too, is much regarded. If it cries, in most parts of England the devil has gone out of it. But this is not the universal belief. In Auvergne, if it does not cry, it will be good; at Liège, if it cries, it will become a bad character. At Marseilles, to cry is a sign of a good constitution; but it is also the sign of an arbitrary and choleric temper. In Germany, the child who cries will not live to grow old; in Portugal and elsewhere, on the other hand, the child who does not cry will hardly live. On leaving and returning to the house a special ritual has frequently to be followed. Among the Masurs about Gilsenburg the midwife carries out the child, stepping over an axe, on which three glowing charcoal brands are laid: this is held to be the best preservative against everything evil. A piece of steel is elsewhere among the same people packed in the child’s swaddling clothes, or laid in time to time upon its shoulders. As a baby ( suggesting ‘I take away a heathen and bring you back a Christian’ (Töppen, Aberg. aus Mecklenburg, 1897, p. 81)—a sentiment of very common provenance. The child, on returning, is carried thrice round the table. There are other ceremonies, too, to be detailed here, intended to affect the child’s after-life, are found
in some form or other all over Europe. When they are at an end, the feast begins, sometimes in the inn, sometimes in the parental dwelling, at which the child is now qualified to be, and frequently present. The godparents, the christening man and sacrist, and the midwife are joined by the relatives and neighbours. Christening cakes are everywhere a special feature of the meal. The godparents must taste of every dish, in order that the child may speedily learn to eat and may thrive accordingly. The occasion is one for merriment, games, practical jokes, and dancing. It need not be said that the godparents are expected to present gifts to the child and to the midwife. So far as the child is concerned, that is only the beginning of their duties. He will expect gifts and help from them whenever in the course of his life he needs them. In some places, as in the Tyrol, the godparents of the first child of a family fulfil the same office for the subsequent children: it would be an insult to them to ask for others. The unbaptized child is called drakos, or dragon. It is not yet a fellow-Christian. The epiphany, moreover, is probably deemed to have an influence on its future development by promoting its strength. At baptism the priest and godparents drink a chalice of red wine, and on the return home the mother meets the little procession on the threshold with a ploughshare, the hollow of which is filled with embers. She waves this before the child to secure for it strength and skill in agriculture. He will expect gifts and help from the godfather into her hands, no longer a drakos but a Christian; and sweets and raki conclude the rites (Bent, loc. cit. p. 204).

The christening feast is the analogue of the merry-making which very generally in the lower cultures follows upon the accession of a new member to the community. Children are the greatest asset of a people; they are a pledge of its continuance; and in a barbarous society they are often a source of wealth rather than a drain and an encumbrance. The ideas of barbarism persist in the peasant classes of Europe, among whom the various and complicated ceremonies roughly enumerated above are observed. The actual rite of reception into the community has taken an ecclesiastical form, that of baptism; but the rite of baptism follows the transition to civilized life. They present, it is true, the appearance of regarding only the child. But this is delusive. It is to the interest of the entire community that the new member should grow up well-conducted, strong, and well-sorted. In the paganized or half-paganized, the provision for securing the child's future luck, is an index of the importance which the community, first in the narrower sense of the family, and in a less degree, but still really in the wider sense of the village and neighbourhood, feels to attach to the moral and mental qualities and the material prosperity of the neophyte.

6. Re-admission of the parents into the community.—The tabu of the mother is in the lowest stages of civilization only comparatively light. Among the Arunta of Central Australia the mother leaves her husband's camp and goes to that of the unmarried girls, where she is delivered; and there she remains for three or four weeks. She then resumes her ordinary life, so far as marriage and congenial hospitalities are concerned and occupation. When among the Uaspe of Brazil birth takes place in the hut, everything, as we have already seen, is taken out of the house until the next day. The mother then washes herself and her child in the river, and returns to her hut, which is purified and walled up for the period of from five to seven days (Wallace, Trav. Amaz., 1853, p. 345). She is perhaps not yet completely pure, but the traveller's account does not enable us to say whether any further ceremony is performed. In the west of India the hut in which a Koragar mother is delivered is deserted by the other inmates for seventy days. In the same way the mother and child are restored to purity by a tepid bath, and the child is named. Rice and vegetables are presented to the mother; several coco-nuts are split, and given, one half to her, the other half to her husband (JAI iv. 375). When the mother is returning to ordinary life, in the southern part of New South Wales part of her hair is burnt off: this is doubtless a ceremony of purification (JAI ii. 288). The Maori have two alternative ceremonies to deliver the mother and child from tapu and make them noa (common). The one consists in the cooking on new fire (made by friction) of fern-root, which is waved over the child and brought into contact with it, and then offered to the atua (gods or ancestral spirits). In the other, mother and child are sprinkled with water by means of a branch, food is offered to the atua, and the branch is planted in the ground; if it grows, the child will become a warrior (JAI xix. 98).

Much more complex rites, elsewhere repeated, are required to restore the new mother to purity. The Hopi mother's tabu extends from the moment of her moccasins until the fifth day. She then bathes her head and her baby's with amole, and is at liberty to go out of doors and to resume the charge of household affairs. She is not, however, fully cleansed. She cannot eat most meats or salt, and may drink only warm water or juniper tea. The bathing must be repeated on the tenth and fifteenth days. On the twentieth day a much more elaborate rite takes place, including a vapour-bath administered to the mother, usually by her eldest husband's mother, at the same time that the house is thoroughly cleansed. The child is formally bathed and rubbed with corn-meal, named, and presented by the mother to the sun at the moment it rises above the horizon. In the house a feast is prepared, and presents are made to the guests in return for those which the mother has received from them during her confinement (Journ. Am. Ethn. and Arch. ii. 165). Here it will be observed that the unbroken series of ceremonies culminating on the twentieth day effects the restoration of the mother to purity and the admission of the child to the community. In some cases, as we have already observed (§1(d)), father, mother, and child are simultaneously admitted.

But while it may be possible in many stages of society for a mother to remain for a length of time under the ban, this would be very inconvenient, not to say impossible, for the father, upon whom lies the duty of providing for the wants of his family. As a rule, therefore, his tabu is light and easily got rid of, while that of the mother may extend over a lengthened period and be only progressively removed. Suckling often goes on for a lengthened period—two, three, or four years. Among many peoples the mother is in some degree unclean until the child is weaned; she may not eat certain food or have matrimonial relations with her husband. This rule is general, for example, among the Bantu and negro tribes of southern Africa, and is also observed for the polygynous peoples so largely practised by those peoples. The same rule applies to the Sakalava of Madagascar; but it is said that, although the Southern Sakalava woman is tabu at this time to her husband, she may admit to her any other male who offers her a fine payable to the husband if he discovers the infidelity (van Gennep, Tabou et Totémisme, 1904, p. 168).
The tabu on the mother is practised also in Europe. The rule is very general that she must not go outside her home until she goes to be circumcised. Before that ceremony she is distinctly regarded as impure. In some parts of Europe she must not go to church, but has to be taken to drive away the powers of evil. She must eat apart; she must not work; she must not enter another house lest she bring ill-luck. When she is to be circumcised (usually on the fortieth day), she steps over a hatchet or a knife fixed in the threshold of the house; a flaming brand or a packet of salt is thrown after her. On her return a feast is provided to celebrate her re-entering into ordinary life. In Karpathos the mother takes her child and a jug of water to church. The water is blessed and the mother put on the threshold of the house; she visits her neighbours, sprinkling water from the jug at each house, 'that your jugs may not break.' As she crosses the threshold she puts the handle of the door-key into her mouth, 'to make the plates as strong as the iron of the key' (Benet, loc. cit. p. 205). Newly fortified and cleansed by the rites she has undergone, she is no longer tabu, a centre of infection, but, with her child in her arms, a fountain of beneficent and in particular of pro-

LITERATURE.—The best general accounts of birth customs and superstitions amongst Semites are in German—W. B. der Welt, by W. F. H. 5, 4th ed., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1884, and Das Welt in der Natur- und Völkerkunde, by the same author, 3rd ed., edited by Max Hartel, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1891, and subsequent editions. For the customs and superstitions of particular peoples, reference may be made to the various works cited above, and to others too numerous to mention here. In this, as in other departments of anthropology, there is now a large accumulation of materials in monographs, works of scientific explorers and missionaries, the journals of anthropologists (including folklore) and geographical societies, and the publications of American and European museums and universities, and of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington.

BIRTH (Assyrio-Babylonian) without the Assyrians, or with other nationalities, especially the Semites, the birth of a child was an event of importance, and all the more so if the newborn happened to be a male. It is true that records of births are rare, but the attention paid to such events may be judged from the reference to the geometrical number 'in Plato's Republic, viii. 546 B-D.* Even the ideal city, it is there stated, will come to decay, the cause thereof not being in the city itself, but from without. This degeneration was brought about by wrong or impartial marriages and births. Plato then constructs a geometrical number out of the elements which express the shortest period of gestation in man (216 days), the number in question being 12,960,000, which he calls 'the basis of the moon.' The connexion of 216 with 12,960,000 is rather complicated, but the former may be obtained by cubing 3, 4, and 5, and adding together the results. These numbers are also the elements of the Babylonian text (P.N. 90), which, multiplied three times by itself, produces the 'geometrical number' referred to. As that high number, and numerous others connected with it, are found in the Assy.-Bab. mathematical texts, there would seem to be no doubt that both that and the idea connected with it originated with the older of the nations which have handed down to us the tablets. It is natural that parents should desire to have their children a "geometrical number". Since to this, the Assyrio-Babylonians seem to have


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Naturally, there is at present much doubt as to how these numbers were used in deciding the times for propitious births, but certain celestial forecasts referring to the moon will give an idea of the method employed. Thus, if on the 16th of the month Tammuz an eclipse of the moon, or on the 16th of Chislev an eclipse of the sun, take place, pregnant women, it is said, will not have their offspring proper (a variant has 'their offspring lost') and are warned to act propitiously. (P.N. 505.) The moon was regarded as reaching its maximum fullness; and as that date would be an unexpected time for an eclipse, it seems to have been regarded as an evil omen. Independently, however, of the lunar numbers and dates influencing births, the moon was supposed to affect the offspring in other ways; for, when a halo surrounded our satellite, women, it was believed, would bring forth male children. Also, if the star Lugal or Saturn, 'the king' (Romans, Merodach), stood in its place, women would likewise bring forth male offspring.+

Notwithstanding the moon's importance in its influence over births, it seems to have been less regarded than Ishtar or Venus, and that goddess less than Zer-panitum, the spouse of Merodach, as is indicated by the name 'Ere-'a, 'conception,' or the like, which she bore. It is on this account that, in the bi-lingual legend of the Creation, she appears under the name of Aruru, as the one who formed, with Merodach, the creator of all things, the kind of mankind. Among the names of Ishtar-Zer-panitum (bearing the moon)—Ana-du-bat = ummu pillat burki, 'the mother who openeth the loins'; Nager-daga, 'the framer of the fetus'; Sarru, 'the goddess of the fetus'; Nin-tut, 'the lady of the womb'; Nin-zi-anu = bilit pinti, 'the birth ();' Aruru, 'the birth'; Zer-panitum, 'the mother of procreation'; Ani, Anu, Mama, and Mami, all, apparently, meaning 'mother.' It will thus be seen that the Assyri.-Bab. name of Zer-panitum (for Zer-lanintum, 'the bright one'), which she bore (often transformed by Assyriologists into Sar-

*See PSSA, 1904, p. 55.
†See JRAS, April 1900, p. 387, footnote.
‡See PSSA, 1904, p. 55.
§See JRAS, April 1900, p. 387, footnote.
∥See PSSA, 1904, p. 55.
*See JRAS, April 1900, p. 387, footnote.
†See JRAS, April 1900, p. 387, footnote.
‡See PSSA, 1904, p. 55.
∥See PSSA, 1904, p. 55.
other gods, including the older ones, became merely his manifestations. The name which he bore in this connexion was Tatu,* which is rendered mātum in the inscriptions of the Akkadian period. 'Bēgetter of the gods, renewer of the gods.'†

Children being naturally desired, it is not to be wondered at that a letter should exist congratulating a woman that she was likely to become a mother. In this text Aṣīr-bani-apli, the father of Etana, whom he calls his sister,* 'My heart hath rejoiced that thou art conceive(lībbā dīšī (?) ti.tār).§ Notwithstanding this natural desire, however, the Babylonians believed in the existence of certain stones and plants, of which they presumably made use for the purpose of conceiving only love, but also conception and bearing—āban ēri, ēbrān là ēri, 'stone of conception, stone of non-conception'; ēbrān ēlādā, ēbrān là ēlādā, 'stone of bearing, stone of non-bearing'; šammī ēri, šammī là ēri, 'plant of conception, plant of non-conception'; šammī ēlādā, šammī là ēlādā, 'plant of bearing, plant of non-bearing.'† The 'plant of bearing' is referred to in the Etana-legend, in which the hero says to the sun-god Šamaš: 'Give me then the herb of bearing—show me then the herb of bearing; bring me forth, and my father shall call me by name.' Whether this implies that a glance at the plant was sufficient or uncertain; in all probability a potion was made from the herb which one or both of the prospective parents had to drink. The same, perhaps, is implied in the case when a man goes and asks the eagle, which is one of the personages in the legend. It was probably in search of this plant that Etana, on the eagle's back, mounted up to heaven, and apparently appealed to the goddess Istār; but the mutilation of the record deprives us of the sequel.‡

References to birth-rites in the Assy.-Bab. inscriptions are rare, but there is every probability that the present material will be greatly augmented by the discovery of further stores of inscribed tablets. In the account of the birth and exposure of the infant Sargon of Agade by his mother, there is no reference to any ceremonies or incantations which she may have made on his behalf. In all probability, however, the mother of a newly-born infant was regarded as being incapable of initiating the ceremonies necessary to consecrate the child and another person, possibly a priest, would seem to have been employed to perform the duty. The British Museum fragment K 879 has apparently part of a prayer, or incantation, recited on behalf of a newborn infant and her prospective offspring:* 'The woman. Her binding, which is before thy divinity, may it be relieved; safely may she bring forth—May she bring forth, and may she live; what is there prosper. If the presence of thy divinity safely may she go, safely may she bring forth, and may she perform thy service. This fragment, which has neither beginning nor end, is bi-lingual, having been used by the Sumerio-Akkadians as well as by the Semitic Babylonians.

A rather remarkable reference to creation and birth occurs in the 4th column of the legend of the Tatu-hymn,* 'begot,' begins: 'This Enuma Elish wasEnuma Elish was Tatu, of which Tatu is evidently a reduplicative form.' In what way Mesopotamia was regarded as the renewer of the gods is uncertain; the phrase may refer simply to the 'creative-gods,' who had been Tiamat's helpers in the fight with her. He is said to have visited them in prison and comforted them, apparently in order to save the existence of ultimate beings. Probably a term of affection for a beloved wife, as in Heb. (cf. Ca 4:7; 13:24; 21:1, etc.), Campbell The Thriving Babylonian Letters, 1906, No. 40.

The text is not certain in some places.†

1 Conform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, xvi., plates 28 and 29, and see Cassel the name of the plant of a woman who is not to bear; and pl. 27: šimmu mūtu šū-tur (or, šimmu mūtu šū-tub), 'plant of and the serpent of conception of the fetus.)


† See Jensen, 'Mythen und Epen,' p. 287; note thereon, pp. 543-545.


§ Note that Jensen * reads the name, Ater-basis (the Chaldean Noah, if this be correct). Apparently the mother-goddess, Mār or Māmi (Zēr-paumû, the spouse of Merodach), after uttering her invoca-

ation, threw down clay, and detached therefrom 14 pieces, laying 7 to the right and 7 to the left, placing a brick or tile between. Then, seemingly, she called out, 'Women, husbands! There were 7 and 7 fetuses (representatives of future living things)—7 were made male, and 7 female—fate formed (each fetus). 'Forms of human beings Māmi shaped them.' In the house of the undelivered woman about to bear, a brick was to be placed for 7 days, for the protection (?) of the house, Mār, Māmi. The spouse of Eṣû, 'time' (apparently the fetus) were to become swarrosse (?), and there was to be joy in the house of the undelivered woman. When the woman about to bear brought forth, the mother of the child was expected to withhold (?) her child. Two mutilated lines follow containing the words sikuru, 'male,' and elli-... probably part of ēllitu (-ti,-ta), 'pure,' suggesting that she was to keep from men, and purify herself. This text being exceedingly difficult, there is much therein which is unsatisfactory, but it is certain that a prayer would make it a valuable contribution to the subject of the ritual attending births in Babylon. It is not implied in this inscription that images of children were made when the birth of a child was expected, but the brick, which is referred to, was to have typified the building up of the house or family.

Tablets of late date show that the hour of birth was carefully noted, and celestial observations were made for the purpose of casting the horoscope, if the child was a male; and, probably, other ceremonies followed. If a conclusion may be drawn from the tablet K 1285, it would seem that, at least in the case of the children of people of note, certain ceremonies took place in the temple of Istār, and also, perhaps, at the fane of other deities:

* Young wast thou, Asīr-bani-apli, whom I (Nebo) left unto the Queen of Nineveh.

A suckling wast thou, Asīr-bani-apli, whom I satisfied on the lap of the Queen of Nineveh;

The fullness of the texts which are placed in thy mouth, twist thou therein, whereas, to thy face.†

The expression, 'Queen of Nineveh,' has the determinative for divinity before it, showing that the personage intended is none other than Istār, the patron of that city. The third line of the extract has been omitted, probably to have typified the building up of the house or family.

Naturally certain days of the month, and probably certain months of the year, were regarded as especially lucky for births. At the time of the dynasty of Babylon (about 2000 years B.C.), such names as 'the son of the 20th day' (Mār-smi-ēdar) are met with; and from a student's exercise-tablet of late date, we learn that the 20th was the festival of the sun-god, not because, according to the Calendar in the British Museum, eclipses could then take place (the days quoted are the 20th of Sivan, the 20th of Tishir, and the 20th of Chisley, the common expression, antalū ilu Šamaš, 'eclipse of the sun,' being used), but probably because, after the eclipse, the sun was regarded as shining visibly again. Ulülā (Ulūlā = Elūlāus), 'he of the month Elūlā, and Tobētā, 'he of the month Tobēt,' are also found; but though this, to all appearance, records the month of the

* Jensen, 'Mythen und Epen,' p. 287; note thereon, pp. 543-545.

bears' birth, it is doubtful whether any lucky omen was attached thereto.

In the case of a birth derived from the reference to fate forming each fetus, the Babylonians seem to have believed that the sexes were foreordained by the gods, who were the 'makers of fate.' A disturbing element probably existed in the influence of Tiamat, the spirit of confusion, and on this account the baboon and all that was nothing absolutely constant in nature, and that the species could change, so that a woman, or a sheep, might bring forth a lion, etc., and infants might have parts of the body like those of animals, such as the tail or the mane of a horse. To prevent these departures from the normal, omens were attached; and in all probability they were regarded as being sent by the gods for the information or the warning of man. The following will give some idea of the nature of these forecasts:

'It is said of the birth of a woman, there will be a powerful king in the land,
If a woman has brought forth, and its right ear does not exist, the life of the prince will be long.
If a woman has brought forth, and its right ear is small, the horse of the man will be destroyed.
If a woman has brought forth, and from the first her hair is filled with grey hairs, the life of the prince will be long.'

If a woman has brought forth 2 males, there will be hardship in the land, etc.
If a woman has brought forth twins for the second time, that country will be destroyed.
If a cow has brought forth 3, and (they are) 2 male and 1 female, hardship of a year—the harvest will not prosper.'

These omens are exceedingly numerous, and often very difficult to translate.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the foot-notes.

T. G. PINCHES.

BIRTH (Celtic).—The data concerning the birth-rites of the pagan Celts are lamentably scanty. Polibius, viii. xx. [xivii.] 2 records that 'many of the barbarians have the custom either of plunging their newborn children (ἀφόβατον τὰ γένεα) into a cold river, or of putting on them scanty covering, as among the Celts.' The Emperor Julian states (Orationes, ii.) that with the Celts (though with him this may mean the Germans) the father placed his newborn child on a shield, which was put in the Rhine. If the child was legitimate, the shield would float, but otherwise it would sink, thus affording a test of its legitimacy to the bystanders.

The only other passage which seems to bear upon the birth-rites of the Continental Celts is the curious statement of Strabo (p. 165), that among the Celts, as among the Thracians and Scythians, 'the women themselves, after giving birth, go on with agriculture and also tend their husbands, putting them to bed in their own steads.' This implies the cowpade (above, p. 655); but this custom is reported in Europe only of the Coriscans (Diodorus Siculus, v. 14)—a fact which would seem to imply a confusion on the part of Strabo between the Celts and the Iberians, a race entirely different ethnologically (cf. Schrader, Recollektion der indo-germ. Altertumskunde, Strassburg, 1891, p. 347 f.; Hirt, Indogermanen, Strassburg, 1905-7, p. 717 f.; in favour of the Celtic explanation, Juliann, Recherches sur la religion gauloise, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 64 f.). At the same time, it should be noted that, whatever its racial origin, the cowpade existed, at least in clear remembrance, to a late period in Greece, as is shown by the Paean romance made up by Apollodorus (Rhetor. p. 333, ed. of the 13th cent.), ch. 39. Another apparent survival of ancient custom is recorded from a 14th cent. source by Ploss (Das Weib, Leipzig, 1855, ii. 70), to the effect that no woman was allowed to give birth to a child on certain islands in the mouth of the Loire, but when her time approached was sent to the mainland or placed in a boat in the river until the child was born. Hence we may have a reminiscence of an island, sacred to 'Dionysus,' at the mouth of the Loire (described by Strabo, p. 158), where only women dwelt, all sexual intercourse (which, like birth, would thus be ceremonially impure in Celtic religion) being held on the mainland (but cf. below, p. 692 f.).

The pagan Irish material on birth-rites is still more meagre. According to Stowe MS. No. 992 (ed. and tr. Meyer, ECel vi. 173 ff.), Ness, when about to become the mother of Conocbar, 'went to the new-born that was on the flagstone of the river. She sat her down on a flagstone (nos fuirim iarum for in lice cloichthl) that was on the brink of the river. So there came the pangs of child-birth upon her. Too much must not, however, be drawn from this, for the Côir Annamh, 213 (ed. and tr. Stokes, in Stokes and Windisch, Trische Texte, Leipzig, 1890-1905, iii.), states that a band of girls (inghenraidh) kept watch round a prospective mother. After the birth had taken place, they would wait for a lucky hour for the child (ib. 273), i.e. probably as indicated by the horoscope, etc. Thus the Druid Cathbadh observed omens from the stars, the clouds, and the age of the moon immediately after the birth of Dídeir (Hyde, in Æed. f. coll. Philologe, i. 143).

In the case of the infant who afterwards became Conocbar. There she sat her down on a flagstone (nos fuirim iarum for in lice cloichthl) that was on the brink of the river. So there came the pangs of child-birth upon her. Too much must not, however, be drawn from this, for the Côir Annamh, 213 (ed. and tr. Stokes, in Stokes and Windisch, Trische Texte, Leipzig, 1890-1905, iii.), states that a band of girls (inghenraidh) kept watch round a prospective mother. After the birth had taken place, they would wait for a lucky hour for the child (ib. 273), i.e. probably as indicated by the horoscope, etc. Thus the Druid Cathbadh observed omens from the stars, the clouds, and the age of the moon immediately after the birth of Dídeir (Hyde, in Æed. f. coll. Philologe, i. 143).

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BIRTH (Chinese).—The customs which are observed in China, in connexion with child-birth, differ widely in the various portions of the Empire, and it would be as difficult to describe them in general terms as to include in one article 'Birth customs in Europe.'

Many of these customs are significant of religious prejudices, though not always possible to trace the connexion, owing to the gradual deflexion from the ancient usage; and modern explanations tend to emphasize the physical benefits which are supposed to accrue from these observances.

It should be remembered that the elaborate preparations which are made previous to birth are intended to secure not only a happy issue to the anxious crisis—the safety of the child and mother—but their first and primary purpose is to prevent the awful contingency of death before delivery, which would involve the mother in endless torments in the 'Lake of Blood,' which is the special department of the under-world reserved for such unfortunate. From this point of view, therefore, the anxious care which surrounds the birth-chamber may be said to be replete with religious significance.

A month previous to the expected date of birth, the bride's mother, or other near relative on that side of the house, is expected to arrive with the accustomed gifts, and perform the office known as 'undoing the fastening.' The gifts include cattals, various articles of clothing required by the expected arrival (in the South, it seems, no provision of this kind is made), and tonics for the mother with provisions to prepare for a quiet and successful parturition. Charms from the neighbouring temple are sometimes procured to fasten on the baby's body as soon as born, for the event is supposed to be attended by hosts of

* 15a. 'the days of the prince will be old.'

From W. and L. Jones, 2, 4. rev. fins 7; Boelée, Documents relatifs aux prêtres, Paris, 1894-99, p. 116, verso 11, p. 116, 19; and H. B. tablet K 78, ii. 5-3.
spirits with malicious designs upon both mother and child.

As soon as the birth-pangs begin to be felt, the female members of the family hasten to light candles and burn incense before the ancestral tablets, in the little shrine over the main partition of the entrance hall, and also in front of the 'god of wealth' and the 'kitchen god,' offering extemporaneous prayers, as no settled form is provided for the occasion, and taking vows of future deeds of merit in the event of a favourable response—and all with a view to securing the assistance of the birth-speeding goddess, who is supposed to have the infant on a hair's breadth of life and to have the same time summoned, together with other assistants, whose office it is to 'clasp the waist' of the expectant mother, who is maintained in a sitting posture throughout the ordeal, and is encouraged to drink a brew of dried 'longan' fruit and thin gruel to sustain her, together with certain medical potions which are held to be very efficacious. Red candles are lighted in the chamber, as for a wedding, and all words of illomen are carefully omitted—the idea being the ostentation of cheerful confidence and the avoidance of any suggestion of ill or fear.

As soon as the child is born, a messenger is dispatched to the nearest lake or pond to procure a small quantity of water, which is then heated at the child's side, and is administered to the infant. If it is not postponed till the 3rd day; in the farther North it is generally omitted, and a little oil dabbed on the body instead.) The use of such water is said to ensure that the child, when he grows up, will become an expert fisherman. After the bath the child's body is rubbed dry with alum (in some places a raw egg is applied). A pad of fresh cotton-wool is placed over the navel, and the umbilical cord, which is cut at about a foot's length from the body, is rolled up tightly bound, the long end sloughing away in about a week. The infant's clothes are then put on, in shape like the robes of a Buddhist monk, or monk, probably with a view to deceiving the malignant spirits. (In the South, old garments warm from the wearer's body are put round the child in lieu of baby-clothes.)

The infant is not supposed to sample its own mother's milk until it has first been supplied from another household, where a baby of the opposite sex is being reared. A bowlful of this milk is obtained, and artificially warmed before being given to the child. A secret ointment of garlic and mustard is applied to the 3rd day, and a great number of articles are presented to neighbours and friends, each symbolic of some good wish, and duck-eggs dyed red are also sent, with the idea of advertising the fact of birth.

At the end of the first month the elaborate ceremonial of head-shaving takes place, and the various gods are 'invited,' i.e. by offerings of food, lighted candles, fire-works, etc. The baby-hair is shaved off with the exception of a little tuft at the crown, and is called the 'filial lock.' In the afternoon the ancestors are 'worshipped,' and then follows a feast to which the neighbours and others are invited, each guest arriving armed with some gift, generally some object of superstition, such as silver necklets or bangles, which are supposed to moor the infant's feet to the earth and prevent the terrible mortality which prevails amongst young children in China. The child is sometimes taken out for an airing on this day, dressed in all the finery which can be imposed upon him, with buckles and charms to protect him from evil influences—a row of silver-gilt genii upon his bonnet, or perhaps a bright mirror to ward off the evil eye. In some of the country districts he is placed in a boat and subjected to violent rocking, to accustom him to the motion, or he is carried over a bridge in the hope that accompanied by a rise in life, and also be able to keep his head when high promotion comes.

On the fortieth day the mother goes to the temple to offer incense (in some places, in the case of a boy being born, she goes on the 50th day), and to acknowledge the good hand of the gods in her safe delivery and happy fortune.

LITERATURE.——Dyer Ball, Things Chinese, Lond. 1900; Women's Conference in China on Home Life of Chinese Women. (Chamollion, cccxl.-xli., vol. i., ed. Steindorff.)

BIRTH (Egyptian).—A tale dating from the end of the Middle Kingdom relates how the wife of the priest of Re in a local temple gave birth to three sons destined to be kings of Egypt. Four goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Hôkî (Hôtî, the frog-goddess, counterpart of the Chinese Nei-wô, below), officiated as midwives, having disguised themselves as strolling dancers, while Khnum accompanied them as baggage-carrier. They accepted a bushel of barley for their services; and the mother, we are told, was purified for 14 days ('Le roi Khonfoui et les magiciens,' in Maspero's Contes popul. de l'Egypte ancienne, 1882, pp. 30-40; Petrie, Egypt. Tales, 1895, i. 38ff.). At Deir el-Bahari is pictured the divine birth of Queen Hatshepsout amidst a crowd of deities of birth, food, fortune, etc. (Naville, Deir el Bahari, 1898-1901, iii., plates xlvii.-lvi.), and at Luxor that of Amenhotep III. (Champollion, Monuments, 1825, pl. ccxxv-xlxi.; Gayot, Temple de Louxor, pl. lxxv.)

The name of Meskhôni, the goddess perhaps of female functions, is generally applied to a brick, referred to as 'the bed,' which supported the mother, or on which the child was laid. In Ex 14, where late Egyptian customs may be reflected, the Hebrew women are represented as delivered on 'stones,' i.e. bricks (1) (cf. Spiegel, Histoire des Papyri égypt. 2. vii. 81; cf. Steindorff, Geschichte des Ägyptischen Altschriftbuches, 4th cent. A.D., ed. Steindorff) still refers to the 'birth-stool' as 'the brick.' A wooden couch is also figured early as the 'determinative' of Meskhôni as well as in the birth scenes, and probably among the wealthy the brick had only ceremonial importance. The word tōbi, 'brick,' is feminine, and the birth-brick, figured with the head of a goddess, is present in detailed illustrations of the Psychostasia; in the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus., ed. Budge) it is at the head of the goddesses Meskhôni and Emmûti (Rum't, 'the nurse'); in that of Anhai (Brit. Mus., ed. Budge) two bricks with female heads are named Shîn (masc.) and Emmûti respectively. In a funerary papyrus at Edinburgh of the year 11-10 B.C. the deceased is stated to have completed the years which Thoth wrote upon his birth-brick (Brugsch, Khânu' s Zwee Bilingue Papyri, 1865); and in the Westcar Papyrus, quoted above, it is Meskhôni who approaches the child laid on its back. Thus each child left its destiny.

In stories dating from the New Kingdom, the Hathors, seven in number in one text, pronounce the destiny; these may include the birth-goddesses already mentioned (Maspero, i.e. p. 51). Horoscopes have not been traced with certainty in
BIRTH (Finnns and Lapps).—The only important rites connected with birth among the Finns and Lapps are those purificatory ceremonies which belong to that which may be called a form of baptism (see also BAPTISM, p. 572). The existence of a non-ecclesiastical form of infant baptism among the Lapps is witnessed to by Norwegian missionaries of the 18th century. The fullest description of this ceremony is found in E. J. Berg's "The Moirnere, or Finnish Lapps Hedenase Religion," pp. 33-42 (printed as an Appendix to Knud Leem's Beskrivelse over Finnmarkens Lapper, 1676; cf. also ib. pp. 495-497). After the child was brought home from the official baptism in church, where it had received a Norwegian name, it could not be washed or brought into contact in any way with water until it was baptized anew with a Lapp name (samemna). The pregnant mother, who had placed herself under the protection of the sarakka ('creator who weds the link in her'), turned to her deceased partner in a dream, or she had been informed, by means of the magic drum, which of the deceased meant to come to life again in the child. The baptism was not administered by the magician but by a woman, usually the mother herself. The so-called rism-emde ('twig-mother'), who must not have acted as Christian godmother (Christ-rode), presented the child with a ring or plate of brass (nabma-skillo), which was thrown into the baptismal water. After the ceremony this piece of brass was placed upon the child to be worn as a talisman—in the case of a son, under the arm; in the case of a daughter, upon the breast. Before the baptism both the child and the water were dedicated to the sarakka. Baptism with the Lapp name was regarded as one of the two sacraments of the sarakka.

This baptism, which was resorted to in order to secure happiness and good health for the child, often proved insufficient. If the child fell sick or cried a great deal, it was once more re-baptized and consecrated anew. A similar rite is adde-namna, or saivo-namna ('under-world name'). This fresh bestowal of baptismal names might be repeated again and again in case of sickness, even in later years. It, too, was administered by a woman, usually the father of the child, with almost the same ceremonies as the other. Warm water was poured into a trough, and two birch twigs—one in its natural condition, the other bent into a ring—were laid in it. At the same time the child was thus addressed: 'Thou shalt be as fertile, sound, and strong as the birch from which these twigs were taken,' or 'a happy (or silver) talisman was cast into the water, with the words: 'I cast the nabma-skillo into the water, to wash thee; be as melodious and fair as this brass (or silver).' Then came the formula: 'I baptize thee with a new name, N.N. Thou shalt thrive better than this water, of which we make thee a partner, than from the water wherewith the priest baptized thee. I call thee up by baptism, deceased N.N. Thou shalt now rise again to life and health, and receive new limbs. Thou, child, shalt have the same happiness and joy which the deceased enjoyed in this world.' As she uttered these words, the baptizer poured water three times on the head of the child, and then washed its whole body. Finally she said: 'Now art thou baptized adde-namna, with the name of the deceased, and I will see that with this name thou wilt enjoy good health.'

In the so-called Näro MS of J. Randulf, published by J. Vigstadin (Det Kgl. norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter, 1903, No. 1, pp. 53-55), there is mention only of a species of Lapp baptism which was administered immediately after birth, or baptism, or at latest within half a year, in cases where the child fell sick. In this baptism the child received a new name, udeneuno. The ceremony was performed on a Thursday, in the name of the three chief Lapp gods, borrowed from the Scandinavians, namely, Heru-Galles (Thor), Haralden-Oldmay (Freyr), and Biela-Galles (Njord). There was a thrice repeated pouring of water on the child. According to a supplementary note by J. Kildal, the child was baptized in the name of the three Lapp gods, and the baptism was performed by S. Kildal (Det skandinaviske Litteraturselskabs Skrifter, vi. 458 f.) that the name selected was that of the father or grandfather.

Outside the sphere of Norwegian Lapps, our only information concerns a formerly Lapp district in N. Finland, and is to the effect that among the Finn new settlers on the rivers Kemi and Ji, about the year 1750, a re-baptism with a new name (uami nimi-buste) was not unknown. As late as the year 1803, a peasant, Erik Lampa of Tervoja, who had been brought up to have caused himself to be re-baptized at Izak, and to have recovered (J. Fellman, Aanteckningar under min viste i Lappmarken, ii. 51-52).

That Lapp infant baptism is an imitation of the Christian ordinance is sufficiently attested by the existence among the Norwegian Lapps of a second sacrament of the sarakka, which is an imitation of the Eucharist. A similar 'nature-woman,' 'creatix,' in magic songs of the Finns is a metamorphosed form of the Virgin Mary; and in like manner the Runein (father, wife, child) on the magic drums of the Lapps stand for the Trinity in its popular-Catholic form. Another Christian feature of the ceremony is the thrice repeated pouring of water. The use of a talisman of brass does not point to an original stage of Lapp civilization; it is a case of borrowing from the neighbouring Scandinavians—a conclusion that is confirmed by the mention of the three principal Scandinavian deities. The latter still survived in the popular faith of the Lapps, and their presence is in no way conflicting with an original stage of Lapp civilization during the Catholic period of Scandinavia. It is possible, however, that Lapp infant baptism had already been introduced by half-pagan Scandinavians.

The baptism in question must be distinguished from that of the infant upon the mother's breast, a practice of an ancestor who was supposed to come to life again in the child's person. The determination of the
name by a revelation in a dream or by the oracle of the magical drum is no doubt a primitive Lapp custom. As late as 1834 the Finns under the dominance of Novgorod (the Chudes) had oracles—men who had names, swaying the child to and fro as it speaks; and that name which he happens to be uttering when the crying ceases is the one selected. The magician of the adjacent Chuvas—a Finn-Turkish hybrid race—is called to the child, and is received with tokens of the greatest respect, and the domestics and the assembled guests, who with one voice express the desire that he will give the child a name of good omen. He takes a bowl of water in his hand, mutters certain words over it, and gives both the mother and the child to drink. Then he works himself into an ecstasy, and at last bestows upon the child a name which he professes to have received by Divine revelation (see Julius Krohn, Suomen suvun pakonallinen jumalanpalvelus, pp. 104, 109).

LITERATURE.—See the references throughout the article.

KAARLE KROHN.

BIRTH (Greek and Roman).—I. GREEK.—Amongst the goddesses to whom the Greek matron prayed in her throes, Eileithyia, Hera, and Artemis are the foremost (Pfleider-Robert, Gr. Mythol. i. 511 ff.). After these come a number of others, e.g. the Hekate-like Eileiomae of Argos, to whom a dog was sacrificed to ensure an easy delivery (Plut. Quo. Rom. 52); Genetyllis, who received a like sacrifice (Hesych. s.v.; cf. Roscher, ii. 1270; Rohde, Philol. ii. 297, n. 33; Reinach, op. cit. 625 ff.; cf. F. G. Ballentine, Harvard Stud. xv. [1904] p. 74 ff.). Superstitions ceremonies, originating from the idea of binding and unbinding, whose purpose was to ease the birth, and whose age and origin cannot be fixed, are mentioned by Pliny (H.N xxviii. 33, 34, 42; cf. 50; see also Philologus, iivi. [1898] p. 131). When the birth had ended happily, the women brought their clothes to Artemis as an offering (Anth. Pal. vi. 271; schol. ad Catull. Hymn. i. 77); Artemis Brauronia also received the clothes of the newborn infants which they left there (Paus. viii. 19. § 3). When a child was born in Attica, if it was a boy, an olive-veste was hung on the outer door; if a girl, a woollen fillet was used, because of the spinning of wool (Hesych. s.v. σφίγων ἑφέσσω). This rationalistic explanation must, of course, be discarded; the underlying artificial differentiation is to be regarded as comparatively late, if, indeed, Hesychius' words correspond to facts. At any rate, a wreath with a woollen fillet attached must be considered as the primary form. The fillet enhances the effect of the wreath. The purpose of the wreath, which still hangs on the door at the amphidromia (see below; cf. Ephippos in Athen. p. 370 C), is not, as Rohde (op. cit. 72, 1) and Samter (Familienfeste der Gr. und Röm. 87) suppose, to illustrate the house, i.e. to cleanse it from impurity; it is apotropaic: the luck which it brings drives away ill luck. The woman who is lying-in and the newborn babe require such protection, for they are weak. The numerous amulets, with which it is the custom everywhere to deck small children, have the same purpose. And an olive-veste is expressly mentioned as one of the protective given to Ion by his mother when she exposed him (Eur. Ion. 1433, Kirchhoff). According to the belief of the Cors Indians, 'the child would come and lay its hand on (newborn) babe if (the father) did not fix branches of the zapotree into the door (Preuss, Archiv ix. [1906] p. 406). Photius lays stress upon the apotropaic character of a similar rite (Lex. s.v. ἀποτροπή), when he relates that, while a child was being born, the house was painted with pitch from horn-beds, in order to scare away the evil spirits.* A custom in modern Greece may serve as an analogy: newborn children are rubbed with sacred oil in order to protect them (Wachsmuth, D. alte Griechenland im Neuen, 79).

On the fifth day after the birth, the so-called amphidromia were celebrated (Plat. Theod. 109 E + schol.; Harpoer., Sud., Hesych. s.v.; Paravent. ii. 278). Some one, probably the father (the false reading τρέχως in schol. Plat. l.c. is explained by the preceding words; cf. Preuner, Hestia-Vesta, 54 n.), ran round the hearth with the child in his arms. Friends and relatives came, especially polypli and cuttle-fish. The women who had assisted at the birth and had thereby become unclean (cf. Stengel, Kultusw., 148) cleansed their hands on this day. Banquets were held (Ephippos in Athen. 370 D; Eubulus, 65 C); a special kind of bread was baked, if we can trust the incoherent record in the Etym. Mag. s.v.; a sacrifice was probably among the celebrations (Plant. Truc. 423 L). Perhaps the father decided on this day whether he wished to keep the child or to expose it (Plat. Theod. l.c.). Hesychius records an important rite (s.v. δρομάδως ὄμη; according to him the rite of running round the hearth was performed naked. This, too, is a case of ritual nakedness (cf. e.g. Deubner, de Incub. 24; Alt, 'Die Amphidromie, d. religiöse, Vers. und Vorb. iv. 240, 1).

Opinions regarding the meaning of running round the hearth are most divergent. The idea of the cleansing influence of the fire must probably be discounted (Plat. 79, 1); the child is not assumed to be eliminated (cf. Pipilis, D. Amb.-Philologus, 1900, p. 1138). According to some others, Samter has given the correct explanation (Familienfeste, 61), that we find here an in initi- rite, which places the child under the protection of the domestic hearth. But this gives no reason for the running. This rite is identical with the lowest stratum of the rites celebrated on this day. By a comparison with folklore parallels, S. Reinach (Cultes, mythes et religions, 1908, i. 137 ff.) has rendered it very probable that this running round is to ensure swift-footedness for the child.

In Estonia the father of the child runs round the village, while the child is being baptised inside, so that it may learn to run quickly. With this compare the custom noted by Wuttke (D. deutsche Volksber., 1300, p. 330), in accordance with which, when returning from the christening, the young godfather takes the child when they arrive at the front door, and quickly runs with it into the room to its mother. This is supposed to ensure that the child will become swift (brandsel- barn), or will lead a happy life in early (East-Prussia). In S. Greece, a magical formula promote the child's walking and talking (AWV x. [1897] p. 506). This suggests an ancient Mesopotamian influence, which gives an interesting analogy. During this festival the children born within the last three years are led round a fire, and also lifted up high, so that they may grow. The feast is celebrated with a sacrifice, a banquet and dance (Stoll, Ge- schichtsblätter in d. Volkerpsychologie, 119).

Reinach's explanation is very favorable to a people which gave its favourite hero the epithet ἀποτρόπαιος ('swift-footed'). The derisive answer of Virgil (Aen. xxxiv. [1906] p. 73 ff.) is not to the point. Scenes illustrating the amphidromia do not exist in Greek art.

On the tenth day after its birth the child receives its name. This day, too, was a festive one, celebrated with sacrifices and banquets for friends

* A very artificial explanation is given by Rohde, i.e., because he understands it as an apotropaic rite.

† Cf. Glotz, L'ordalie, 1904, p. 165.
BIRTH (Hindu, Literary)

(Aeal. El. 1198, fr. 2 Nauck*; Aristoph. Bidera, 490 and 6224. + scholl.; Iesus, iii. 30, 70; Demosth. xxxix. 20, 22 [according to whom this festival signified the official recognition of the child], 24. xl. 28, iviiii. 40; Haproke, s.v. s. eβαδωνον and &νδεκτρας; Hesych. s.v. δνδατχ τθονος; Suidas, s.v., 3. 12; Bekker, Anecd. Gr. i. 237, 26). A cake called χαϕος was baked, and was given, among other things, as a prize for a woman's dance that was performed on this day (Enubulos in Athen. 636 D). Besides the tenth day the seventh was used for giving away the Aril' (An. vii. 12; Haproke, s.v. eβαδωνον; Hesych. s.v. eβοθαμα; cf. the eβοθα as a children's festival in Lucian, Pseudolog. 16). The day fixed for this festival has varied in different epochs and districts, whereas the amphidromia were more important as being a specifically religious custom, and therefore held to their fixed day. For, whenever these are said to have been celebrated on the 7th (Hesych. s.v. δρομανως ήμαρ) or 10th (schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 167) day, or are brought into connexion with the 4th, 5th, or 10th day (schol. Plat. Theat. 160 E; Hesych. s.v. αμφοδρομος), this is doubtless due to a blunder (cf. also Gruppe, Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 1906, p. 1137). The schol. to Aristoph. l.c. even commits the error of supposing that the whole of the May (Hesych. s.v. i. p. 11991—92) mistakes occur elsewhere in our records; cf. e.g. the form τριχάων above, schol. Plat. l.c.) It is not warrantable to infer a coincidence of amphidromia and δνδατρα from Enul. El. 658 and 1126 (Frenuer, Hestia-Yesta, 54, 1), for i. 654 cannot be forced into closer concord with l. 1126. The un- certain notice about a sacrificial feast shortly after birth (Bekker, Anecd. Gr. i. 207, 13) probably refers to the δνδατρα.

Besides the presents brought at the amphidromia there were also so-called δεργενες gifts presented to the child by those to whom it was shown for the first time (cf. Spanheim and Schneider, ad Catt-Hymn. iii. 74). Slaves also gave the newborn babe a present (Terence, Phorm. 47). Censorinus (De Die Nat. 11, 7) mentions the celebration of the 40th (day 10 of the long month). Even in our time the 40th day is still celebrated (cf. Wachsmuth, op. cit. 73 f). But this would seem traceable to Jewish influence (Wachsmuth, op. cit. 74, 7). The rocking of the child in the cradle, the Greek byra, is described by Mannhardt (Mythol. Forsch., 1884, p. 396 f and Dieterich (Mutter Erde, 101 f).) must be eliminated from the birth-rites. Not only is the sense of the action not clearly thought out, but for such an explanation the rocking must form part of some rite, which it does not. On the other hand, the fact that the babe was put into the δεργες is easily explained, for it was the natural object to use as a small child's cot in a primitive household.

2. Roman. —Roman women made offerings to the Nymphs at the time of pregnancy (Festus, p. 77, 10), to ensure an easy birth. While the child was being born, Lucina and Diana (Tertull. de An. 39; August. Civ. Dei, iv. 11) or Numeria (Varro, op. Non. 32, 54) were called upon. A candle was lit (Tertull. ad Nat. ii. 11). As also in Greece in our day a candle burning in the lying-in room has the power of repelling evil (Wachsmuth, op. cit. 79; cf. M. Vassitt, 'Die Fackel in Kultus und Kunst der Griechen,' Münchenert Disa, Belgard, 1909, p. 75 f). The basin in which the women were bathed was made near the image of some god, therefore probably in a sanctuary (Tertull. de An. 39).

When the woman had brought forth a child, three men had to stand round (acconsidente) the threshold, beat it with a hatchet, then with the pestle of a mortar, and then sweep it (August. Civ. Dei, vi. 9). This is a cleansing ceremony, which originally was intended to beat the impurity caused by the birth (here felt as a concrete matter) out of the threshold, and to sweep it away. At a later period the ceremony was explained (August. Civ. Dei, vii. 12) by a story about Silvanus, who, as a goblin or nightmare, might trouble the woman in childbirth. In addition, there were three special deities who were regarded as protectors of mother and newborn babe: Itericonida (from intercire), Pilumus (from pilum), Deverna (from devenera). This is a fertility rite, in which gods grow out of rites. Pilumus (together with Picumum) even receives a sacrificial meal (lacteus) in the house, in order to protect the woman in childbirth (Varro, op. Serv. Verg. Aen. vi. 7, and op. Non. 32, 15; cf. Wisen, Religion und Kultur der Römer, 357, 1). In the same way Juno was given a lacteus, and Hercules a mensa, after the birth of a boy (Serv. Verg. Ecl. iv. 62); for a whole a week was spread for Juno, according to Tertull. (de An. 39). On the last day of the week the Fatida (Tertull. ib.) is given (op. cit. 214). It is Dieterich's merit to have drawn our attention to the custom described by Augustine (Civ. Dei, iv. 11), according to which the newborn babe was placed upon the ground and partially covered. The words (op. cit. 6 f)—a custom which may be identical with the toleira or enespere by the father (Santer, op. cit. 62, 3, 4). Only, the signification of this wide-spread custom cannot be that the child is placed under the protection of the earth as a goddess, but that the strength of the earth is to penetrate into the child and make it strong (e.g. Marcell. Empir. 32, 20). A rite which bears some affinity to this consists in placing the child erect on the ground, thereby ensuring its upright growth (Varro, op. Non. 528, 12; Tertull. de An. 29, cf. at Nat. ii. 11; Varro, op. Non. 532, 18; August. Civ. Dei, iv. 21). As in Greece, so also in Rome, wreaths were hung outside the door (Juvencul, ix. 85).

When the first week was over, the child was given its name on the dia lustrum: boys on the 10th, girls on the 9th (cf. Mommsen, Rom. Chronologie, 226).


BIRTH (Hindu, literary).—Birth, marriage, and death are the three most important events of the natural life; and popular belief has surrounded them with a number of ceremonies, which are designed to secure the accomplishment of good wishes and to ward off evil influences. To the advantage which students of Indian philology possess, as compared with those of other philologies, consists in the abundance of the materials at their disposal affording precise and detailed information on all the different branches of Indian culture.
The acts which accompany the events of the domestic life are described especially in the Gṛhya-śūtras, partly in the Law-Books, or, as circumstances require, in medical works. These books possess all the greater interest for the history of civilization, in that the ceremonies which they describe assumed the shape of Vedic ritual in the pre-historic epoch, and are related to customs which are found in a most primitive stage of human development, and, on the other hand, have been partially preserved in India down to the present day. Into all the details of these texts it is impossible to enter. The facts which seem to be most noteworthy may here be summarized.

The garbhādhāna, ‘the second marriage,’ the ceremony of consummation, which corresponds to the pātriya vihā of the medieal texts (Jolly, op. cit. infra, p. 50), marks in all cases the initial step. Although not usually referred to in the Gṛhya-śūtras, it is known to the Law-Books, and may be regarded as a universal practice. The appropriate time is ṛtu, the days or rather the nights (for the day time will be left over in the beginning of menstruation until the 16th day, when the consummation on the first four, the 11th and 13th, and certain dates especially named, e.g. the time of new and full moon. Peculiar importance is attached to the selection of the maṅgastasa. Yājñavalkya, for example, prefers and shuns the ṛtu, according to the Kalpa, and to be avoided. Other texts, especially the astronomical, go still further, and distinguish between constellations, the choice of which will be attended by complete or partial success, or, on the other hand, followed by failure. Manu (iii. 46 ff.), and to the same effect other texts (e.g. Yājñavalkya, i. 79), prescribe cohabitation on the even nights for the man who desires a son; daughters are born as a consequence of cohabitation on the uneven nights. The same texts, clearly under the influence of certain ancient teachers of physiology (Jolly, § 39, p. 51), represent the view that if the seminal fluid preponderates, a boy will be born; if the blood of menstruation is in excess, a female embryo is formed; if there is an equipoise of power, the issue will be twins or even a ‘not-man,’ ‘impotent’ (Manu, iii. 49). Bhagapada shows how it is possible to assist nature, and by the use of oily foods to increase the male seed. If other days than those named are chosen, e.g. the period after the ṛtu or the actual days of menstruation, a miscarriage may result.

The woman is impure during the first three days of the mensa; she must avoid excessive food, laughter, or the sight of other men. Several texts, however, allow, on the appearance of the first ṛtu, the use of garlands, scents, and betel-nuts. On the fourth day she takes a bath, puts on clean clothes, and at his call appears adored in the presence of her husband. Cohabitation is effected in an enclosed spot, and is subject, as regards the choice of place, to certain limitations. The Viṣṇuprakāra, for example, puts a limit to the places (i.e. on the plain and cross-roads. According to some authorities, a lamp should be kept burning, which is kindled by the woman at another light with the help of a small piece of wood, and may be extinguished only by her. The husband recites the text, ‘May Viṣṇu prepare thy womb,’ lays aside the gold ring that he may be wearing on his forefinger, and cohabitation is completed while he repeats various sacred texts on the subject, for the details of which we are referred to a very early (and lost) text of the Kāmaśūtra. The medical texts are still more precise in details than are those that describe the ritual.

If this ceremony proves unsuccessful, recourse is had, according to the statement of the Gṛhyaparīṣṭiṣṭa, to an act that serves the purpose of driving off the obstructing preta, or spirits. This is the so-called nārayanavādī, a kind of offering to the departed spirits or demons, by which Viṣṇu is to ‘purify’ the preta; or the preta that is supposed to have possessed the woman (viśam-pūrti) and nāgayādī, or offering to snakes, is also to be made, which atones for sins committed against snakes in the present or former births (a deadly blow, etc.), and which is merely a second offering to the dead for those who conceived of the dead as existing in the form of snakes. The pātriya-vihā, which Dāsaratha, for example, causes to be offered (Rāghuvamśa, x. 4), is different, and is designed to secure a son. It consists, according to the Tatātirīya-Sāmkhyā, in the presentation of cakes to Agni Putravat and to Indra Putri.

The Purāṇa and other texts prescribe for the time of pregnancy a large number of directions for both husband and wife, which are partly of a die- tetic and partly of a superstitious nature. Thus, for example, the woman is not allowed to allow her hair to be loose, or lie with the head high or low, or speak without adding an auspicious word, etc. The Law-Books also, such as Yājñavalkya (i. 79), interpose with various regulations, making it a duty, for instance, to fulfil the will of the wife if she die before her husband. Whatever is otherwise the embryo would be exposed to injury.

Of other observances which follow on conception, the best known is the puṁsavatara, the generating of a male, which takes place in the second, third, or even fourth month—as Pāraskara says, ‘before the child stirs’—and is to assure the birth of a son. Here also, as elsewhere, the selection of the constellation exercises an influence on the rite. But a magical character is most clearly stamped on those usages which give external expression to the wish, and seek to modify the course of events by means of spells. The Hiranyakeśins recite the text, ‘Thou art a bull,’ and place in the hand of the woman a barley-corn, with two grains of mustard-seed,—in obvious imitation of the male generative organ,—and drop a drop of sour milk, and cause the whole to be drunk as the ‘generating of a male.’ Or a shoot of a Nyagrodha tree, hung on both sides with fruit, a blade of Kusa grass, or a twig of the same plant, are pulverized and placed by the husband or other near relation in the nostril of the mother.

Even entirely different objects may be employed for the same purpose, as a silk-worm or a chip from that side of the north-eastern sacrificial post which is turned towards the fire. The inhaling also of the smoke from the fire kindled with the fire-sticks (aramite) is enjoined Saiskarūrvarnā (p. 815).

A further ceremony, which precedes or follows the puṁsavatara, is the samantonnayana, the parting of the hair of the head, which is performed on the woman when she begins her first child. Various acts (in order or at option) are necessary for the purpose; the quill of a porcupine furnished with three white spots, and a branch of the Udumbara tree or Ficus indica, bearing an even number of unripe fruits, are all prescribed by all texts. The former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman. Players on the hte concluded the ceremony with songs; and among these, according to the statement of some texts (cf. Hillebrandt, Bṛhat-hṛṣīkeśa-purāṇa, i. 3, 44), was the worn by the first woman during this period, since the former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman. Players on the hte concluded the ceremony with songs; and among these, according to the statement of some texts (cf. Hillebrandt, Bṛhat-hṛṣīkeśa-purāṇa, i. 3, 44), was the worn by the first woman during this period, since the former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman. Players on the hte concluded the ceremony with songs; and among these, according to the statement of some texts (cf. Hillebrandt, Bṛhat-hṛṣīkeśa-purāṇa, i. 3, 44), was the worn by the first woman during this period, since the former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman. Players on the hte concluded the ceremony with songs; and among these, according to the statement of some texts (cf. Hillebrandt, Bṛhat-hṛṣīkeśa-purāṇa, i. 3, 44), was the worn by the first woman during this period, since the former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman. Players on the hte concluded the ceremony with songs; and among these, according to the statement of some texts (cf. Hillebrandt, Bṛhat-hṛṣīkeśa-purāṇa, i. 3, 44), was the worn by the first woman during this period, since the former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman. Players on the hte concluded the ceremony with songs; and among these, according to the statement of some texts (cf. Hillebrandt, Bṛhat-hṛṣīkeśa-purāṇa, i. 3, 44), was the worn by the first woman during this period, since the former served to trace the parting, the latter was as a rule tied afterwards to the woman.
Whenever butter, is sesamum medicin, the actual delivery takes place in a separate house or room, into which the male members of the family have no right of entrance. At the door a fire is lighted to provide for ordinary purposes as well as to keep off evil spirits. Hiranya-kanda (vol. 8) directs that at the time of delivery a bowl of water should be placed at the woman's head and a Tārāntī plant at her feet; and enjoins the performance of various ceremonies with the recitation of texts, one of which is actually found in the Rigveda (v. 73, 79), to relieve and expedite the birth. Whether the several acts are due to a superstitious or to a medical motive is often difficult to determine, owing to the close relation between medicine and magic. Different plants are employed as emblems or internal remedies; one is the sākumi, valued for its roots for good luck; and fruits with a name of masculine gender are put into her hand. One text (cf. Sanskritāratanamātā, p. 527) prescribes a definite amount of sesamum oil to be stirred from left to right with the grass, a part given to the woman to drink; the rest placed you, given to the blades placed in her hair. The Yantraprakāśa ordains for the time of delivery a diagram of nine compartments, in which are entered from the N.E., N., N.W., etc., in succession the numbers 8, 3, 4, etc.

If the fetus is obstructed, a medical prescription (cf. Jolly, loc. cit.) lays it down that the vagina is to be fumigated by means of the skin of a black snake or with certain plants, or a particular plant given into the woman's hand. Various emblems facilitate the coming away of the after-birth, and the same purpose is served also by a decoction in which has been steeped, as the most curious medicine, the right ear torn from a living male ass. Continual fumigations with offerings of sesamum and rice are prescribed away all evil spirits while at that time imperil the life of the woman and her newborn child. Whenever the attendants enter they must throw fresh fuel on the fire. The climax of danger is reached on the sixth day, which up to that time is in India devoted to the Goddess of the Sixth. This day is especially perilous, because on it, or shortly after, the child is exposed to tetanus through unskilful severing of the navel-cord (Jolly). The Balatastra (quoted in the Sāhakāratanamātā, p. 540) knows of more detailed regulations, intended to ward off or consolidate this Sāstī and other hostile goddesses. It is prescribed that men with swords in their hands shall keep watch, women sing, lamps be kept burning, weapons and clubs laid in the house of the god, etc., while the father repeats om and the vajrayūtra, etc.

For the newb orn child ceremonies of 'animation,' 'endowment with understanding,' 'tendering of the breast,' and 'naming' are observed. At the first the father must thrice exhale and inhale over the child, or whisper into his navel or right ear, the original texts relating to a long life. Brahmanas are stationed towards the five directions of the heavens, and have to say in order prāna, vyāna, etc. Before this act the boy is fed with a food composed of butter, honey and certain other materials. This last as well as the former 'animation' are ceremonies which go back to a remote time, and, as Weber (Indianische Streiften, 1868, ii. 170) and Speijer (Jātakarmon, p. 103) have shown, are found also among other peoples. Hiranyakāśīn's instructions are to take gold, an axe and a stone, to hold the boy over them, and give him good wishes for his life. Further ceremonies are recognized by the medical texts (Jolly, 'Medicin,' GIAP, § 43, p. 58).

The endowment with understanding consists in three times inserting into the ear of the child the words, 'May the god Shiva grant wisdom,' or other text, or the word vīchār; or in placing butter in his mouth with a golden vessel, while reciting the text, 'May Mitra-Varuna grant thee understanding.'

The third ceremony is the first formal tendering of the breast, when the father lays the boy on the breast of the mother. The fourth is the important nāmokarana. On the giving of the name many peoples have laid great stress (Brinton, Religions of Primitive Peoples, 1897, p. 93 ff.; cf. also Kroll, ABW, viii. Suppl. p. 49 ff.); and this is no less true of the Indians, who give explicit directions in the ritual and astronomical texts. The ceremony takes place usually on the tenth day. The phonetic value of the chief name is often determined by the name of the constellation (Phalguna, from Phalgunī; Hillebrandt, Ritualisator, § 15). See NAMES.

Immediate consequence of the fire is that the woman rises up, and this may therefore be regarded as the closing ceremony of the births.


BIRTH (Hindu, popular)—A Hindu woman, when the time of her delivery is at hand, lies in a room on the ground floor, on a cot which must be strung with hempen cord, and not with the cotton tape which is used for ordinary beds. In the room is placed some iron article (iron being a powerful averter of evil), and the woman lies with her head to the north or east, as do all Hindus, for the other cardinal points are dangerous. Should the delivery be delayed, it is believed that, in spite of the precautions taken, the powers of evil are in the ascendant, and, with a view to bringing their working to an end, a woman adjoins a pyre to that part of the floor on which her cot stands, so that the evil spirits may be led to believe that they have to do with the purchaser (the midwife), who on account of her very low caste is immune from evil; (d) to drink upon the name of Shiva, or upon the maternal or paternal, and of some sūti (woman who has immolated herself on the pyre of her husband) who is famous on account of her act of wifely devotion; (c) to drink the water with which a charm, written by a Brahman, has been added, and to anoint the head, mother-in-law, her mother-in-law, or a young virgin have been washed; (d) in regions in which rice forms the staple diet of the people, to step seven times over the rice-pounder, this being supposed to hasten labor.
In many cases there is bound on the belly of the lying in woman a charm, written by a 'skilful man.' This may be a double equilateral triangle, or a collection of magic words such as this:

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The above charm is so powerful, that, were it bound on the woman's loins, instead of on her belly, she would never be delivered; so the present writer was assured.

As soon as the child is born, it is placed in a grain-sifting tray, in which have been put cow dung, ashes, turmeric, and a few coins, and is sprinkled with water. If it be a man-child that has been born, a brass tray is beaten to scare away evil spirits; and this is never done on the birth of a girl who, says, protects her against evil. The men of the family know when a boy is born, and fire guns to show their joy. Until the placenta is expelled, every one in the lying-in room must keep silence, lest the placenta again ascend into the womb. As soon as the after-birth is expelled, the child is washed with warm water, dried, and laid on the cot beside the mother, after the midwife has passed her little finger into its nostrils and anns, to widen these apertures so that the child may not suffer from shortness of breath or constipation. The umbilical cord is tied in two places, about 4 cm from the navel, and cut between these with an iron knife, or a strip of the outer skin of the bamboo, as soon as the placenta is expelled. The placenta is then put into a hole which has been dug in a corner of the room, and a fire is lighted on the spot and kept burning for four or five days. While the placenta is being disposed of, the head of the lying-in woman is bound up, and she is fumigated with the smoke of the burning seeds of Carum copticum, which have been thrown on a brazier. This is placed under her cot, and is kept there, however, for the first four days of the year, for ten days. The doors and windows of the room are kept shut, and light is given by an oil-dip lamp, which is kept alight night and day. As the clothes soiled by the discharges incident to delivery are not removed till the fourth or fifth day, the state of the atmosphere of the lying-in room, when the slade temperature is 41 °C., may be guessed. The woman may drink only of a decoction of ginger, cloves, and the seeds of Carum copticum and Helicteres isora, in which have been boiled some copper coins. The powder in which the decoction is prepared is touched by seven boys if the infant be a boy, and by seven unmarried girls if it be a girl; these children receive sweetmeats for their services.

Among the castes, to whom news of the birth has been conveyed, comes to the house, he takes the data on which the calculation of the child's horoscope is to be based, and fixes the time at which the infant is to be put to the breast for the first time, and that at which the mother may be fed: for four days she has borne a boy, and for five if she has borne a girl, she will be allowed only sweet meat balls made of coarse sugar, long pepper, ginger, cooco-nut, salfron, gum acacia, etc. Her ordinary food she may not have, because during this period the low-caste midwife stays in the room with her.

On the fourth or fifth day the soiled clothes are removed from the room and given to the washer man to be washed. The mother and child are then bathed by the midwife in water in which the leaves of the Nim (Azadirachta indica) have been boiled, after which she takes some of the water in the hollow of her hand, and waves it seven times, with the sun, round the head of the mother, in whose lap the child lies, and then throws the water away in the direction of the door of the room. In some cases this water-waving, which is designed to avert evil, is done only three times. Afterwards the mother sits on the cot, from which the soiled bedding has been removed, with the child in her lap, and dries her hair in the smoke of the seeds of Carum copticum, which have been thrown on the brazier: the hair is believed to be a favourite point of entrance of spirits into the body. For her ears the first earthen pots that are in the house are thrown away, and a feast is given, to which men of low caste are invited, as on the tenth day after a death (see DEATH [Hindu]). Of the food prepared for this feast the mother is given a small quantity, and on the following day she returns to her ordinary diet, the midwife being dismissed and her place taken by the barber's wife, who does not live in the lying-in room, as the midwife did during her term of office; but her name may take her away, the time at which the influence of evil is most to be feared, until thirty days have elapsed from the date of her delivery.

On the tenth day the astrologer brings the horoscope of the child, and on it are put some blades of grass, on which will be sprinkled a few grains of white rice and then water with which turmeric has been mixed; then a few grains of uncooked rice are scattered on the horoscope, and the name of the child is chosen by the father from a few names, appropriate to the time of birth, which the astrologer reads out. This name becomes the ceremonial name of the child, whose ordinary name is that given to it by a certain woman-member of the family, whose relationship varies in different castes.

After the tenth day the family barber is sent round to announce the birth to friends and relatives at a distance. He presents to those to whom he bears the news sweetmeats made of coarse sugar, clarified butter, almonds, raisins, coco-nut, etc., which have been prepared at the house in which the birth took place; and it is taken as an insult to omit to send these sweetmeats to any one who can claim the right to receive them.

From the fourth or fifth day till the thirtieth day after the birth of the child, it may be bathed only on Wednesday or Sunday on the full moon of the month, and then washed with sesame oil, with which some castes mix turmeric, which from its colour is an averter of evil.

LITERATURE.—H. A. Rose, 'Hindu Birth Observances in the Punjjab,' in JAI xxxvii. (1907) p. 239; W. D. Sutherland, in Münchener med. Wochenschrift, 1906; and the literature appended to the previous article.

W. D. SUTHERLAND.

BIRTH (Jewish.—1. Biblical.—(1) Notions and practices surrounding childbirth.—The mystery of birth and procreation is euphemistically expressed in the Bible by 'the woman knew Eve lived with Eve; and she conceived, and bare Cain' (Gen 4:1), the first statement in the Bible regarding conception and the condition, though a little earlier the condition, the child is fixed and.' I will greatly increase thy pain and thy conception; in pain thou shalt bring forth children' (Gen 39). Nothing further is found in the Bible as to the first stages of human life, before it enters the world in a concrete form. Many speculations were rife at a later period about these stages, and legends have been handed down concerning the birth of the child in the womb. The pains and pangs of travail are often referred to by the prophets, and used in a figurative sense to express the throes of a new birth of nations and of the heavens. According to Ex 1st, specially trained women assisted in childbirth, which took
place on the birth-stool, on which the midwives had to look, in order to ascertain whether the newborn babe was a male or a female. Moreover, we learn that the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are de- livered without much difficulty (Ex 1:14). Cases of difficult and dangerous births are, however, also recorded in the Bible, in some of which the issue was fatal to the mother. Such was the case with Rachel (Gn 35:16), and with the wife of Phinehas, who died in giving birth to a son; for she died before the time of delivery, of an untimely death of her husband (1 S 4:18). While still in the womb, children, according to Biblical tradition, were believed to be fully conscious: Jacob and Esau 'struggled together within her' (Gn 25:22); and, when Tamar was delivered of twins, the children came out, not like Jacob holding the heel of Esau in his hand, but one put out his hand first, and then drew it back, and then the brother came forth first (Gn 35:29). Other cases of irregular birth and their treatment will be dealt with later. (Ex 2:3). That it was necessary to follow up the references, as much as possible, in some historical order, treating the Biblical period practically as one for our purpose.

(2) **Fruitfulness a blessing.** To have a large family was a thing greatly desired, and hence fruitfulness was blessed. The very first blessing mentioned in connexion with the creation of man is: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth' (Gn 1:28); and the references throughout the Bible to this blessing of a large family and to the reverse—the misfortune of childlessness—are numerous. That woman is praised in the gates who has a large family, especially of sons (Pr 31:2). And the barren sits as a mourner in the midst of the festive gathering (1 S 4:1). Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, Hannah and Elisabeth, and others are cases in point. Barrenness and widowhood stand on the same plane; both are objects of pity and commiseration. No wonder, therefore, that from the very beginning means were sought to remove this reproach and to get children. The *dâdâm* of Gn 30:14 have been identified with mandragora, a fruit credited with specific qualities for fruitfulness. But in the Bible the blessing is more prominent that, by means of prayer and intercession, barren women could obtain children. Isaac entreated the Lord on behalf of Rebecca who was barren (Gn 25:21). When Rachel was angry with Jacob, he replied: 'Am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?' (Gn 30:1); and later on (30:2): 'And God remembered Rachel, and God hearkened unto her, and opened her womb.' Similarly in the case of Hannah (1 S 1). The same agency could work also in the opposite direction, and close the womb of the once fruitful, and render them barren. So, when Abraham prayed to God, 'God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants; and they bare children. For the Lord had considered the case of Abimelech' (Gn 20:7).

No other means are mentioned in the Bible for assisting women in obtaining children. Nor do we find remedies or precautions mentioned, or aught else, preceding the birth. The children were, no doubt, born on the floor of the house. The child lay first on the ground. Then it was washed in water, rubbed with salt, swathed in swaddling clothes, and given to the mother to be suckled (Ex 2:25). Occasionally a wet nurse is mentioned in the Bible, like Deborah the nurse of Rebeca (Gn 35), or the mother of Moses, who was taken by the daughter of Pharaoh to suckle the child found in the river (Ex 2:9). (5) **Uncleanness of the mother.**—The birth of a child made the mother unclean, in the first place, for seven days; and then, if it was a son, thirty-three days; and if a daughter, sixty-six days. At the end of that period lustration or purification took place, and the woman brought an offering to the Temple (Lv 12:2).

(4) **Purification of the mother.—**Although the mother is unclean after giving birth, none of that uncleanness attaches to the newborn child. On the contrary, the firstborn, that which 'openeth the womb,' is consecrated to God, be it human, be it animal. The firstborn enjoyed special privileges, and although, before the patriarchal time, had the right of the firstborn leader. He probably had also preference in inheritance above the other members of the family (cf. Jacob and Esau). In the last dispositions of Jacob (Gn 49), Reuben is deprived of his privileges of primogeniture; and, although not expressly stated, the double portion, which, according to the Mosaic legislation, was given to the firstborn, is there given to Joseph. This is made evident in 1 Ch 5:1. The firstborn at a certain time was invested with sacramental rights; later on, his place was taken by the firstborn of the Lea, originally the family priest. The dedication, as in the case of Samuel, was evidently to the service in the Temple. Traces of sacrifice of the firstborn male, practised by the nations living in Palestine, are found in the period of Moses.

Since the Levites took place of the firstborn, these were 'redeemed' at the completion of thirty days after birth (see art. REDEMPTION). The succession to the throne and to the office of high priest went to the firstborn, with the exception of Solomon, who took the place of Adonijah (1 K 11:4), and of Eleazar through the death of his elder brothers (Lv 10:17). The priestly character of the firstborn has to a certain extent been retained in the service of the Synagogue, where, in addition to the absence of the mystical firstborn, the hands of the Kohenim (descendants of Aaron) before they ascend the rostrum in front of the Ark to bless the congregation.

(5) **Naming the child.**—After an indefinite period, ranging from one to three years, the child was weaned, and the occasion was celebrated by some public festivities (Gn 21:8, Ex 2:22). From the time of Abraham onwards the male child was circumcised on the eighth day, but it is not clear from the Biblical account whether the name was given on that occasion. The name of the child was settled before the birth of the child, and had a symbolical meaning; and on other occasions it had a commemorative character, being connected with events at the birth. Examples of the former are Isaac (Gn 21:1), Immanuel (Is 7:14), or Jerzeel (Hos 11:1); of the latter, the twelve sons of Jacob—may, his own name and that of Esau, etc. Nowhere is a definite date mentioned for the giving of the name. Nor do we find, except in rare cases, a change of name; e.g. when a king ascends the throne, his name is sometimes slightly or altogether changed. In the case of girls, names of animals are often taken as prototypes: thus Rachel, Tamar, Zipporah ('lamb,' 'palm tree,' 'bird'), in addition to other symbolical names. In later times, but still within the period covered by the Bible, the grandchild often gets the name of the grandfather, such as (2 S 5:5) Abimelech, son of Abiathar, son of Ahimelech.

A few more details concerning birth and early infancy could be gleaned from the Bible, but they would not carry our knowledge much further. The history of Israel is not comprehensively mentioned by the understanding of the development which took place in the course of subsequent centuries. The Biblical data form the starting-points or the justification for legends, beliefs, and practices which cluster round the birth of children. Each of these stages is governed entirely by the details found in the
BIRTH (Jewish)

Bible. Some have been greatly expanded; others have been interpreted in a peculiar manner; and for a number of practices borrowed, no doubt, from other nations, or survivals of popular habits and moods, a support has been sought in the verse and proofs that tradition in the spirit of which it was understood and accepted by the people, and upon the lines along which it developed.

2. Post-Biblical.—The second period, stretching from the 1st cent. down to modern times, embraces a variety of practices, of which few may claim universal acceptance. Some may have belonged to one country only or to one period; others were perhaps more widely spread. A good many of these practices are now known only from books, and are little followed in modern life. Others have been followed by succeeding generations, orcallations, and the like, as to the extent to which they are followed. They cover a large area—Western Asia, North Africa, and the whole of Europe. In some instances it can be proved that a more modern author has simply repeated the practices found in, or derived from, the collection of tradition. An endeavour will here be made to present the data in some chronological order, taking first the references found in the Mishna and the Talmud and other older Rabbinical writings from the 1st to the 6th cent., and then proceeding to works from the 6th to the 18th, finishing with a few quite modern practices, following, as far as possible, the order of the Biblical data.

1) Beliefs connected with the pre-natal period of the child's existence.—The mystery of birth is now no more explained; it is only in its literal truth that emerges that a special angel, 'Lailah,' presides at the very beginning of conception, and through his intermediation the embryo is brought before the Divine throne, where his fate is decided upon, his station in life is determined, and also whom he is going to marry. At the bidding of God, a spirit enters the sperm, and then it is returned to the womb of the mother. There the child lies folded up with its head between its knees. Two angels watch over it. A light burns over its head, by which the fire of God is kindled. Another angel is assigned to each of the mother and child. In the morning an angel carries it into Paradise, and shows it all the righteous who had lived a good life in this world; and in the evening he takes it to hell, and shows it the torments of the wicked. Finally he orders the child to come forth, and it strikes it, thereby extinguishing the light, and causing it to forget whatever it had seen whilst in the womb of the mother (cf. Chronicle of Jerahmeel, ed. Gaster, ch. ix. pp. 19 ff. and lxxii ff.). A later legend adds that the inden-ture, or the extraction of the child, is played, or is struck by the angel; hence that induration. Whatever the child hereafter learns is merely a remembrance of the knowledge acquired during its life as an embryo. Another equally ancient treatise contains an anatomical description of the gradual formation of the body of the child and the changes during gestation. But, in spite of the direct Divine influence assumed here on the shape of the child, other traditions say that external influences, especially at the month of the foetus' birth, has the greatest effect upon the shape and the mentality of the offspring. An ancient legend, preserved in many versions, tells how the superhuman beauty of the high priest Ishmael was due to the fact that his mother had returned to the bath, time after time, after the birth of her other sons and daughters, a process of air was carried along with him. Each time after such an animal which would have had an evil influence had met her, she returned, until at last Metatron, the Angel of the Face, came and met her on the way home, and she then conceived and bore a son as beautiful as the countenance of that angel. The meeting with a dog has the effect of making the child's face like a dog's; that with a ass was made stupid; and that with a pig would cause the child to have unclean habits. For that reason, R. Johanan placed himself at the gate of the bath-house, so that the women returning home should look at him, who was renowned for his beauty. As a proof of such influence is adduced the experiment of Jacob with the sheep (Gen 30:9). The black wife of an Ethiopian king was delivered of a white child; the father suspected the mother, but, having been asked by R. Akiba whether there were white images in his bed-chamber, he answered in the affirmative. This, then, said R. 'Akiba, was the reason why she had given birth to a white child. The same motive appears in the Ethiopica of Heliodorus. Other ailments in children are also due to the careless-ness of the parents, the presentation of the child, or discornentenent of impurity. Leprosy is one of the results, and dumbness and deafness, as well as other infirmities. A woman may not cut her nails during the period of her impurity and drop them on the ground, lest the man tread on them and be stricken with boils. The children may also be so affected during gestation as to be changed into animals or birds, or even locusts; whereupon the woman miscarries, and her ritual status is determined by the degree of human form which the thing born has (Mishin. Kiddah, iii. 2.; cf. Ch. M. Horowitz, Ursale Toasat .. aus dem 2-5 Jahrhundert, Krakau, 1890, passim).

2) Fruiture.—Means are mentioned to prevent barrenness. The women, we are told, mocked the wife of Manoah (Jg 13), and said to her: 'If you wish to get children, take the skin of a fox, burn it in fire, take the ashes and mix them with water, and drink of that water three days, three times each day, and you will get a child' (Horowitz, op. cit., p. 10). 'If a man is bewitched, and cannot bathe (ritual or instration bath?), a recipe is given, consisting of garlic and onions and the root of kala and the tail of rounsa fried on the fire; leek is boiled, and the other ingredients are mixed with the leek-water; the patient drinks of this mixture for three days, and is cured' (ib. p. 22 ff.). A pregnant woman, in order to avoid miscarriage, should not take hot bastes. She must not eat green vegetables, as they affect the heart of the baby; nor may she eat salt food or fat substances, or the child will be dull; but she must eat small fish and mustard (ib. p. 28).

3) Assistants at childbirth, etc.—In addition to midwives, medical practitioners are now mentioned as assisting in the delivery of woment. We hear also of operations which took place when the child was in a dangerous position or was dead; incisions were made on them and they were stricken with boils. The physician was exempt from many legal obligations when attending in childbirth. He could break the Sabbath, and all other ordinances were considered abolished in the case of a woman in labour. The primary function of the physician was to place the woman on the birth-stool, and to make all the preparations necessary for a safe delivery. In case of twins, his word decided which was first born. Very little is mentioned in the period relating to the easing of difficulties of labour: but, being of a more popular nature, they have, no doubt, been preserved in later writings in which the popular element predominates. The new-born babe was treated in olden times, but the child's sex was only known afterwards, of the existence of cradles. The name of the cradle is suggestive, for it is identical with
"trough"; and it is customary to this very day in the East to use troughs for cradles. It is mentioned only in writings of Palestinian origin (Mishna and Tosefta), and in one instance a glass cradle is mentioned (Tos. Ketub, vii. 12, ed. Zuckermandel, p. 598).

(4) Danger from demons, etc.—Dangers not mentioned in the Bible now surround the baby and the mother immediately after the birth of the child. The notion of demons possessing the mother, and then affecting the health of the child appears for the first time in the literature of that period, and the terror of these demons and the desire to drive them away or to counteract their evil influence grows steadily. In Tobit the demon Asmodeus puts the dam from and prevents him from becoming the wife of any mortal. Every bridegroom wended to her is killed on the night of the marriage, and only Tobit succeeds in driving the demon away by fumigating the bride with the liver of a fish. By this fumigation the charm is broken. This is then an example to be followed in later times on every occasion of difficult labour, as well as on breaking charms, or on driving away those evil spirits which haunt the chamber and bring ill on the mother and the child.

Prayers, now, assume a mystical character and have come in time to be used as amulets, and are also efficacious in laying the power of the evil spirit, and, according to a Talmudical legend, the Sunhadrin succeeded in capturing the demon of lust or amorous passion, the "evil inclination" as it is termed. The consequence was that three days afterwards not an egg could be found in the whole of Palestine to feed a woman in childbed. Whereupon they merely blinded the demon in one eye and released him (Sanh. f. 64a). They resorted also to prayer, which was told, to avoid the terrible ill of consuming fever like the thousand of the thousand. The cause of many of these diseases was ascribed to the influence of evil spirits. Lilith is the head of the female demons, and is mentioned as the chief cause of all the ills that befall children. Originally identified with the luimius and with a demoniac first wife of Adam, she became in the course of time the demon who bewitched, stole, changed, and killed the children as well as the mother in childbed. Another demon mentioned is Agrath, the daughter of Mahliath. (In both cases the Jewish tradition is derived from the "night demon" and Agrath the "roof demon," daughter of "illness," the demon that is born in the likeness of Lilith is described as being like a human being, but with wings on its back (Niddah, 249). No mention is made of the means of protecting mother and child, although no doubt they must have resorted to some magical amulets and also to other conjurations and mystical operations. Another demon Shimdon (or Ashmadon, "Destruction") is mentioned, who, according to a legend, was met by a child in a garland which he had before that day, whom the mother had sent to bring her a knife for cutting the navel. The demon then said to the newborn giant baby: "Go and tell your mother that the cock has crowed, otherwise I would have struck and killed thee"; to which the baby replied: "Go and tell your mother that my navel has not yet been cut, otherwise I would have struck and killed thee." (Genes. Rabb. ch. 36, § 1).

Various demons lay in wait for the newborn child. There were five demons more dangerous as the above-mentioned Lilith. This demon plays an important rôle in the subsequent development of superstitions in the common practices, if one might infer from the practice mentioned in the Mishna (Hullin, iv. 7), the "secundines," or after-birth, must have been used for the superstitious purpose, but the original motive to prevent miscarriage. It is forbidden to bury at cross-roads or to hang up on a tree the after-birth of the miscarried first-born of an animal, for that would be of the 'ways of the Amorites' (i.e., superstitious practices of the heathen). We shall see later on the use made of it. It was also preserved as a resource for some unnamned illness of children (Shab. f. 129b).

With the material at our disposal it is difficult to trace the influence of these evil demons (Lilith, Agrath, Shimdon, etc.) further back than the 1st century B.C., although traces of them are found in the Aposphotus literature of the preceding centuries, and the legends are so widely spread among Jews and non-Jews that the research is much further than any other Jewish literature. Lilith is, as stated before, also the demon of evil, sicken, and women learned not to sow scarlet, meaning a prayer to luscious demons and engender children, for female demons are anxious to join human beings and to obtain children from them. In the "Tosefta" it is said that Lilith, according to a different tradition in the Zohar, the woman that came up from the deep of the water (Tosam) and together with her immediately the round body of the newly-created Adam, until the real wife (Havvah) was created, when she was driven away by an angel and sent back to the surging sea. According to a third version, she was the real wife of Adam for a hundred years during the time when he was living in Egypt. They threatened to drive her in the name of evil spirits. Being afterwards driven away, she retained a hatred for man, and lies constantly in wait for man, either to join him in wedlock and thereby frustrate his offspring, or to guide her evil designs, a man must utter the following conjuration before he joins his wife: "Thy garment has become rent, it is loosened, it is torn. Thou mayest not come in for the prize. Thou mayest not come out, nothing for thee and no share for thee. Return, return, the sea is still. Where are the treasures is called the anonymous share of heaven. I, the share of God, I wrap (cover) myself with the holy king." And the man has to cover his face and that of his wife whilst speaking this. After finishing this prayer, he must pour clear water round the bed and he will be safe from attacks from Lilith (Zohar, Leviticus, fol. 103b). Another conjuration, which is the common one, is the following: the other conjurations of Lilith and evil child-stealing demons and witches is that found in the story of ben Sira, in which we have also a version of the original birth, for ben Sira is reported to be the virgin daughter of the prophet Jeremiah. In this story the king was dying, and the reason, and he then wrote out an amulet with the names of certain angels upon it, which he explained as follows: Together with Adam, a wife was collected. This woman was the officially the first wife of Adam, or, by equal, she refused to obey Adam, and in a moment of rage uttered the infamous name of God and flew away to the borders of the ocean. The request of Adam the Lord sent three angels after her to bring her back, and, if she refused to obey, to threaten her with the death of a hundred of her children each day. The angels went after her, and found the real wife waters through which the Israelites were to pass when going out of Egypt. They threatened to drive her in the name of the sea. She implored them to spare her, and in return as she had the power to hurt male children, to the eight day of their birth, she would give them to the women of the earth up to the twelfth month. They agreed to let her do so, but that she would not go near the house or hurt the child, or the mother where she should see the names of these angels written upon them. The angels remained and they saw it, and it was for this reason that ben Sira wrote the names Sinai, Sinai, Mishnah, Torah, on an amulet and put it in the room where the child was, thus driving Lilith away and preventing her from further molesting it (Alphabet, To-Sifra, etc.). Hirschenson, "M. Gaster, 'The Child-stealing Witch,' Folklore, xii., 1900, pp. 159-163.

(5) Amulets, charms, etc.—The amulet is no doubt a later stage. It is preceded, as a rule, by the very act of conjuration in which the conjurer utters those words, and through a process common to all magical operations identifies himself with those angels, and drives away the evil spirit by the account of another operation in which the demon had been vanquished by those powers. From the spoken recital we descend to the written amulet, in which the writing is considered sufficient to terrify away the demon. All the other amulets, like those used in the cases of bewitching or for protection, have gone through the same process, whether they be connected with sterility or birth, or with the protection of mother and child from evil eye and evil spirits, whether it be to facilitate the birth or to be carried by the child, to prevent him from joining his wife or to untie the magical knots. For we are proceeding now to the third period, or the second section of the second period, from the 6th to the 15th century. Sympathetic remedies, both medical and magical, reach us very likely in the writings of the 6th century and onwards. Ancient Greek medical
practices and recipes, popular superstitions and customs, were then gathered up and introduced into the medical science of the Arabs, together with all the popular beliefs and practices of the East, and to a certain extent, the practices of the West, with whom they came into contact. Translated into Greek (Byzantine) and into Latin, these magical, sympathetical, and medical compilations spread among the nations of Europe. Books of recipes and amulets, *astrologia*, as well as manuscripts of leechcraft, abound also in medieval Jewish literature. Most of them are still preserved in manuscripts. What has been printed from the second half of the 17th cent. onwards is mere reprint, and often very faulty, from older MSS. By consulting a few of these MSS (most of them in the writer's possession) we can go back at least to the 12th or 13th cent., but no doubt they contain materials which are far older and may be of extreme antiquity. We are not concerned here with purely medical prescriptions, though it is often difficult to draw the line between the dispensary proper and magical or sympathetic recipes. Nor can we pay any attention here to the astrological horoscopes and nativities, or to prognostications from the influence of the astral bodies, as to the importance and the value of which there is no agreement. As connected with births, these prognostications and nativities have remained the domain of the astrologer, and have seldom if ever formed part of popular practices. A selection of the latter culled from writings ranging from the 6th to the 18th cent., may now follow. Only such have been selected as have enjoyed great popularity and have been found repeated in MSS of diverse origin. Some hall from Spain, others from Italy and Turkey; some from Damascus and Yemen, and not a few from Germany. All twenty-five MS compilations have been used.

The bewitching of bride and bridgemoat may start from the day of marriage. 'Tie three knots during the ceremony, and the bride will be forbidden to her husband so long as those knots remain untied; or, 'Make a thread of wool on a live sheep and say, while twisting the cord: 'Shurah, Shurah, Shaburah; I tie the woman N., with the cord with which I tied the night and the day and the noon and the evening and the midnight. I tie her in every language and with every word by which the woman is known. Never be taken of her by the wind, under heaven and earth which cannot be loosened. And so long as these knots are not untied, woman N. I real these knots with the seal of King Solomon, with which he sealed the demons in the copper vessel and cast them into the abyss, and similarly shall no man be able to untie these knots but me.'

If he afterwards wishes to break the charm, he must kill a hen, drop the blood upon the knots, and untie them, and the charm will be broken.' Or, 'Three knots made by the woman in her girdle, when with her husband and he not knowing, it will affect him so long as the knots remain tied,' etc. More numerous are the recipes for breaking this tying. 'On both sides of a new-laid egg the verse from 2 S 2:27? 'Thou enlargest my footsteps,' etc., is written. Cut it in two with a knife or a dagger with which a man has been killed, give each one a half to eat, draw the picture of a small tree on uteine vellum, tie it on his left arm, put some quicksilver into a nutshel and tie it on his right arm, then tear a hole in the woman's skirt, etc., and the charm will be broken.' Or, 'Take flour from a 'living' mill, mix it with the mud of the river (or rain-water), make a cake of it, (write on it v. 5), put an unopened eye into (a great) a. Or, 'Pass a stick through a hole made in the door, burn it on coals and fumigate self and wife.' Or, 'Let the tied man go to the field, loosen an ass tied by its foot, take the rope with the knot and burn it, and put the piece of the ass (so done) with the man.' Or, 'Tie the right-foot sandal of the bridgemoat to the left-foot sandal of the bride, fumigate with sul-
in the ground. So long as the scissors remain in the ground, she will have no children.'

"Or, 'If the plate out of which a woman has taken her first meal after delivery is placed face downward under her bed, it will act as an abortions and will turn her heart upward.' Or, 'Pick up a grain that has dropped from the mother and put it in the navel of the child-bearing.' Or, 'The first tooth dropped by a child picked up before it touches the ground, and fastened round the neck, shall prevent the miscarriage.' Or, 'The weaving of a cat's paw cut off from the live animal stops fertility. Carrying of a hare's heart (or hare's droppings) will have the same effect, put in the front of the shirt in the front, the ashes of a wolf's heart.' Or, 'Extirpating three live coals in her menstruation blood, and bury them. If this charm is to be broken, the coals must be taken out and thrown into a burning fire.

'Great care is then taken to prevent the mother from mis-hap caused by various agencies. Of the diverse methods employed, a few may now be mentioned.

'Mare's milk, boiled with virgin wax and then kneaded and put in a bag of buckskin, or of pure linen, and placed on the navel, will prevent miscarriages.' Or, 'Wearing of an eagle-stone (settles) (Shab. I, 660). Or, 'Drink three days in the morning and in the evening milk of a pregnant ass.' Or, 'Wear a ring of wolves skins.' Or, 'A hare tail, thrown out alive.' Or, 'White and red corals pounded and drunk in wine, of the shape of three fingers, for three days.' Or, 'A ruby hung round the neck.' Or, 'A dead scorpion tied up in crocus-green cloth, and fastened on to the skirt.' Or, 'A ring with a large blue stone, worn by a woman, will prevent miscarriage. Or, 'A girdle made of snake's skin or of that of a she-ass, worn round the waist.' Or, 'A piece of the heart of a hare and chicken, mixed and powdered, drunk, prevents miscarriage.' Invaluable in preventing miscarriages are the stones of Kundra, which is found in the field, looks like glass, has a hole in the middle, and is on the size of an egg. If worn, it is infallible in its effect.

'All these are mere prophylactic measures. The real crisis begins with the travail of delivery. Here also dangers of the evil spirit are great, and amulets and incantations are far more numerous than in the previous stages of conception and gestation. Some of the incantations may now be mentioned:

"When a woman is in difficult labour, whisper in her ear: 'The angel Michael walking on Mount Sinai heard screaming and weeping. He said: O Lord, what is the reason for that screaming and weeping which I hear? And the Lord replied: A dove in the pangs of labour is weeping and screaming. Go and tell her. Come forth, come forth, the earth is seeking thee.' Or, 'Write certain letters on a pesharim, put it on the woman, and say: 'In the name of Asael, who have no son, do thou beget a son. Mother, may the child come forth in peace and in life, Amen.' Or, 'Write on the four corners of a piece of linen (or, take a basin of still water and write in it) (See the preceding woman): 'The gate of heaven was opened, and down came three (seven) angels with three (two) rods in their hands—one was white, the other red, and the third black. The white struck the heavens, and the rain came down; the red one struck the sea, and it parted; the third, the black one, struck the woman and brought forth a Child and after that put her back. And (give the woman to drink of the water); or, 'Wash the cloth in sweet water, give her the water to drink, and put the cloth on her head until she is safely delivered.'

Of general use has been another set of amulets and incantations with the verse Ex 11: written on pure parchment, beginning and ending with, 'Go forth' and 'I will go forth,' etc. Or, an annulet is prepared with letters in nine squares, which, in whichever way read, have the numerical value of 15, probably—one of the names of God, 'Jah.' Also the words 'Kur, kur, kur' are either written or repeated to the woman in labour; or, permutations of the word 'puk, would also mean 'go forth.' Permutations of the Tetragrammaton are also found in some amulets, and even the names 'Immanuel,' 'Soter,' and 'Salvator,' often mutilated beyond recognition, are used as sacred names on the Amulet words pack, would also mean 'go forth.' The conjurations of the Pentateuch are also found in some amulets, and even the names 'Sator, arepo,' etc.

As a supreme remedy in very difficult cases, the scroll of the Law or an ancient copy of the Pentateuch is brought from the synagogue and hung in the room where the woman is in pains of delivery. In addition to amulets and conjurations, other means were employed for easing the labor and ejecting the child or the after-birth.

'The woman must drink water gathered at cross-roads.' Or, 'Another woman's milk lapped from the palm of her hand; in some cases, a roll of parchments is burnt and the ashes from the grise off the sheath of the butcher's knife.' Or, 'Soak the efflorescence (of a pomegranate) in water. It will prevent miscarriage.'

All of herbs and plants none rivals in efficacy the mythical Eisenkraut, or Eisenkraut, as it is called in German. It is akin to the mythical Mandragora, and has great powers to destroy the charms and evil effects of every foul spirit. (One double of the modern German botany the name stands for 'Verbenas' (vervain). Another plant used is the Artemisia, or mugwort, on the stomach or on the thigh. Similarly, 'Dust from under the threshold of the room, wrapped in a piece of cloth and put on the womb.' Or, 'The woman is to keep between her teeth the right horn of a goat or hart.' Or, ashes of silkworms. Or, scraped ivy in wine or water cases difficult labour. We shall pass over the numerous ingredients recommended for fumigation; and also the many classes of remedies already referred to. The same are prescribed also in cases where the child dies unborn, and the mother is in grave danger. Drinking of such nostrums, as well as fumigation, was resorted to in cases of miscarriage.

'If a child born appears to be dead, pass a sleeve over its face to and fro and it will revive.' Or, 'Cover it with the after-birth' (Shab. I, 154a). 'If the mother wishes to satisfy herself as to whether the child is alive or dead, she must look into a basin filled with oil and if it is alive she will see her face in it; if not, she is to put her five fingers into a basin filled with honey, and lick them one after the other, and then drink the honey dissolved in warm water, and the dead child will be ejected without harm.' Or, 'If the woman observes a 'Sharfali,' i.e. Safa turbina (common sage), it will assist in the ejection of the after-birth.' Or, 'The eating of garlic and deeps' brains mixed with honey and boiled together in water.'

But the difficulties of labour may be due also to evil influences, for 'the burying of a pomegranate in the room of the woman will prolong the labour and prevent the birth of the child. The only remedy about is to cast it away.' The stone found in a viper's head hung on a woman will prolong labour and prevent birth.

As soon as the child is born, both mother and child are exposed to the evil demons, who are anxious to seize the new-born and do away with it, sometimes even bodily, and substitute for it a changeling. Every possible precaution is then taken to frustrate the action of the demons, and to grant as much protection as possible to the newborn babe. Lilith is the chief demon, but bands of other witches prowl about, and must be kept at a distance. Conjurations play the principal part. A circle is drawn round the walls of the chamber and on the floor, and in it the names of the three dreaded angels, Sinai, Sinoi, and Sumangrame, are written. These were the angels mentioned above who were sent to punish Lilith, and to whom she promised not to come near the house, or the woman and child, wherever these names should be found. A long conjuration is also written on the parchment or paper containing the names of the angels, and placed at the four posts of the bed in which the woman lies, or fastened to the curtains. The conjuration, a modification of the ancient charm against the demon Avezhia, occurs in almost every collection of Oriental and Western European folk lore.

'For this child-stealing or killing witch, then,' so the conjuration runs, 'is sent by the prophet Elijah, who stops her in her proceedings. If a witch should say, 'wherever she is going to is a certain house where a baby has been born, to eat its flesh, to drink its blood, to crush its bones, and to destroy it. Threatened by the prophet, she promises not to
BIRTH (Jewish)

The witches and demons melted away and left the baby behind, which he took and brought back to its parents. There he uttered another holy Name, and lo! the baby which the mother had been keeping with her in bed turned into a bundle of straw. Or, the child laughs in its sleep it is a sign that Lilith or some other demon is playing with it, and it must be awakened by snuffing the nose. In Rumania it is believed that an angel is playing with the child.

The child's clothes must not be left outside overnight; if owl drops fall on it or a feather, the child changes into a long hairlike worm, which enters the body and tortures the child (Egypt). By conjuring it, it comes out of the body in the form of black points, which must be carefully removed (Egypt). Neither mother nor baby is left alone all the eight days. On the eve of the eighth day children come with their teacher and read certain portions of the Law (the Shema, Deuteronomy 6), and they are regaled with sweets and with bags of peas salted and peppered (Rumania and Poland). The baby is not put into the cradle, almonds and raisins are put in, and the cradle is gently rocked in the belief that the child will do the same with other children. Under the pillow the book of Psalms is laid, and under the mattress a sword or horse-shoe (India). A lying-in woman must not see any one all the week (Turkey). Over the bed a satchel is hanging, containing black bead, some garlic, and a piece of broken glass (Syria and Palestine). On the Friday before the circumcision similar practices are observed to those on the eve of the circumcision, and visitors are entertained.

If it should happen that the mother is not at home when the baby is born, she is to go to a bitch, and put its head on a puppy, and say three times: "Take the dead and give me the living." Then she is to take the puppy and put it to her body, with its head to her right and its feet to her left side, and go to the water and loosen her clothes, and let the puppy drop into the water and say three times: "Give me the living and take the dead." This must be done when the woman is in the ninth month. Or, "Go to a dried-up nut-tree and bore a hole just over the head, and put into that hole some of the cuttings of the nails of fingers and toes and some hair, and ram a peg into the earth and cover the hole. The earth will be seen to be richer and to be humbler, and those who take these will be saved." Or, "Hang a crystal or emerald over the child, and its child will be saved.

As late as the year 1707 the seudim burned and the ashes given in milk were believed to destroy the charm of a wasting child. Or, a bag made of it, with snake-dragon, St. John's wort, and other flowers put in it and hung round the child's neck, was considered a powerful amulet against bewitching. It must be understood that the 'evil eye' is also considered as a form of bewitching but no reference is made to the 'evil eye' in any of all the ancient MSS. This notion and name appear for the first time in the 18th century. In modern times, to which we are refers to ring the child's head with gold and try to make the child laugh in the correct manner. Of these latter practices seem to have disappeared.

A gold coin is hung in the cap, against the evil eye or any other evil spirit (Turkey and Rumania), or a satchel with blue beads and 'ruota' over the bed. Regarding charms against wraiths, the head of the 18th century, who was invited to be present on the occasion of a circumcision. (All the attacks of the demons are concentrated upon the period from the birth of the boy to the eighth day. For seven days he is kept from the sun, and from his place to the house, he met on the road a large number of demons and witches, feasting and dancing round that very baby. He ordered his servant to bring him there, and then seven knives, seven swords, two knives, and two knives were used. He stuck a knife in each slipper, took his own head, washed his hands, and uttered the great Name.)
of dangerous illness the name is often changed, thereby suggesting a re-birth or change in the destiny of the patient.

LITERATURE.—I. MANUSCRIPTS.—Most of the material is taken from the following local MSS in the writer's possession: Cod. 659 (probably of the 14th cent., North Italy); Cod. 315 (Oriental Spanish hand, 17th cent.; contains also the work attributed to Rafael, 1644); Cod. 316 (2 vols., Italy, 1231 recipes, and ii. with more than 600); Cod. 675 (German, 14th or 15th cent., medical treatises, etc.); Cod. 448 (Tunis, 18th cent.); Cod. 444 (Rabat, 17th cent.); Cod. 443 (Syria, 16th-17th cent., with very ancient Babylonian material); Cod. 115 (Germany, 16th-17th cent., with old German con- juration and 400 recipes); Cod. 435 (Urschel, 17th cent., many hundreds of recipes); Cod. 932 (Germany, hundreds of recipes); Cod. 103 (the 'Zainab' of the 'Rechlin's') except the 'Kraut'!); Cod. 258 (Morocco, 19th cent., very full); Cod. 456 (Spanish origin, written in Bulgaria 16th cent., more than 400 recipes); Cod. 464 (Italy, 17th cent., with 390 recipes, many from Aben Ezra and other ancient authorities); Cod. 462 (Italy, 17th cent., with 300 recipes); Cod. 263 (Yemen, 16th-17th cent., some Arabic, others Hebrew, very full); Cod. 493 (Turkey, 17th cent., and some Spanish); Cod. 494, 495, 493, 377, 592, might be mentioned, for they also contain medical, herbal, and sympathetic recipes and a number of annals referring to birth, etc.; also Cod. 134 (Montefiore collection, 14th cent.).

II. PRINTED LITERATURE.—For Bible: Winer, R.E.F., etc., 'Kinder,' For Talmudic period: I. Lamperotti, Pehod Pehud (Lyons, 1723, with index); Anon, 'Sefer Be'zakhah,' Hamburg, 1823; Geburt,' p. 254 ff.; Gideon Brecher, Das Tsendentuntel, i. im Tirol, Vienna, 1850, p. 201 ff.—For modern times: H. Manasseh, the Jew in Portugal, p. 31 ff.; M. Grunwald, MJYJJ, Hamburg, 1876, p. 90 ff., v. 1900, p. 63 ff., and the following: Anon. recipes mentioned above from ancient MSS; Anonym., Todeth Adam, last ed., Lemberg, 1872; B. Benas, Amosbath Benigman, Wilensdorf, 1716; Anonym., Multa, Amsterdam, 1585; J. Joseph, Beth Dov, Wilensdorf, 1713; Anonym., at end of Erin Ve-Tunisim, Dyhrenfurth (a. s.); S. Pelagian, Sefer ha-Be'zakhah, Hamburg, 1806; H. Palaches, Re'huth ne-yamim, Smyrna, 1754; Reuben b. Abraham, Segaloth, Jerusalem, 1855; Moses b. Israel Benjamin, 'Yishtul Mohehe, Monsey, 1894; and one of the most curious collections in circulation in Lemberg, a certain J. Hentchin, Matseis Nefasot, Fgr. 1601 (Amsterdam, 1651), agreeing in many points with Cod. 115. M. GASTER.

BIRTH (Muhammadan).—Among Muslim peoples the birth of a child, or at least of a male child, is an event of the first importance. It is especially so to the mother, because a barren wife is held in no regard by husband or relatives. Women who undertake a resort or sortied to various shrines and superstitious rites, even to stepping across the corpse of a disappointed criminal and anointing their persons with his blood, in the hope of becoming fertile; and the intentional avoidance of body-washing, and of being at the head of the family or wife, practically unknown, though at the time of Muhammad such avoidance was permitted to men who did not desire offspring from slave concubines (Muhammad ibn-Muhammad, tr. Matthews, 1810, vol. ii. pp. 406, 407, 451, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506), rest upon the recorded precepts of Muhammad; but there is a general agreement in the chief observances, which shows that they are to be respected also as a practical observance of the Arabs at the time of the promulgation of Islam. Two or three days before the expected date of the birth, the midwife (dikah) brings to the house of the woman to be confined the groaning-chair or 'birth-throne' (heqnah, etc.), upon which the birth is to take place, for Muslim women are delivered sitting down. The chair, which belongs to the midwife, is covered with a shawl or embroidery, and harinna flowers or roses are tied with an embroidered handkerchief to each of the top corners of the back. As soon as the child is safely delivered, the midwives stand hi, or, while the child stands the zagharit, or lililoo (as in the tale of King 'Umar b. al-Nu'man in the Alif Lāyghū wa Lāyghū: cf. Burton, ed. Smithers, 1895, i. 401). The child is at once wrapped in white linen, or linen of any colour but yellow, and the father or, in his absence, some other man (but never a female) sets a silver coin into the infant's ear, or the adhā' in its right ear. This is done in imitation of Muhammad himself, who is related to have acted thus on the birth of his great-grandson Isma'il (A.H. 180). Another custom, based upon the same authority, is for some learned man to suck a date or some sweetmeat and put it into the baby's mouth and rub it on its palate, whereby the suckler's wisdom is hoped to be communicated (Mushtik, ii. 315; Herkomer, Quaran, Letters, 1852). Among the well-to-do the mother retires to her bed for from three to six days; but poor women seldom rest at all after their delivery. Meanwhile re- joicing begins at once; but these are much more festive for the birth of a son than of a daughter. The men recite the fītāqh (Qur. ch. i.) and receive presents. Dancing men and girls assemble and perform before the house, and sometimes the father entertains his friends on each day of the week succeeding the happy event; but usually the feast is restricted to the day of the birth. There is that chosen for the chief festivities. Lane (Mod. Egyptians, 1800, ch. xxvii. p. 504 f.) has described the ceremonies of the seventh day as practised in Cairo about 1855:

"... on the ... seventh day after the birth of a child the female friends sometimes have a great feast, at which they present higher classes 'Aswellim (Aimanah) are hired to sing in the birthing, or to do the work of performing, or of chanting [of the Qur'an] below. The mother, attended by the diwāgh, and the kūrsi al-waddāgh (birth-chair), in the hope that she may soon have another. It is for its sake; for it is considered propitious. The child is brought, wrapped in a hand-some coloured shawl or something costly; and, to accentuate it, a noise is made by striking it; but afterwards it is laid on a fine mattress, with scarfs and other sounds of mirth, one of the women takes a brass mortar [bushan] and strikes it repeatedly with the pestle, as if pounding. After this the child is put into a sieve and shaken, it being supposed that this operation is beneficial to its stomach. Next it is carried through all the apartments of the house, accompanied by several women or girls, each of whom bears a number of wax candles, sometimes of various colours, but in two's or three's, and stuck into the child's hā'īnun upon a small round tray. At the same time the diwāgh or another female sprinkles upon the floor of each room a mixture of coloured grains and sand, which is thrown by the child, which has been placed during the preceding night at the infant's head, saying, as she does this: The salt is in the eye of the believer; the salt is in the eye of the prophet. This ceremony of the sprinkling is poured on the child's shārīč (circle) is customary for the child and mother from the evil eye; and each person present should say, 'O God, bless our lord Muhammad!' The child, wrapped up and placed on a fine mattress, which is sometimes laid on a silver tray, is shown to each of the women present, who looks at its face, says, 'O God, bless our lord Muhammad! God give thee long life!' etc., and usually puts an embroidered handkerchief, with a gold coin (if pretty or old, the more esteemed) tied up in one of the corners, on the child's head or in its side. This giving of handkerchiefs is considered as imposing a debt, to be repaid by the mother, if the donor should subsequently contract the child, and consequently a debt for a similar offering. The coins are generally used for some years to decorate the head-dress of the child. After these things (which are regarded as the first debt for the child), the name of the child is pronounced out loud (diwāgh). During the night before the sabā', a water-bottle full of water (a douayr in the case of a boy, or a yulūlah in that of a girl), with a hand-carved wooden hand-carved handkerchief tied to it, is placed at the child's head while it sleeps. This, with the water bottle, is carried by the child's nurse, who takes and puts the bottle over each of the women, who put their mu'āfī for her (merely money) into the tray. In the evening the husband generally entertains and presents to his friends."

On the same seventh day (or on the 14th, 21st, 28th, or 35th day after birth) the child is named, though this is often done a few hours after its birth, without any special ceremony; and the rite of 'aqtāq is to be observed, together with the shaving of the child's head, though both are more common. The custom is that, when the 'aqtāq is enjoined by a tradition of Muhammad,
who said, 'An 'aqiqah must be observed at the birth of a child; then slay a goat on its behalf and shave its head'; and again, 'The 'aqiqah for a son is two goats, and for a daughter one, either male or female.' (Mishkât, st. repr. 315. 246.; Abü-Dâ'â'îd, Sâhîh, Arab. text, ii. 36.) The 'aqiqah is properly the hair of the newborn infant, but the term is applied by nomeny to the sacrifice made on its shaving (Lane, Arabic Lexicon, s. v. 'Aqiqah'). It may be a ram or a goat, or two for a son and one for a daughter. The animal must be a male yeaning and without blemish, according to Abû-Dâ'â'd (Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art. 'Children').

The rite is held obligatory by Ibn Hânif, but the founders of the three other orthodox schools regard it as unimportant, in spite of Muhammad's example and the tradition prescribing the 'aqiqah (or, as he preferred to call it, naskâkh).

The person sacrificing should say, 'O God, verify this 'aqiqah is a ransom for my son such a one; its head, its back, and its right hand, (that) its bone for his bone, and its skin for his skin, and its hair for his hair. O God, make it a ransom for my son from hell-fire.' A bone of the victim should not be broken. A leg should be given to the midwife, but the 'aqiqah should first be cooked with water and salt without any part being cut off, and part should be given to the poor (Lane, loc. cit., and Thousand and One Nights, note 24 to ch. iv. (1859 ed., vol. i. p. 277)).

'It is a sumnal ordinance, incumbent on the father, to give a certain price (money) of the child, and to give, in alms to the poor, the weight of the hair in gold or silver' (Lane, Thousand and One Nights, ib.). Circumcision is also specially approved when performed on the seventh day; but in practice it is usually postponed to the fifth or sixth year, or even much later.

On the fortieth day, as a general rule (not universally observed, however), the purification of the mother is completed, and she goes to the bath; and on the same day the infant is introduced to its paternal and maternal family. (Note that this is a very widely accepted practice.)

The various additional ceremonies, many of them common to Hindus as well as Muslims, observed in India, may be read in Herklots (op. cit.); those commonly witnessed in Turkey in Europe are very fully described by a Consul's wife in The People of Turkey, edited by the present writer, 1878, vol. ii. pp. 1-10; but most of these are merely amplifications or variations of the customs described above.

With regard to evidence of birth, the testimony of one woman, be she the midwife or another, in addition to that of the mother, is required, according to Hânâfî law, to prove that the child is the offspring of the mother; but the father's sole testimony is accepted for his paternity. Further evidence is required, however, when the mother is passing her term of iddâh after a complete divorce (Hamilton's Hidddayn, 1791, p. 154; Hugh, Dict. of Islam, art. 'Birth').

LITERATURE.—The literature has been sufficiently cited in the article.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

BIRTH (Parsi).—1. The birth of a child is a very auspicious event in a Parsi house. It was so also in ancient Persia. According to the Vendidad (iv. 47), Ahura Mazda says: 'I prefer a person with children (pāthraēn) to one without children (dārmārē). The very groups of persons in whom this can live with his children is allegorically described as feeling happy (Vend. iii. 2). Cultivation and a good supply of food to people are recommended, because they make mankind healthy and able to produce healthy progeny (Vend. iii. 33). To be the father of good children was a blessing from the Yazatas (Vend. xvii. 27), and from the Prâvashis (Yastq x. [Mihir] 3; Yastq xii. 134). To be childless was a curse (Vasna x. 1, 3). Domestic animals, when ill-fed and ill-treated, cursed their masters that they might be childless (Vasna xi. 1). Childlessness was something like a punishment from heaven (Vasna x. 3; Yastq x. [Mihir] 38, 108, 110). Kingly splendour (kvarâe khwârênā) was associated with those who were blessed with children (Yastq xix. [Zamâyad] 75). A Zoroastrian woman often prayed for a good, healthy child (Vasna x. 22). A Zoroastrian man and woman prayed before their sacred fire for a good, virtuous child (Vasna xii. 5; cf. Vend. iii. 33). A woman without a child was as sorry as a fertile piece of land that is not cultivated (Vend. iii. 24). She prayed for a husband who could make her a mother of children (Yastq v. [Ahrâb] 87; Yastq xvi. 40).

Among the Achaemenians, a wife who gave birth to many children was held in high esteem; and a midwife, who did not like to displease her in any way (Herodotus, ix. 111). Children being the choicest gift of God, their lives were, as it were, pledged by parents for the solemn performance of an act (Herodotus, vii. 10). We read in Herodotus (i. 156) that 'next to prowess in arms, it is regarded as the greatest proof of manly excellence to be the father of many sons. Every year the king sends rich gifts to the men who can show the largest number, for they hold that number is strength.'

It is also observed by the Persians that when a woman becomes pregnant, a fire should be maintained most carefully in the house. The house or family that does not keep the fire of the house properly has no right to pregnancy of women in it (Shiastâ yâ-yâstâx xii. 3). The Soul-dor (xvi. 1) also gives this direction. We have the remnant of this injunction in the present custom that, among the modern Persis, on the occasion of the completion of the seventh and seventh months of pregnancy, a lamp of clarified butter is lighted in the house by some families. The reason assigned for this is that the fire so kindled in the house keeps out dâévis, i.e. evil influences, from the house. A fire or lamp burning is considered a cure of Candhyas (Herodotus, vii. 65). Cf. also those of Darius (Rekhast Inscriptions, iv. 10. 11). SBE v. (1889) pp. 316, 383.

1 Ib. xxiv. 277.
is even now taken to be symbolical of the continuation of a line of offspring. For example, it is not rare to hear, even now, words like these: 'Thy ship is always right, may your lamp always be burning.' This benediction means, 'May your son live long, and may your line of descent continue.'

3. According to the Avesta (Vend. xv. 8), a woman in the state of pregnancy is to be looked after very carefully. It is wrong for the husband to have sexual intercourse with her in her advanced state of pregnancy, which, according to the Rivayats, commences with the seventh month. She must abstain from coming into contact with things like a tooth-pick, which may contain germs of disease (Shayast la-Shayast x. 20, xii. 13; Sad-dar xvii. 2; SBE v. 323, 344, xxiv. 278).

4. The modern Parsis have no religious ceremonies or rites during the pregnancy of the woman. On the completion of the fifth month of pregnancy, a coconut is baked and broken in the presence of the priest, a ceremony known as pexelsminisan, i.e. 'the day of the fifth month.' Similarly, a day is observed on the completion of the seventh month, and is known as aghorni. These days are observed only in the case of the first pregnancy. They are not observed in accordance with any religious injunction or with any religious ceremonies or rites. The expectancy of a child being a joyful event, as said above, these days, especially the seventh-month day, are observed as joyous occasions, when the woman who is enceinte is presented with suits of clothes by her parents, relatives, and friends, and especially by the family of her husband. The husband is in turn presented with a suit of clothes by the wife's family. Sweets are sent out as presents by the husband's family to the bride's house and to near relatives and friends. Among these sweets, one prepared in the form of a coco-nut has a prominent place. A coco-nut signifies a man's head, and so it is a symbol of fecundity. Some of the customs observed on these occasions are more Indian in origin and significance than originally Persian or Zoroastrian.

5. The first delivery generally takes place in the house of the wife's parents. A room, or a part of the room, generally on the ground-floor, is set apart for the purpose. As the Vendidad (v. 46) says, the place for delivery must be very clean, dry, and least frequented by others. It appears that in ancient times such places were specially provided in Parsi houses on the ground-floor. Parsi houses in those times generally had spacious ground floors that were used for all purposes. The upper floors were low, and were rather like lofts than storeys. So the ground-floors provided proper places for delivery as enjoined in the Vendidad. But, as with changed circumstances, Parsi houses of to-day are not what they were before, and as, at present, in storeyed-houses, the ground-floor in big towns is generally the worst part of the house, it is properly condemned as a place unfit for delivery.

6. In the case of a house or a place where no delivery place before, religious-minded persons generally take care that a religious ceremony takes place in it before the delivery. In other words, they get it consecrated. A priest or two say and perform the Afringan prayer and ceremony in the place. At times even the Bija prayer (b. Dastmestet, Le Zend-Avesta, 1953, ii. 723 ff., 686 ff.).

7. On the birth of a child, a lamp is lighted and kept burning for at least three days in the room where the woman is confined. The Sad-dar (ch. xvi. 4) says, 'If at any time your lamp be always burning.' This benediction means, 'May your son live long, and may your line of descent continue.'

8. On delivery the mother is enjoined to remain apart from others. She must not come into contact with fire, water, or any of the furniture of the house (Vend. v. 45–49).

The Sad-dar (ch. lxxvi. 1–5) enjoins that, 'she should not change her clothes for five days, nor put her hand again on anything, ... After the twenty-one days, if she sees herself in such a state that she is able to wash her head, she washes her head. And, after that, until the coming on of the fortieth day, it is requisite to abstain from the vicinity of a fire and anything that is wooden or earthen; it is also requisite to abstain from everything of her cooking and pot-boiling. Afterwards, when it is forty days, she is to wash her head, and it is proper for her to do every kind of work. Till the lapse of a second forty days it is not proper for her husband to make an approach to her, for it is a great sin, and it is possible that she may become pregnant a second time, as within a period of forty days women become very quickly pregnant.'

In the case of those who give birth to still-born children it is enjoined in the Vendidad (v. 55 f.) that they must remain separate for twelve days. This period has been latterly extended, as directed in the later Pahlavi and Persian books, to forty days in all cases of delivery. Nowadays a Parsi woman is to remain forty days after her delivery. The Sad-dar (ch. xvi. 4) says, 'During forty days it is not proper that they should leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant should put her foot over a threshold in the dwelling' (i.e. leave it).

9. Some families observe the fifth day after birth, known as patchori ('the fifth day'), and the tenth day, known as dasori ('the tenth day'), as gala days; but these days have no religious significance whatever.

10. During these forty days the woman must remain in a state of isolation. She must not come into contact with anybody or with any part of the ordinary furniture of the house, especially wooden furniture and linen articles. Her food is to be served to her on her plate by others. Those who have to come into contact with her have to bathe before they mix with others. Formerly, even the medical attendant had to do so, but nowadays the salutary rule is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. It is to be adhered to observe 'purity' in order to prevent the spread of puerperal fever and other such diseases to which women in this state are subject.


* SBE xxiv. 277.


* See ib. xxvii. 277.
11. At the end of the forty days, the period of confinement, the woman has to purify herself by a bath before mixing with others. At first she takes a private bath, and then goes public what is called nān (a contraction of the Sanskrit word swān), which is a sacred bath. A priest, generally the family priest, administers this bath with consecrated water. Even those who have contracted smallpox are not excluded; the days of her accouchement have to go through a ceremonial purificatory bath.

12. All the bedding and clothes of the woman used during the forty days of her seclusion after delivery are rejected from ordinary use. They are enjoined to be burned, and even the victuals that they carry and spread germs of disease among others. But nowadays that injunction is not strictly followed. They are now given away to non-Zoroastrian poor people of the sweepers class.

13. Formerly a mother in childbirth first drank a few drops of the sacred Haoma (q.v.) juice, squeezed and consecrated in a Fire-temple. The new-born child also was made to drink a few drops of this juice (Shāgāyat-tā-Shāgāyat x. 10). Anquetil du Perron refers to this religious custom as prevalent in the East. It is called the Haoma Yasht (Vasna ix. 22) Haoma is said to give fine healthy children to women who give delivery. Haoma was emblematical of immortality; hence this custom. Now, however, the custom is rarely observed, and, in place of the Haoma juice, a sweet drink made of molasses or sugar is given to the child as the first auspicious drink.


JIYANJI JANSHEDJI MODI.

BIRTH (Teutonic).—All the Teutonic peoples made a rigorous distinction between legitimate and illegitimate birth. They granted the full rights of consanguinity and tribal membership only to the children of legitimate unions, that is, to the offspring of a free father and a free mother joined in lawful wedlock. Whenever a child was born, it was laid upon the ground by the midwife in a clean white cloth. This custom is reflected to this day in the Scandinavian terms for midwife, jordgumma, jordamoder, 'earth-mother.' This rite has maintained its ground in many branches of the Teutonic stock (cf. A. Diez, E. H. Herdan, and others), signifying the old belief that the soul, and therefore the life, of the child issues from 'mother earth,' and that the child derives its vitality therefrom. The next step on the midwife's part was to lift the child up—hence the German term for 'midwife' Hebamme, O.H.G. hebenamme—and hand it to the father. If the latter wished to acknowledge and maintain the infant, he took it in his arms, but he retained the right to condemn it to exposure. This right could be exercised in cases where the child was feeble or deformed, or when the father was in doubt as to its legitimacy—a situation which often arose at the birth of twins, the popular belief being that such an event implied the mother's unfaithfulness; or, again, if it had been predicted that the child's existence threatened the father with danger, misfortune, etc. He felt himself unable to maintain the child. The father's prerogative, however, was annulled by law after the introduction of Christianity, though various fairy-tales assume its survival down to the present day. But even in heathen times the father's decision had to be borne with, and often few hours after the birth, for once the child had taken nourishment, milk or honey, in however small quantities, or had been laved with water, it was regarded as belonging to the family, and shared equal rights of ownership, save for the male, who generally named after some deceased member of the family, preferably the grandfather on the mother's side, as it was believed that the name carried with it the personal qualities of its original bearer (cf. G. Storm's article on nordisk filologi, ix. 199 ff.). If the father, upon whom these various legal functions devolved, died before the child was born, his place was taken, according to the most ancient usage, by the entire group of his blood relations, frequently augmented by some relations from the mother's side, and these chose one of their number to act as guardian and discharge all legal obligations in regard to the child. The same procedure was observed when the father had been proclaimed an outlaw; in the eye of the law the mother was then a widow and the child an orphan. If the father was unable to be present at the birth, the mother had to decide whether the child should be acknowledged or exposed.

A somewhat different course was adopted in the case of illegitimate birth. The children of slaves were themselves slaves from birth, and transferred to the owner of the mother. In primitive times, distinctions were made amongst the illegitimate children of free parents, and the Old Norse language had special designations for the different classes. If the child was lawfully recognized by the mother (frilla) with whom the father cohabited, though not in wedlock; hviring, the son of a free mother with whom the father's relations were clandestine; hjôborinn, the son of a free father by a slave. These distinctions, however, were gradually done away, and disappeared first of all in Iceland. In regard to the illegitimate, the first step was to find out who the father was; and when this point had been decided, the child, even in early times, acquired the right of inheritance—though in a limited degree—and a claim to the father's protection. Moreover, it frequently happened that the child was received into the family bond (fæl. atttelding), and this transaction, especially when there were no children of lawful birth and inheritance, was celebrated with feasting and high ceremonial. In all cases it was the duty of the father, or his family, to maintain the child till maturity was reached.

The event of birth became the nucleus of many curious practices and superstitions. In many districts of Germany, Britain, and Scandinavia, there prevails to this day the custom of lighting fires or candles round about the newly-born (cf. Liebrecht, Zur Volksskunde, 31), in order to prevent
their falling under the power of evil spirits. The same purpose was served by putting the door of the house or the cradle with a knife, placing some article of steel—a pair of scissors, a key, a horse-shoe, etc.—in the cradle, hanging amulets round the child’s neck, stopping the keyholes, or keeping out cats or any old woman who was suspected of having the ‘evil eye.’ In some places it was to cast salt under the child’s tongue to prevent its being bewitched. These prophylactic expediencys were deemed necessary till the time of baptism, as it was during this period that the demons directed their practice against the child, and tried to kill or change it, a babe of their own, in its place.

The immediate surroundings of the child were meanwhile taboo. On the other hand, every possible effort was made to secure good fortune for the newly-born. Special importance was ascribed to the umbilical cord, and to the bladder-like membrane or ‘caul’ with which some children are born, such children being regarded as the favourites of fortune. The caul was carefully preserved and sewn into the child’s clothing, thus ensuring all sorts of good fortune. From this, indeed, developed the Old Norse belief in an attendant spirit, the fylgi, which accompanied the person wherever he went. The dried umbilical cord was in course of time given to the child with a meal of eggs, in the expectation that this food would turn the child’s head and make it intelligent; or it was sewn into the clothing, as a means of making its possessor clever and capable.

Amongst the Teutons, as amongst many other races, great emphasis was laid upon the young trees which was planted on the day of the child’s birth, and was thenceforward regarded as its tree of life. The fortunes of the tree ran parallel with those of the child, and from this notion arose the belief in a person’s tutelary tree (Swed. värld-träd). When it clanced that an animal was born in the homestead on the same day as the child, it was believed that the former, during its whole life, stood in the closest relationship to the latter. The animal was named after the child, and became its constant associate.

Widely diffusely throughout the entire Teutonic area are the mythical stories regarding the goddesses of destiny, who appear at the birth of a child and determine his future. Their function is indicated by their names: thus, in Old Norse they are called urðr, ‘the past’, verðandi ‘the destiny’; in Gothic, orfris; Anglo-Saxon, motena, ‘those who measure out’; Middle High German, Gasekopfen, ‘the makers’. From early times the sisters were reckoned as three in number, but sometimes also as seven or thirteen, and frequently the part assigned to one of them is to deal out misfortune to the infant. Norse poetry speaks of them as norrs— a word of doubtful etymology. They are represented as spinning midnights, who at the child’s birth wind his thread of life—his fate; and accordingly, possessing great power to do a force of the destiny of men, they acquired at length a prophetic character.

The birth of a child was an occasion upon which a part of special importance was played by the myths regarding the origin of children. The thought underlying nearly all these myths was the belief that children come from ‘mother earth.’ One proof of this is supplied by the primitive heathen practice, already referred to, of laying the child upon the ground immediately after birth. In Germany and Swedeno the cows and calves were supposed to come forth from hollow trees, as these, according to popular notions, were connected with the interior of the earth. Similar ideas were also held about lakes, ponds, and wells. In South Germany various lakes and fish-ponds are known as Kindersen, ‘children’s lakes’; while, in the more southern parts of Central Germany, there are many Kinderbrunn, ‘children’s wells’, in which the goddess Frau Iolle was believed to keep in charge the souls of children before their birth. Other places of origin were marshes and fens. The prevailing belief in many districts was that children are born out of the water and carried to their mothers by water-fowl, especially the stork and the swan, while in other parts they were supposed to issue from caverns or mountains. In Pomerania, for example, we find ‘swan-stones’ and ‘stork-stones,’ and children obtained from these were called ‘swan-children’ (Jahn, Volkssagen aus Pommern, 390).

Heathen times came the belief that children are the men of a former day, re-born into the world. They had passed their intermediate period in an animal form, according to a popular superstition in South Germany, they had been flying about as butterflies. We thus see that these various notions regarding the origin of children are related in the closest way to the primitive Teutonic belief regarding the association of them with commemoration.


BIRTH-DAYS.—The custom of commemorating the day of birth is connected, in its form, with the reckoning of time, and, in its content, with certain primitive religious principles. It is the most complete example of a commemorative ritual. Its essence is the repetition of the event commemorated. As culture develops, this primary meaning is obscured by various accidents.

In the lower culture, what is reported of the Congo tribes, who generally consecrate a day is kept of birth or age.

* The Hupas of California take no account of the lapse of time, and consider it a ridiculous superfluity to keep a reckoning of age. They guess at man’s years by examination of the teeth. One will say, I have good teeth. The only epochs are those of babyhood, boyhood or girlhood, youth, manhood or womanhood, and the state of married man or woman, old man or old woman. The Omahas have a superstitious objection to counting, and therefore never note a person’s age.

The earliest lunar reckoning produced the seven-day week, the lunar month, and the lunar year, thus providing machinery for the expression of any ideas involving repetition of events. Parallel with these dates, and of earlier origin, are seasonal epochs, marked by changes in vegetation, and also the epochs of human growth, as noted above.

The day of birth itself is first considered. At an early stage of chronology the influence of ideas of luck is brought to bear upon dates. Every people has its own list of ominous objects and circumstances. In highly developed popular religions the result is a dualism affecting the whole life of man. Of the Cambodians we read that the idea of luck dominates their entire existence.
The religion of the Baganda is described as a religion of luck. Among the Tshi people of West Africa each person has his lucky and unlucky days. In the week of the Asasas of the Niger the days for marketing, for work, and for rest vary for each individual according to the particular ju-ju decided for him by the medicine-man. At the time of the event the name of the person, who possesses an elaborate doctrine of fatalism (vintana), mark a certain number of days in each month as lucky or unlucky. The vane, or first days, of some months are especially disastrous to children born in, or cases to the offspring of the people generally, in others to those of the royal family. A child born on an unlucky day, and dying young, is said to have "too strong a vintana." Formerly, children born on unlucky days were put to death by being buried alive. In Modern conditions this is rare. To regard the child as an evil omen, to ordain, offering, or "expiatory bath," the water being buried instead of the child. In one clan of the Sakalavas all children born on a Tuesday were put to death. In the Bara tribe a child was put to death on the day which was unlucky both to father and mother; if the day was unlucky for one parent only, the child's life was spared. In the Tswana tribe one particular month was peculiarly unlucky for birth.

With the rise of astrology comes the development of the horoscope and similar forms of augury. In origin such practices are species of sympathetic magic; the intention is to influence events, or to assist nature, and the method employed is the rehearsal or artificial previous reproduction of the desired result. The Central Americans possessed an elaborate code of "signs of the day," applying to each day of each cycle of twenty days, the compuhuhlili, of which the year was a multiple. Horoscopes were prepared from these signs for the day and hour of birth. Every Chinese born child, as a species of personage name, the sign of his birth-day. The Burmese predict a man's character and destiny according to the day of the week on which he is born and the constellation which rules it. The name of the child is given from the day or the letter belonging to the birth-day. The Asasas of the Baganda have a name after it the day of its birth. In China the hour and the day of birth are regarded as being very important. A child born between the hours of 9 and 11 will have a hard lot at first, but finally great riches. The Hindus possess an elaborate astrological system of nativities connected with lucky and unlucky days. In Madagascar nativities are drawn up from the position not of the stars, but of the moon. This method is unique, as far as I am aware, and is the star of nativity. The Tshi peoples name child after the day of the week. The Muhammadanized Swahili consider it lucky to be born on Friday, the Muhammadan festival. Children then born are named 'son' or 'daughter of Friday.' In German folklore Sunday is lucky as a birth-day, particularly if the Sunday day is connected with the growth. 'Sunday children' are supposed to be able to see spirits, or to see in the dark. The principle of repeating an event after its occurrence is an invasion of sympathetic magic.

Whereas in the modern form of magic the coming event is influenced and ensured by previous re-enactments, in this inverted form it is reproduced in order to repeat the original advantages and to effect its continuance. The idea is naturally suggested by the recurrence of the same external or clitorological conditions, the natal child was closely bound up with the original event, and are therefore supposed to influence it: they are further supposed to carry it with them, and therefore require its repetition. The intention varies as the event. In the case of the repetition of birth by the same parent, and the following renewal of the life by the original birth. Such ideas are illustrated by the general custom of celebrating the renewal of the year. The ritual is designed to renew not only the life of nature, but also the life of man, and at the same time to discard the malevolent influence. In a number of cases the uncouth, unclean bath, the water being buried instead of the child. In one clan of the Sakalavas all children born on a Tuesday were put to death. In the Bara tribe a child was put to death on the day which was unlucky both to father and mother; if the day was unlucky for one parent only, the child's life was spared. In the Tswana tribe one particular month was peculiarly unlucky for birth.

To illustrate the first of these points, we may instance the Hindu festival avatatar, which celebrates the beginning of the year. The chief features of the day are the reading of the new almanac and hearing the forecast of the events of the New Year. New clothes are also new when procured for the food are partaken of during the day is, as far as possible, composed of new materials, i.e. new grain, pulses and such like, for this is a feast of ingathering. One dish, which must be partaken of by all who wish for good luck during the year, is a conserve composed of sugar, tamarind, and the flowers of the maroon tree (Melia Americana), which is then in full flower. The bitter taste of this is not much relished as a rule; but it is necessary that at least a small portion of the dish should be eaten. This seems to be analogous to the English idea that it is necessary to eat mince-pie at Christmas or at the New Year.

In the next place, such festivals, surviving as they do into the highest stages of evolution, are in the early stages universal birth days. The Malagasy custom is significant. In the lunar year of Madagascar is particularly reckoned by the annual great feast fanzotro. Remarkable longevity is denoted by the phrase that a man has seen three fanzotro at the same season of the year. Thus he might see it in spring at the age of 75, again when 40, and again when 74. We are expressly informed that a man's age is reckoned not by his years, but by the fanzotro. The Japanese supply an instructive case of compromise between the social and the individual birth-day. The first of January, the commencement of the New Year, 'may be considered the universal birth-day, for they do not wait till the actual act of birth, but regard the year of birth as divisible into a person a year older, but that date the addition to his age from the New Year. The 1st birth-day is the only one about which much fuss is made. This is by no means because the Japanese, having living through one revolution of the seasonary cycle it begins a second round, which is regarded as an extraordinary event, for the Japanese as a youth to last from birth to the age of 32, middle age from 32 to 40, and old age from 40 to 60. A child is born in 1890, or January 1890, they take it of the child as being 2 years old, because it has lived through a part of two separate years.'

* Velten, Sitten und Gebräuche der Sichsh, 13; Sibree, loc. cit.
* Floss, Das Kind, 88, 89.
* J. F. Padgett, The Hindu at Home, 155.
* W. Ellis, History of Madagascar, 1838, i. 447, 448.
The Chinese religion of piety we find a remarkably explicit illustration of the principle of the commemoration of the anniversary of birth. The 'birth-day celebration is a peculiar institution,' though not attended with much éclat till after the age of 15. Each person has an annual festival, and every tenth year after reaching 50 an extraordinary celebration. Especially honoured is the 61st birth-day. The Emperor on his birth-day is supposed to acquire 10,000 'longevity.'

The courts of justice are closed, and a general amnesty is proclaimed. The ordinary person on his birth-day receives 'longevity presents,' and his house is embellished with 'longevity' life. With the express purpose of prolonging life, a dish of vermicelli in remarkably long strips is eaten. Of particular importance is the 'longevity garnet.' This is a handsome robe, embroidered in gold characters with the word 'longevity.' It serves at death as the man's shroud. It is generally present from the children, and is given to the parent on his birth-day. He wears it then, and on all festive occasions, in order to acquire long life, 'it being generally acknowledged among the Chinese that it was a great and necessary duty of the birth-day to absorb a good amount of vital energy in order to remain hale and healthy during the ensuing year.'

The Cercans celebrate the 61st birth-day in the same fashion. On ordinary birth-days no clothes are worn, and a feast is prepared for friends of the family.

The Burmese offer on their birth-days, celebrated weekly, candles representing the animals connected with the day of the week. The offering is an act of worship at the pagoda.

The Central Americans celebrated birth-days with a feast given to the friends of the family. Presents were offered them on their departure.

Among the Tshi natives of West Africa, a man's birth-day is sacred to his kro, or 'indwelling spirit.' If a man is rich, he kills a sheep, if poor, a fowl, and prepares a feast. In the morning, when he washes, he provides himself with an egg, and some new fibre of the kind used as a sponge. He then stands before the calabash containing the water of his kro, and after protection and assistance during the coming year, as he is about to worship it, and keep that day sacred to it. He then breaks the egg into the calabash, and washes himself with the fluid; after this he partakes of his kro, and puts on white cloth. Members of the higher classes, kings and chiefs, keep sacred to the kro the day of the week on which they were born. Thus Kwofhi Kari Kari, having been born on a Friday, made it a law that no blood should be shed on that day.

The ancient Persians celebrated birth-days.

In ancient Egypt the birth-days of the kings were celebrated with great pomp. They were looked upon as holy; no business was done upon them, and all classes indulged in the festivities suitable to the occasion. Every Egyptian attached much importance to the day, and even to the hour, of his birth; and the commemoration of his birth was a matter of public notice. The king himself kept his birth-day with great rejoicings; welcoming his friends with all the amusements of society and a more than usual profusion of the table.

In modern Persia the birth-days of Muhammad and 'Ali, as in Islam generally, are duly honoured. For ordinary persons, however, the New Year's feast is the only real festival. In the Jewish calendar, the 13th birth-day of a boy is celebrated as a family feast, this date being his religious majority.

The preceding principles introduce some secondary principles. The idea, inseparable from festivals, of holiday or rest, combines with the wish to avoid consuming energy and vitality, and to assimilate the same by means of food and drink. A further principle is that of a propitious commemoration of an epoch as influencing the whole. At a late stage such ideas are obscured, and an ethical principle arises. This is, in Western culture, faintly suggested by the phrase, 'turning over a new leaf' at the New Year or on the birth-day. In Catholicism, this is more definitely expressed in connexion with the birth-day of the individual's patron saint. In early Christianity each anniversary was a step towards the new life commencing at death.

The idea of renewal, as we saw, is in the early stages emphasized by the weekly phases of the moon. Thus we get the principle of the octave. One of its earliest applications is the celebration of the seventh day after birth, on which, among various peoples, the name is given or some ritual operation is performed.

The principle of the octave is actually applied at times to produce a weekly birth-day. This has been instanced in West Africa and Burma. A good many recorded birth-days are probably not annual, but weekly or monthly. The ancient Syrians of the last century, who celebrated a month in the year, observed that:

'The consideration lead up to some peculiarities of reckoning or commemoration which have influenced the custom. The Apache father makes a note of each moon that follows the birth of a child. A large mark is made for the 16th month.'

The Mayans celebrated as the birthdays of their children the first step taken, the first word spoken, and the first thing made. The Ovahero reenact a man's age from the time of his circumcision, not counting the previous period. A man is called after the otjiwondo of his circumcision. Those circumcised at the same time are orokuku, persons of the same age.' Such methods of reckoning age are convenient for the savage, who has little use for any more accurate reckoning. Other such epochs, which at a certain stage are the only birth-days known, are the initiation and marriage. The Baganda reenact a man's age by the reigns of the chiefs. It was in the reign of so and so that I was born.'

In the lower cultures names are curiously parallel and related to the days of the week. The Maori had one name given at birth, a second at puberty, a third on his father's death, and others whenever he performed some achievement. An Alit will change his name perhaps ten times in ten years, and celebrate the event each time with a feast. In connexion with change of name there is the idea of renewal.

An early application of the principle of commemoration of the death. All the ideas connected with the spirits of the departed find expression here. In early religion these commemorations are as frequent and as important as any annual festival. In Ojosea great ceremonial attended the anniversary of the birth of great lords after their death. The belief was that the soul wandered about for many years before entering bliss, and visited its friends on earth once a year. The

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† Griffith, Census, 1884, p. 236.
§ Bancroft, op. cit. II. 283.
¶ A. B. Ellis, The Telh-speaking Peoples, 156.
‖ Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptians, III. 363.
¶¶ Polak, Persians, 1865, L. 325.

...
The Hindus observe the new moon of the month, Bhadrapada (September-October), in honour of the dead. On this day the head of a family must perform prescribed ceremonies for the preceding thrones. It will have to pass in front of the image of the dead as may not have received the final rites of sepulture. The fact shows, by negation, that the commemoration is the repetition of the event. The annual śrāddhas are well known. Their object is to assist the departed spirit in the various experiences it will have to pass through. At the same time, the one who duly performs these rites and ceremonies thereby lays up merit for himself and his family, which merit will be duly carried to the credit of his account hereafter." One śrāddha is to provide the spirit with an 'intermediate body.' Another indicates the union of the dead with his immediate ancestors. The monthly śrāddhas commence on the 30th day after death. An annual ceremony is performed on the anniversary of the death.

A slight shifting of the point of view will show the parallelism between such practices as the Hindu and the early Christian principle that the birth-day of the martyr was the day on which he died. The death-day of the faithful was regarded as their birth into a new life. The 'mātāle per excellentem' of the day of the birth or nativity to a glorious crown in the kingdom of heaven. Tertullian observes that St. Paul was born again by a new nativity at Rome because he suffered martyrdom there. Such natālīa were contrasted with 'natural birth-days,' as spiritual in opposition to worldly. The 'birth-days' of martyrs, celebrated at the grave or monument, had a profound influence on the development of ecclesiastical institutions. The celebration was a service, at which the Communion was received. The various rituals involved was the imitation of the martyr, repetition in others of his life and death. The fasting of martyrs were gradually compiled, and churches were erected over their bones, the bones sometimes being replaced under the altar. The festivals of gods are frequently their birthdays. Thus the Hindu festival śrāvgaṇḍugānti celebrates the birth-day of Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu. The image of the god is adored and carried in procession. Pilgrimage is made to the temple. Kṛṣṇa-gānti is the birthday of Kṛṣṇa, and is celebrated on the most popular of the annual festivals. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa describing the life of the god is read on that day. Vīṇāyakabhūvānti is the birth-day festival of Ganesa. Every house sets up an image of the god, before which lights are placed. A mantra of consecration, pradātā, is pronounced, on which the spirit of the god enters the image.

In such acts we see a ritual re-creation of the divinity, a repetition of his birth.

At this feast, artisans worship their tools, and students their books, placing them before the image. Ganesa is the god who is invoked in all undertakings, and who helps man on his way.

In Christianity the birthday of Christ is only less important than the Passion and the Resurrection. Even here the social asset of religion is prominent, and, by a coincidence, the date finally decided upon is that celebrated in paganism as the annual birth-day of the Sun, just as the weekly day of the sun, the Christian Sunday, was the weekly day of the Solar Deity, and in Hebrew mythology the first day of the week. In paganism, and in its complete form as an introductory formula, designed to connect the beginnings of action with the devout remembrance of God, and it is probable that, while still resident at Mecca, he recommended his adherents to use it in a similar way. In the Qur'ān he represents Xos as summoning the faithful to enter the ark with the words, 'Bismillāh ("in the name of Allah") be ye voyage and its landing' (xi. 43); and, similarly, a letter purporting to have been written by King Solomon to the Queen of Sheba opens thus: 'Bismillāh-ir-rahmān-ir-rahīm' (xxiv. 30). Probably, too, he began his own ceremonial disconsolates, as collected in the Qur'ān, manuscript, Nolecke, Gesammelte Werke (Göttingen, 1800), p. 88 [published by F. Schwalbach. 1867].

BIRTH-DAYS (Greek and Roman) — BISMILLAH.

BISMILLAH. 1. Meaning and early usage. — Bismillāh (bn), an Arabic expression signifying 'in the name of Allah,' was borrowed by Muhammad from the religious phraseology of Jews and Christians, and was formulated by him in full as follows: 'Bismillāh-ir-rahmān-ir-rahīm,' in the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.' Muhammad employed the phrase both in its short form and in its complete form as an introductory formula, designed to connect the beginnings of action with the devout remembrance of God, and it is probable that, while still resident at Mecca, he recommended his adherents to use it in a similar way. In the Qur'ān he represents Xos as summoning the faithful to enter the ark with the words, 'Bismillāh ("in the name of Allah") be ye voyage and its landing' (xi. 43); and, similarly, a letter purporting to have been written by King Solomon to the Queen of Sheba opens thus: 'Bismillāh-ir-rahmān-ir-rahīm' (xxiv. 30). Probably, too, he began his own ceremonial disconsolates, as collected in the Qur'ān, manuscript, Nolecke, Gesammelte Werke (Göttingen, 1800), p. 88 [published by F. Schwalbach. 1867].

BIRTH-DAYS (Greek and Roman) — BISMILLAH.

1887; J. E. Padfield, The Birth-day of Homer, 1902; B. H. Chamberlain, Things Indiaanse, 1902. A. E. CRAWLEY.
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with the phrase, and the redactors of the sacred
volume, in producing it (in plenary form) to the
various sects, evidently regarded it as a prefatory
formula having Muhammad's own sanction. We
cannot divine the reason of its omission from the
9th sura, although the Muslim exegetes show no
perplexity in the matter, and provide several ex-
planations, as may be found in commentaries to the
Qur'an. The earlier theologians of Islam were
at variance with each other regarding the question
whether the "bismillih-formula at the beginning of
the sura was to be considered an article of revela-
tion, as the other verses, or one prefigured from
the Prophet himself; but eventually the former
alternative carried the day, and it came to be held
that everywhere that the two covers (bismillah-
dafadain) of the book, including, of course, the
prefatory formula of the sura, was the word of God.

It is recorded that, before Muhammad arose, the hea
ten (qurash) made use of the sacred formula 'bism ukhama
('in thy name, O God') for a similar purpose—a statement
which is certainly creditable, though we have no evidence to test its
by. According to Arabic tradition, which delights to associate every
particular with a religious event, this formula was employed by the
person who introduced the use of this phrase into Mecca was
Umayya b. Abu-Sul, the reputed author of many apocryphal
works, which perhaps are based on this Arabic idea, while the
phrase was used by the Muslims before the time of Muhammad. Umayya
is said to have learned the formula, as a potent talisman against the evil
influence of the Jews, who opposed, from a Christian heresy, to have made
a personal trial of it. But as he was an enemy of the Muslims, Muhammad
himself did not use the latter's entrance upon his public career, the earlier
formula cannot, agreeably to the above tradition, have been in use long before
the Prophet's day. It is even said, indeed, that Muhammad
himself had employed it, but that the revelation of certain verses in the
Qur'an (xi. 36, xvii. 30) induced him to substitute for it, first the shorter, and then the longer, form of the
bismillih.1 Nevertheless he would appear, according to Muslim
authorities, to have sometimes used the earlier Meccan formula even at a later period; 2 thus in a treaty which
he made with the people of Mecca near Hijabulah in a.n. 6, he had to be heard in the following opposition:
'to mention the earlier formula introduced by him, and quite sanctioned the use of the Qurash 'bismikhukama
as a heading to the document.'3 'Alukama' is also approved as an invocation of God in Muslim petitions.

We may regard it as historically established that
trescripts drawn up by Muhammad's instruc-
tors, contracts concluded between him and tribes
which yielded him tribute and even records of a more private character,4 were usually
prefaced by the plenary form of the bismillih. 5

Thereafter its insertion in similar documents as a
prefatory formula became part of the religious
practice of the adherents of Islam. 6 Official records,
especially contracts, preserved the formula as
either as transcriptions in historical works, or,
more authentically still, as originals on papyrus
sheets, always begin with the bismillih. It
is also found on textile fabrics and other products
of industrial art. 7 In bilingual (Arabic-Greek)
documents, which were common, especially in the
Egyptian province, till far off in the Umayyad
period, the Greek portion contains a translation of
the formula, the shorter appearing as ev bapowu
ro pas, while the plenary form expands this with the
a.ii. ἀρμανίας, ἀρχέοντι, ἀποδείκνυσι τινος, τινι. cf.
Schultens in the Nederl.-Fchrift, 74, n. 5.
1 Ibn Sa'd in Willkomm, Skizzen u. Vorlesungen, 4 (Berlin,
3 ibid. 4 Lewis, in the Journal of the Egypt. Soc. 15, 1.
5 Examples in Nederl. Schol. op. cit. LII, n. 1.
6 In the Arabic of the kingdom of Hawaii, the
phrase was used by Government officials. 7 L. Caetani (op. cit. 155, 207) doubtless the authenticity
of this prefatory formula in documents given by Muslim historians.
arabische Grammatik, 295.
10 E.g., in the bilingual documents in Reade, op. cit.
63-67; C. H. Becker, Fasang Schott-Reinhardts, i (Heidelberg,
1900), 109 f; ZA, xxvii, 100-178.

In accordance with the common Arabic practice of
giving an introductory formula for any device of omitting some of their constituent letters
(as, e.g., hikâla for 'al-kaun-dulalah, 'hay ala
for hayya 'ad-sa'ulât, etc.); the bismillih is
contracted to basmâla, which is also a verb meaning
'to utter the bismillih'; and the use of the formula is also referred to as tasmiya, the
invocation of the name (ism) of God.

2. Ceremonial use. The bismillih acquires a
special ceremonial significance as the formula of
benediction pronounced before slaughtering animals
for food—used during the day without doubt, was
then, it is suggested by the Jewish law enjoining the utterance of the bismillih before killing and eating. The relevant
injunction in the Qur'an is found in vi. 118, 121:
'Eat of that over which the name of Allah hath
been pronounced if ye believe in His signs' . . .

'Eat not therefore of that on which of Allah hath
not been named, for that were certainly
sin.' From this passage was argued the obligatory
use of the tasmiya before slaughter; and, simi-
larly, it was required that the benediction in
the name of Allah should precede the slaughtering
of the flesh of animals prescribed for that purpose. Even
in the chase (v. 6) it was imperative to utter
the name of Allah before releasing the falcon or the
hound, and only on this condition could the quarry be
afterwards used as food. 9 In pursuance of a
ceremonial practice copied from the pagan
exigents, certain theological schools attenuated the
character of this absolutely binding ordinance to
that of a mere wish, and in this way the omission of
the actual utterance of Allah's name before the
act of killing did not necessarily preclude the use
of the animal for food. If, for example, the
obsession of the regulation had been inadventently
neglected, the food might still be partaken of
without negligence—for, of course, the thought of
Allah is never absent from the devout heart. But
it is obvious that these interpretations and practical
accommodations are at variance with the actual
language of the injunction as given in the Qur'an
—a fact emphatically insisted upon in the teaching of
the more rigid and literalistic interpreters of the
book.

Another question of ceremonial relating to the use
of the bismillih arises in connexion with the
Muhammadan ritual of prayer (salat). The
latter, as is well known, begins with the recita-
tion of the opening sura of the Qur'an (al-
fitâlîhâ), whose phrases are sometimes preserved
in its complete form. It has been from early
times a subject of debate in the schools of the
law whether this introductory phrase should be
spoken aloud (qadha) or in an inaudible whisper
—a controversy connected in its origin with the
disputed question already referred to, viz.
whether the bismillih is to rank as Divine
revolution or not. Most of the orthodox schools
decided that the formula might be uttered in an
undertone, 10 but the Shi'ites, especially, and the
Shi'ite jurist demand that it be spoken in an
audible voice. 11

3. Everyday use. Having dealt with the use of
the bismillih in ceremonial functions and in im-

* But without al-rahmân ar-rahîm, as it was not thought right,
when taking away life, to name 'the Compassionate
Merciful' (Qur. xliii. 10, 11).
11 Muir, ii. 356.
10 Cfr. the work of the present writer 'Die Zehntenten' (Leipzig, 1884, 72 ff.
It is expressly recorded of 'Omari that, when leading in
prayer, he did not pronounce the bismillih of the fatîha
habitually (ibid. 73 ff.), and in the same book, v. 193, it is
stated that Mustân was accused by his opponents of double-dealing,
because he spoke the bismillih of the fatîha inaudibly when
in Sâmarra (ibid. 73 ff.). But elsewhere hypocritically uttered it aloud
(Tabari, Annals. iii, 163, 3 ff.)
12 On this question see the present writer's 'Beiträge zur
Gebrauchsgesch. der sâmâ’i u. d. arabischen Polenik,' SWAW
(1874), 199, 20.
BLACKMAIL

portant affairs of public and private life, we proceed to speak of a view which sprang up in Islam at a very early period, and soon established itself in everyday practice—the view, namely, which finds expression in a proverb commonly regarded as a saying (hadith) of the Prophet: *la-qa'ada,* i.e. 'every matter of importance which is begun without mention of God is maimed.' This maxim was taken by devout adherents of Islam as their warrant for the practice of inaugurating every act or occasion by reciting a bismillah. The Prophet did not, however, intend by this to have said that Satan sits behind every one who mounts an animal without first having uttered the formula. It is a saying as a blessing before meals is regarded as of special importance, and on social occasions the saying of the bismillah by the head of the household intimates to the guests that the repast is to begin. Nor must the tasmiya be omitted when a person enters or leaves a house, or puts on his clothes. The practice is felt to be in accordance with the thought of Qur'an xxxii.: 31: 'Remember the name of God with frequent mention.' This and other than frequently used to be a maxim highly approved in Islam. The idea that the utterance of God's holy name involves an impurity never found a foothold among the Muslims, who are wont to say, rather, that if we love a person we affectionate his name (man ahabba ashyan akhtara dhikrahu).

4. Superstitious ideas and use.—The deep significance and the sacred character with which Islam invested the bismillah led at length to its being pressed into the service of folk-lore, mysticism, and even magic. It was said that God had inscribed it upon the breast of Adam, the wing of the angel Gabriel, the seal of Solomon, and the tongue of Jesus. The Creator has written the sacred words upon His works. The imaginative eye can sometimes trace the formula in the veins of the leaf or the varied colouring of the butterfly's wing, where nature has imprinted it in mystic (Syriac) characters. The written and oral application of the bismillah possesses talismanic virtues. When the soul in its death-struggle is striving to escape, the angel of death is said to bring him from paradise an apple upon which is inscribed the formula, or the angel himself writes it upon the palm of the dying man, whose agony is alleviated by the sight of it, and whose soul then yields itself to the angel. The bismillah serves also as a means of effecting a temporary or permanent exclusion from evil eye, and other malignant influences of occult forces. It is a popular notion amongst Muhammadans that the jinn are easily offended, as, for instance, by human encroachment upon their haunts, by pouring out hot water, etc.; but if a man feels that he has provoked their resentment, he may drive them away by uttering the bismillah. Similarly, in order to render his goods proof against the jinn, he uses the phrase as a charm when he shuts the door, or stores articles of food in their appropriate compartments, or lays down his clothes at night. An article protected in this way is called *musammam* (commonly pronounced *musammimm*),

*i.e. 'something over which has been named (the name of Allah).'

The bismillah, by reason of its prophylactic virtues, is deemed specially serviceable as an inscription for amulets, and, in general, as an accessory of practical magic. Copious illustrations of these are to be found in the *Shajara al-ma'arif* of al-Bunî (†A.H. 622, A.D. 1225) and works of a similar nature. The Muslims also construct magic squares, and distribute the words of the *basmala* in magical combinations amongst the various compartments. Al-Bunî is also the author of a monograph specially with the use of the formula for magical purposes (*Fad'îl al-basmala*).

5. Calligraphic usage.—Mention ought finally to be made of a certain convention in the method of transcribing the bismillah. When the Muslim calligraphist writes the formula for a ceremonial purpose, he imparts a peculiar form to its first word by way of signalizing, as it were, the exceptional character of the phrase as a whole. The vertical stroke of the initial letter bâ (ן) is considerably prolonged in an upward direction, and slightly curved; then, the *alif* (of *ism* being omitted altogether, the *sin* (ם) is placed immediately after the bâ, while the final letter *mim* (מ) is connected with the *sin* by a line drawn far beyond the usual length (םמש). The Muhammadan scribes would appear at a very early date to have introduced yet another alteration in the written form of the bismillah—a peculiarity of common occurrence in MSS. Here the tips of the third letter *sin* (ם) disappear entirely, as well as the *alif*, and the initial bâ (ן) is joined to the final *mim* (מ) by a long horizontal line thus: —ןש. The antiquity of this usage is indicated by an incident recorded in Ibn Sa'd, viz. that 'the Khalif 'Omar b. 'Ald al-Aziz dismissed a certain scribe (kâthib) from his office because he wrote bism without inserting the *sin* distinctly (walam sayal al-sin).*

Literature.—The literature has been given in the footnotes.

I. GOLDSIHER.

BLACKMAIL.—The word 'mail' is derived from the Norman-French *maille,* which is used in the Act of 1335, 9 Edward III, c. 3 in the sense of 'half-penny.' We find three meanings assigned to this term.

1. Legally, blackmail refers to rents reserved in labour, cattle, or produce. In medieval times rent was uniformly paid in kind—a custom that persisted in France down to the days of the great French Revolution. The Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt gave a powerful impetus to the transformation of English agricultural life, and among the results was the substitution of payment in money for payment in kind. In Scotland and Ireland, and indeed in the rest of Europe, this substitution was not effected till a comparatively late date. For rent in kind were substituted 'white rents,' which were reserved in 'white money,' or silver. In the Middle Ages there was a great scarcity of the precious metals, and this doubtless assisted in prolonging the existence of the old method of payment. The discovery of silver in

* Lane, op. cit. i. 287; *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), 41.
* Doubert, op. cit. 333.
* This is a Massoreetic practice.
South America helped forward the movement from status to contract, with the result that white rent paid in current coin or white money (mailes blanches) began to replace the black rent. In Scots law the rents of an estate were called 'mailes' or 'maills,' while 'Blanch Holding' and 'Mail' for 1572 Archdeacon Hamilton (Cochran, 1884, 98), in reference to the forays of the border chieffains, mentions, 'Quhay takis aik sair mail, oor mekle ferme, or any blake mailis, fra their tennands;' while about 1561 R. Mailland, in the first act, directed against taking of black mail.' On both sides of the Border severe Acts were passed to put an end to these depredations. Under the Scots king, James vi., the measure of 1597 describes how 'divers subjects of the Inland, takis and sittis under their assurance, payand them black-mail, and permitand them to reif, herrie, and oppressse their Nibouris.' In 1601—a memorable year in economic legislation—an English Act of Parliament also notes that 'sundry of her Majestyes loving subjects within the said (i.e. the Border) counties' foundsome to pay a certayne rate of money, corn, cattle, or other consideration, commonly there called by the name of Blacke mail.' The 43 Eliz. c. 13, s. 1, made the levying or paying of this black-mail a felony without benefit of the clergy. The Terms de la Ley informs us that 'Blackmail is a word used in 43 Eliz. c. 13, and it signifies a certainty of money, corn, cattle, or other consideration, given by the poore people in the north parts of England, unto men of great name and alliance in those parts, to be protected from such as usually robbie and steal there.' Cowell in his famous Law Dictionary, The Interpreter, notes that 'these robbers are of late years called Moss-troopers.' The depredations of the Border chieffains, in spite of these repressive measures, did not cease till towards the end of the 17th century. In 1707 an 'Address from Cumberland' in the London Gazette points out that 'there is, now, no Delatable Land to contend for; no Black Mail to be paid to the Leaders of the Robbers, as a Ransom' (cf. Blackstone, Comm. iv. 260).

2. Historically, it is the tribute in corn, cattle, other kind, or money—here we are coming to the newer form—levied from the farmers and small owners in the border counties of England and Scotland, and along the Highland border, by free-footing chiefs in return for immunity from pillage. This border raids, 'raids of the Borrowers' of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham. Sir Walter Scott in Waverley (i. 222) represents one of the better aspects of this custom when one of his characters remarks, 'The border is like a terrible enchantment. If a thief steals a hoof from any one that pays blackmail to Vich Ian Vohr.' It is somewhat remarkable to find how wide-spread is the use of the word 'mail' with the meaning of 'rent' or 'tribute.' In Irish mail signifies a rent or tax. In Armorican mail signifies such wealth as is acquired by the strong hand; while in Afghanistan the contributory levy on a village is called mailis. Blackmail sometimes denotes the money taken by the harbingers or servants, with their master's knowledge, for abstaining from enforcing exactions like coin and livery. They made up for the abstinence in these places by plundering in others. Curiously enough, we find that in Ireland in the 14th cent. black money or blackmail indicates certain coins of an inferior kind authorized to pass current.

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that he had divulged the mysteries of Eleusis, the gravamen was not so much that the act was an offense against the gods as that it was dangerous to the community. The Roman criminal law appears to have given no provision against blasphemy, apparently because 'in spite of the intensity of Roman religious feeling, the religion of the State was always absolutely subject to the political authority' (Hunter, *Roman Law*, 1850, p. 10), and hence an offense against religion was one which was defined as a crime. Persons who introduced new kinds of worship, unknown to custom or reason, disturbing weaker minds, were to be punished—if persons of rank, with deportation; if not of rank, with death.

2. In the Old Testament.—It is to the Jewish and Christian Churches to which we must refer their statutes, to find, that we have to look for the creation of the offense of blasphemy. We omit the 'contempt' for God referred to in Mal 1, the dishonour done Him by withholding the offerings due to Him in Mal 3, or the speaking falsely by His name in Deut. 28, sin 'with a high hand' of Nu 15 (cf. 2 K 19), the reviling (or murmuring against) the Elohim of Ex 22, since, though all these are directed against God, they do not rise to the height of the special sin of blasphemy. A record, however, of this, as of the later cases, is found in the case of a man convicted of mixed breed 'blasphemes the Name.' In this case doubt seems to have been felt about the prescribed penalty, for the offender was put back until 'the mind of the Lord' could be ascertained. This was found to fix the penalty of death by stoning, and the law was then promulgated: 'He that blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him' (v. 19). This was the only kind of reproach against God which was punishable death with impunity on three kinds of offenses, the kinds (such as referred to above) being left to the judgment of God. For post-Biblical Jewish usages see next article.

3. In the New Testament.—The offense of blasphemy is referred to frequently in the NT; in the case of the sin against the Holy Ghost (Mk 3), in the case of the man whose sins were pronounced by Jesus forgiven (Mt 9, Lk 5), when the scribes accused Him of blasphemy; when the Jews declared the saying 'I and my Father are one' to be blasphemy (Jn 10); when James declared Himself at His judgment (Mk 14); St. Stephen was accused of speaking 'blasphemous words against Moses and God' (Ac 6); in Ac 13 and 18 and Ro 2 the Jews in their turn are accused of blasphemy; in Ac 26 St. Paul accuses himself of making the Christians blaspheme. The word occurs five times in the Pastoral Ep., (1 Ti 1v 6, 4 and Tit 2v 3), once in James (27), and nine times in the Apocalypse (2v 13, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12). From these passages it appears that any expression was considered 'blasphemous' that was unprofitably, or contemptuously directed against God, His being, or goodness, which arrogated His attributes for a creature, which opposed a truth revealed by Him, or opposed an institution of which He was the author.

4. In Church History.—The feeling and the judgment expressed in these passages were taken over by Christianity, and enforced, after its union with the civil power, by temporal pains and penalties. (See *Apologia*; *Sedulius* of Justinian (lxxxv. 1) relate that some

used blasphematic expressions and swore by God, and so provoked Him to anger, and that it was enjoined on such men therefore to abstain from such blasphemies, and from swearing by the sun, moon, and earth, and sea, and other signs, seeing that blasphemies against men went not unpunished, far less would blasphemies against God. If, in spite of this admonition, any one committed the offense of blasphemy, he was to suffer the extreme penalty of the law' (*Corpus Juris Civilis*, ed. Schiller, 1566, vol. iii. p. 323).

In the Middle Ages the ecclesiastical court was the principal authority for the punishment of blasphemy, the temporal power being called in, when required, to pass the judgment of the court ecclesiastical. Thus in a decree of Gregory III. it is laid down that, if any one shall have presumed to loose in public a blasphemous tongue against God, or any one of His saints, or, in special, against the Blessed Virgin, he shall be condemned by the bishop to public penance at the church door for seven Sundays, being on the last Sunday deprived of his shoes and outer clothing, to fast and give alms. In default he might be excommunicated and deprived of Christian burial, and be subjected to a fine by the temporal power (*Decret. Greg. IX.*, lib. v. tit. 27, c. 2; *Corpus Juris Canon.*, ed. Richter-Friedberg, ii. 320).

Charlemagne had already incorporated in the law of the Empire the Christian law against blasphemy, and given his sanction to the principle that God Himself, or His Name, or even His images, might be reviled, and that He would visit the offense on all the people, thus ingeniously uniting in one the older pagan and the newer Christian sentiment. Louis le Débonnaire followed him with laws against blasphemy.

Philip Augustus fulminated against those who swore: 'Tête bleue!' 'Cord bleue!' 'Ventre bleue!' 'Sang bleu!' Offenders, if noble, were to be fined; if roturiers, they were to be put into a sack and drowned. St. Louis ordered that offenders should be branded on the forehead, and if they repeated the offense, should have their tongue and lips pierced. With this agrees the ordinance of Henry III., which enacted that, for the first four offenses, a blasphemer should be committed to confinement on bread and water; for the fifth offense, he should have the under lip slit; for the sixth, he should have it so slit that his teeth were to be seen; for the seventh, his tongue should be bored; and for the eighth, he was to be put to death. It was, indeed, about the end of the 15th cent. that blasphemy was most severely punished; but from that date onwards the feeling has gradually gained ground that God is not a Being who can be injured by man's insults, and that, when blasphemy is punishable, it is as an offense against society.

The Scholastic treatment of blasphemy calls for a short notice. Defining blasphemy, with Gury, as *locution Deo injuriosa*, or, with Suarez, as *verbum maladictionis, convicui seu contumeliae in Deum*, it divides it into 'immediate' when directed against God Himself, and 'mediate' when it attacks Him through His Word, His Church, His officers, sacraments, or saints. It is in its form threefold, 'heretical' when it involves a false doctrine, 'imprecative' when in the form of a curse, or merely 'abusive' (*predorosum*). Materially, it is threefold: (1) when it attributes to God what is not His; (2) when it deprives Him of what is His; and (3) when it assigns to the creature what belongs to the Creator—the first two of which St. Thomas declares to be but the affirmative and negative sides of the same truth, and the last to be a subdivision of the first. Blasphemy is a mortal sin, as being contradictory to charity; nay, it is the greatest of all sins, seeing that it adds to a denial of the faith a detestation of God to will, and the utterance of the outburst into words, as, on the other hand, faith is augmented by love and confession.

5. As a Crime.—It has been already stated that a milder judgment on blasphemy has during the last 150 or 200 years gradually ameliorated the feeling which finds expression in Lv 24:18. The change, however, has been of slow growth. So
late as A.D. 1656 we find, for instance, a poor mad Quaker, James Nayler, for allowing himself to be honoured as Jesus Christ, sentenced by the House of Commons to be put in the pillory, whipped from Wigan to Warrington, and again put in the pillory, to have his tongue bored, his forehead branded with 'B,' then taken to Bristol, there again whipped, and then sent to Bridewell to remain until Parliament should release him. Again, in 1812 an unhappy bookseller, Daniel Isaac Eaton, of Ave Maria Passage, London, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and to the pillory for publishing criticisms on the Bible story, after the manner of Thomas Paine. It is noticeable that Lord Ellenborough, in sentencing Eaton, did so on the express ground that 'the Christian religion is the only true religion, and the Bible is no more inspired than any other book.' In 1685, George Jacob Holyoake was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for oral blasphemy—for saying after a lecture in reply to a challenge: 'I do not believe there is such a thing as a God.' England is still sufficiently severe against blasphemy. 'It is indeed, still blasphemy,' according to Mr. Justice Erskine, 'punishable at common law, scoldingly or irreverently to ridicule or impugn the doctrines of the Christian faith.' On the other hand, 'if the deicides of controversy are observed, even the fundamentals of religion may be attacked without a person being guilty of blasphemous libel' (Lord Chief Justice Coleridge).

The net result of the slow process of change was that in the eighteenth century did men's minds on this, and all kinds of subjects, is that blasphemy has become the technical name for a particular offence against the State. It is a crime against the peace and good order of society; it is an outrage on men's religious feelings, tending to a breach of the peace. As an indictable offence it is described by Blackstone to be 'denying the being or providence of God, contumelious reproaches of our Saviour Christ, profane scoffing at the Holy Scripture, or exposing it to contempt or ridicule.' (1) Say it is a capital offence. But though the existing law of England still embodies the tradition which regards blasphemy as a sin, and upholds the Christian religion, in practice it treats it as an offence against the peace and good order of society. It is open to anybody to call in question any article of religion, provided that his method of expression is not obnoxious to the authorities. In France the same practical state of things prevails; for, though its Code does not prohibit blasphemy as such, it yet prohibits it as an offence against good order. In Germany public blasphemy is punishable with one to three days' imprisonment; but the blasphemy must be public, coarsely expressed, and offence must actually have been caused (Deutsches Reichsstrafgesetzbuch, § 166). The Austrian law is stricter, and the offender may suffer imprisonment for a term ranging from six months to ten years (ib. §§ 122, 123, 124). In the United States the law of blasphemy is essentially the same as in England, being based on English common law and early statutes.

The case of the Chilperic Antiphoners have brought the whole full circle round to where it was in Senea's day, when that distinguished pagan could write:

We are far from what we ought to be if we do not think of God, who maketh all our blessings, bestows the blessings, why do the gods bestow on us their bounty? It is their nature to do so. The man who denies that there is no harm because they are unwilling errors. They cannot. They can neither inflict injury nor receive it. For to harm and to be harmed go together' (Ep. 96, ed. Hase, 1873, iii. 307).

To this it is only necessary to add the remark that, while the general definition of blasphemy as an act of which no dictable and statutory offence is precise, the word itself has in literature and common parlance, as is natural, a wider and looser meaning. Thus, Jefferies (The Story of my Heart, 1891, p. 125) writes: 'I believe all manner of asceticism to be the vilest blasphemy, the most sacrilegious blasphemy of the human race.' Ruskin (Stones of Venice, i. 37) speaks of 'representations of Christian subjects which had become blasphemous under the influence of the visible blasphemy among the backwoods of the American frontier.'


BLASPHEMY (Jewish).—All subsequent Jewish notions of what the subject of blasphemy were derived, in their main principles, from those that were narrated in Lv 24:20-25. In the course of that passage the general rule is enunciated (v. 14): 'And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger as he which is born among us.' Rabbinic tradition (already represented in the Targum) interpreted these italicized words to mean that, to render blasphemy a capital offence, one must actually pronounce the name of God, accompanied with disrespect, the nature of which is not defined. The reverential reluctance to name God even in worship grew up early, and, as is well known, is already exemplified in Psalms, Chron., and the LXX. The blasphemer who used the prevalent substitutes for the name of God was subjected to flagellation (Sank. 56b). The writer of Pentateuchal scrolls was required to place his mind in a devotional attitude when writing the name of God, and in certain cases when writing the name, the mistake was irremediable, and the whole column on which the error occurred was withdrawn from use (Soferim, ch. iv.). The name itself could not be obliterated. The only individuals who lawfully uttered the name were the priests. The priestly benediction (Nu 6:24-26) is introduced by the words, 'Thus shall ye bless the children of Israel,' and closes with the phrase, 'And they shall put my name on the children of Israel.' These commands, it was held, compelled the priests to utter the name as written, and many sacrifices were offered for the error in the blessing (Yoma, 33b: Menahoth, 1096). The high priest, however, continued to pronounce the name on the Day of Atonement, amid the prostrations of the people (Mishin. Yoma iii. 8, etc. According to the midrash Yoma, 71a, the high priest uttered the name ten times on the fast). This reluctance to utter the name of God was paralleled by a similar objection to hearing the name uttered. In the blasphemy trial, as described in the Mishna (Sot. vii. 5), the witnesses were not allowed to repeat the actual blasphemy, on evidence against the accused; but when on a prima
In the Middle Ages the blasphemer, it was held, ought to be excommunicated (Responsa of Gemin, ed. Muller, 103). The current Jewish Code requires the auditor of a blasphemy to show his feeling of revulsion by rending his garment (Shulhan Arukh, Yoreh Deah, 340, 37). Naturally, however, as public opinion has tended to weaken the efficiency of excommunication, so it has become less and less usual to take any practical notice of the offence of blasphemy. Blasphemy in the older view had been an act of rebellion, parallel to Korah’s; it was a ‘stretching out of the hand to the root’ of religion. But such acts of rebellion are no longer punishable, and the Synagogue has shown itself as disinclined as any other organization to attempt the punishment. See Heresy. I. ABRAMHS.

BLASPHEMY (Muhammadan).—Blasphemy is regarded by Muslim jurists as one of the most convincing proofs of unbelief. If a Muslim has been guilty of this heinous sin, he is to be put to death as an apostate unless he is willing to repent (cf. art. Apostasy [Muhammadan]). All utterances expressive of contempt for Allah Himself, for His names, attributes, laws, commands, or prohibitions, are to be considered as blasphemy. Such is the case when an apostate states that it is impossible for Allah to see and to hear everything, or that Allah cannot endure to all eternity, or that He is not one ( wahid), but only ‘one of three,’ etc. All scoffing at Muhammad or any of the other prophets or apostles of Allah is also to be regarded in Islam as blasphemy.

Unbelievers who have obtained permission to reside within the domain of Islam (the so-called dhimmis) are in like manner forbidden to use, in the presence of Muslims, disrespectful expressions about Allah, His apostles, or about the dogmas and institutions of Islam. For instance, they may not testify publicly that Jesus was the Son of God. The unbeliever who is guilty of blasphemy in the eye of Muslim law is not, however, put to death, but exspiates his offence by ta’zir (a penalty determined by the judge, according to circumstances). Th. W. JENNY.

BLESSEDNESS.


Future life: Its original meaning is ‘a hem,’ ‘collar,’ ‘connecting thread’; hence a reason, ‘to follow up,’ ‘to climb up.’ After the advent of Buddhism in the first century of our era, the old term gisa, or ‘because else,’ was applied to the nishana, or ‘causes and effects,’ connecting past existences with present (Kitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, 1888, p. 84); and so now in popular usage the Buddhist idea is usually connoted in the mind of the speaker or writer. But, none the less, the basic notion really takes its origin in the ancient ancestor-worship of the Chinese, one of the most elementary principles of which was that no happiness could exist in this life unless the spirits of the dead were conciliated by living representatives through sacrifice, prayer, and duty. In other words, blessedness can exist securely on earth only under the shadow or protection of the Spiritual Abode above. When a man enters into conversation with a stranger, and the interview develops some aesthetic interest on both sides, one will say to the other: ‘We two have a gisa—meaning, “it was already planned out before our birth that we should meet,” even if only to buy and

BLESSEDNESS (Chinese).—1. Perhaps the best way of arriving at some preliminary notion of the conceptions of blessedness cherished by the Chinese is to examine in the first instance their methods of ordinary speech, which can easily be traced back in spirit to the utterings of antiquity. When a Chinaman asks an acquaintance how he fares, the stereotyped reply is: ‘I depend upon your happiness,’ or ‘Thanks to you.’ In matters of greater gravity, the Emperor or any other of his subjects, official or otherwise, will say: ‘Thanks to the shade of my ancestors’ happiness, I am, etc. When two or more persons are thrown together in pursuit of a common interest, whether it be marriage, partnership, political sympathy, or what not, it is the practice to say and to assume that the individuals, or the families to which the individuals immediately concerned belong, ‘have a predetermination,’ i.e. have some spiritual affinity which is continued from the anterior existence into the present existence. The word gisa begins to assume predetermination was extended in later times to signify spiritual sympathy or connexion in the present life, and even in the

BLASPHEMY (Muhammadan)—BLESSEDNESS (Chinese)

fasic case the capital charge was proved, then before sentence of death was pronounced one of the witnesses was required to utter the actual blasphemy with which the accused was charged. The judges rose to their feet and rent their garments—the statement of the Mishna thus fully confirms the report in Mt 26:6. According to Josephus (Ant. Iv. viii. 10), a Jew was forbidden to blaspheme a heathen deity. Besides incurring the death penalty, the blasphemer was, in the Rabbinic view, regarded as excluded from Paradise (Abodah zarah, 18r; Mishn. Sanh. xi. 1. In the latter passage this deprivation is, according to Abba Saul, incurred by any one who utter the Tetragrammaton). The Talmud asserts that the offence of blasphemy greatly increased when the death penalty for blasphemy was abolished with the loss of Jewish jurisdiction (see vol. i. p. 130). It may be interesting to add that Eleazar ben Zadok, a contemporary of Josephus, relates that as a child he saw the uncaned daughter of a priest burning bunches of grape-vines (Mishn. Sanh. vii. 2; Talm. fol. 52 a-b). This the Talmud regards as having been the act of a Sadduccen, not of a Pharisice, court). Yet, despite this supposed increase in the prevalence of blasphemy, we find a strong abhorrence of every- thing which showed disrespect to the Deity. Rabbinic theology actually included blasphemy among the offences prohibited by natural law; this is the meaning of its inclusion in the seven Noachan prohibitions (with adultery, murder, idolatry, and so forth [Sanh. 56a]). Moreover, the stern moral denunciation of profaning the name (see s. b.) was the outcome of this range of ideas. To profane the name came to imply all forms of irreverence, of private insincerity, and of public disrespect for morality and religion. ‘For him who has com- mitted profanations about Allah of His apostles, or about the dogmas and institutions of Islam. For instance, they may not testify publicly that Jesus was the Son of God. The unbeliever who is guilty of blasphemy in the eye of Muslim law is not, however, put to death, but exspiates his offence by ta‘zir (a penalty determined by the judge, according to circumstances). Th. W. JENNY.
sell a horse, though the expression belongs rather to matrimonial arrangements. One friend will often write to or hail another as 'old generation elder brother,' the more ordinary term being 'old brother' simply. The addition of the word shi, meaning 'generation,' 'world' (for there are signs of three), delicately suggests for the past a subtle spiritual connexion running, it may be, through more than one world.

Like other nations, the Chinese have never been able to conceive conscious Deity otherwise than in the shape of man. Man has ever been conceived of himself as being above all animals, and thus he cannot but imagine the Deity in the highest conceivable shape. Hence it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Chinese have always conceived the Spiritual Abode to be a mere reproduction of the present earthly abode; its denizens being subject to the same feelings and passions, and divided into the same ranks and classes as here on earth.

One of the most ancient Chinese documents we possess, the Hung-fan (n.c. 1100), or 'Great Pledge' of the old king, Long Life, Wealth, Serenity, Love of Virtue, and Object achieved at Death. This idea of blessedness in the present world is still found, after running an unbroken course of 3000 years, in the popular speech. To wish one another a Happy New Year, the reply is: 'May you be promoted; may you have sons; may you live rich and distinguished days!' On almost every door-post or lintel in the empire, at least when the New Year comes in, if not at most other festive times, may be seen the two words 'happiness' and 'old age.' These two undoubtedly take premier rank among the Five Blessednesses in the Chinese mind: the love of virtue (which in China has nothing whatever to do with sobriety and continence) generally takes second rank; but still it is there, and most respectable Chinese, after the immediate necessities of life have been obtained, take a keen pleasure in doing what we should call 'kind acts.' The object achieved at death may reasonably be held to include a proper provision of sons and grandsons for the adequate continuation of the family chain, or 'dying at the zenith of success,' i.e. dying with ambition or desires fully achieved—a stock Imperial phrase in reference to deceased statesmen. The ideal picture of the China in eighteenth century shape by G. E. Simon (once French Consul at Foo-chow) in his pretty and sympathetic little work, La Cité chinoise, published in the year 1800: such pictures as he draws may be daily seen by any one who travels extensively over the more primitive districts of China, whether progress has not penetrated. The grandest ideal of all blessedness is 'five generations in one hall,' i.e. great-grandfather, grandfather, father, son, and grandson—if possible, each with his wife still living—all in the same house: same family, same household. These smoking their long metal pipes, giving advice, and sipping tea in the comfortable protected corners; the younger generations exposing themselves to the elements and doing the hard work; all the males associating in any hall (or long-hall-floor) according to season for common meals; all the females decorously confining themselves to the 'inner apartments' (often merely a curtained-off space) or secluded gardens; each generation tenderly caring for the seniors' wants; each venerable man mildiy but firmly asserting his rights. Now thus, and only thus, he individually is perfectly deferential to his own parent or parents.

In the field hard by is the ancestral cemetery; perhaps only the graves of an off-branch are there; possibly those of ten or twenty ancestors, ranged right and left of the 'first (migrating) ascendant.' In any case the book of genealogy for remote ancestors can be found, when needed, somewhere in China. There is little luxury in the ideal Chinese life: no boarded floors; no ceilings or papered walls; no glass or linen; no expensive wines or smart reception rooms. As a rule, the life, no matter how high the retired official may be, is what may be termed 'farm life.' Plain cotton clothes; plenty of rice; no work, and no comforts; good plain cookery; clothes for ceremonial occasions stowed away in chests; bed-clothes for the women; pigs, poultry, ploughing cattle (seldom carts or horses); manure in heaps (or even plastered to the walls); fish and hams, or penumian, drying and being smoked in the rafters; still chairs or benches; easy demeanour to servants and slaves; and, above all, perfect democracy and entire absence of snobbery: age is the only 'quality'; money counts not. Of late years newspapers have been added to the modern luxuries which are unpaid, and 'live the alms!' so has opium been added to the mild tobacco, rice spirit, and tea of antiquity. (Tobacco, by the way, only dates from about A.D. 1500, and tea from A.D. 600.) Comfortable, healthy grimmness may be said to represent well-to-do Chinese country life: baths and swimming, social arrangements, an entire absence, and no one seems one penny the worse.

Here clearly we have long life, wealth, peace, and death with honour. But where does love of virtue come in? Well, a good family is neighbourly, hospitable, and friendly; even foreigners are courteously received as equals, so long as they behave themselves prudently, and so long as evil rumours have not preceded them. Kindness to animals is another Chinese trait: perhaps negative rather than positive—not fussy solicitude, but negligent easy-going tolerance, subordinate, however, to practical human needs. A country squire of the above described type will usually have an informally-inhabited temple—he does not mind much whether it be a Buddhist, Taoist, or other temple. He has his own ancestral buildings for the settlement of family disputes; sometimes the whole village or town belongs to one single family-name, or two family-names; the village temple consequently suffers more for general interests. Mandarins are not by any means all bad; the local squire endeavours none the less to avoid official friction, and to keep his village free of tax-collectors' exactions and the police hardness: he is the pivot of the plan of China, the mandarin. He provides for the education of his children, and pays the taxes. Local self-government is universal; so long as the land-tax is paid, order and decency are maintained along the roads, and (latterly) so long as a reasonable tax, or, at all events, the customary tax, on commercial movement is paid. The virtuous paterfamilias promotes schools, maternity establishments, charities generally, and favours 'arbitration' in lieu of law. The elders may, as a rule, in council compound or hush up any crime but treason and Parricide, so long as they agree that they agree. The mandarin is the case officially brought before him. Religion in China is ignored rather than cultivated, and the priest (Buddhist and Taoist), though treated politely, especially if they are fairly educated men, are regarded as quite an inferior race, yet their services are conventionally sought even

BLESSEDNESS (Chinese)

by orthodox Confucianists when there is death in the house. If unprovoked religious observance is indulged in at all, it usually takes the form of a play at the village temple, when both sexes assemble for the combined purposes of consulting the oracles, praying for rain or children, and hearing historical dramas, and also for formal social intercourse generally. Admittance is free to all, and the local rich man pays the itinerant company.

2. Having now an idea of the life that is, the life in the after life, we come to a more general, if undefined, principles, one of which is that a happy existence on earth involves no spiritual comfort derived from supernatural considerations, but takes in account solely human desires, passions, dislikes, and fears, as they are born in us, and as they are and ought to be regulated by li. What this li usually translated as 'rites' or 'propriety' is, it is not so easy to define verbally as to realize mentally; but it may be called the Law of Nature and Right as seen by the collective wisdom of the highest human types, as understood by tradition, and as laid down by the Emperor (and his lieutenants) as Vicegerent of Heaven. The past life and the future life are the same life; the spirit bears the same life, i.e. it is the duty of one's self; the past, the present, and the future are thus merged in one; the idea of 'time' does not come in at all. The intense anxiety to possess a male heir (by adoption of agnates, or, if none, of cognates, failing a natural heir) is now made intelligible, as also is the extreme punishment of 'cutting off posterity,' which leaves 'uneasy ghosts' to wander about for ever without dutiful attention. What heaven is, of course, no one knows, ever did know, or (in our present spirit-worship) to think about. Nor, such as it is, is it in the Chinese mind a place where sentient individuals in the shape of human beings conduct affairs, whether as emperors, officials, freemen, or slaves; and, as we have already seen, nothing higher than a human being, or a sentient being with human feelings, has ever or could ever have been conceived of. It is often even uncertain whether heaven is viewed as a place or as a person; or say, rather, 'Heaven forbid' and 'who art in heaven' are Chinese as well as Christian The 'Spirit of Heaven' and the 'Emperor Above' are often convertible terms. There is but one life. The ancestor in the past is miserable unless he be tended; the mortal in the present is, or ought to be, miserable unless he tends, and unless he secures legitimate born or unborn links to tend himself when he is dead. Hence the ancestor must always be kept informed, with due fasting and purification, of the successes and failures of the representative individual, be he ruler or subject. The spirit child tendered to his special wooden name-tablet standing in the family temple; nor will he accept the sacrificial offerings, or evince his approval of what is done, unless things are conducted in accordance with li. Failure to render ghostly sacrifices, or the spirits is the mundane disorder in the shape of inundations or other irregularities of nature. But the spirits of any given family will accept sacrifice only from the legitimate representatives of that family; hence the enormity of cutting off for ever the only persons or links able to continue the family chain of life. Then only is it that Heaven steps in, and bears out of its former porté or nominee, and confers the vicegerency upon another ruling house: the same thing, mutatis mutandis, for private persons. This position is well illustrated in the year 516 B.C., when the ruler of Confucius' State took to flight in consequence of internal revolution (see Tso Ch'uan, ch. 42, p. 2). One of his ministers said: 'I do not know whether it be that Heaven has abandoned the country, or whether the country has committed some great offence against the ghosts and spirits.' It was necessary for him to give a name which grew into a family name, or, as we say, a surname. Hence we find sacrifices to the gods of the land, the harvests, the rivers, the mountains, and the frontiers, all concurrent with the personal sacrifice to ancestors. Dispossessed princes of previous dynasties were rarely cut off wholly, as if they were ever to be extinguished, but an estate, however insignificant, was conferred upon their lineal representatives by the ruling power favoured by Heaven's new choice, and these representatives were received as guests and peers by the Emperor when they presented themselves to do homage for their holdings. Except under circumstances of great provocation, it was considered impious to cause the extinction of a family, and thus to put a stop to the ancestral sacrifices. That sacrifice to ghosts and spirits can ever be viewed as a thing, as lived, and inferior to the sacrifices to the Emperor Above is instanced by a case in the year B.C. 482 (Tso Ch'uan, ch. 48, p. 20), when an official of Confucius' vassal-State was detained in captivity by the semi-barbarous State lying to its south. Though the State in question was ruled by the same family as the then Imperial family of China, and also the same family as that ruling over Confucius' State, the aboriginal population was still half savage, and even the Chinese rulers had become corrupted by popular influences. No vassal-State and inferior to the emperor of the temple will hurl imprecations against your king!' The device succeeded.

3. It was manifestly considered doubtful whether the dead really had any exact knowledge of what was transpiring on earth; for in B.C. 502 a royal maiden of North China, who found herself dying in the above-named semi-barbarous kingdom, said: 'If the dead really possess any knowledge, please bury me where I can at least see my own native land.' A year before that, and on a barbarous general, who was about to set fire to the enemy's camp, in which the bodies of many of his own slain also lay, asked, when reminded with: 'What does it matter if I burn their bones? If the dead really possess knowledge of what goes on here, it must be to that end; otherwise why do they thus give them satisfaction?' As is well known, Confucius himself, whilst adopting a respectful attitude towards the traditional 'nether' world (as we and they still popularly call it), declined to discuss spirits, as 'the spirits is the mundane disorder in the shape of inundations or other irregularities of nature. But the spirits of any given family will accept
was no word of any kind for 'religion'; none for a public 'church'; none for 'temple' or 'priest,' as distinct from ancestral halls and preceptors for Imperial worship; always except and in so far as there was an amalgamation of Confucianism and T'ien-ch'ing religious notions, and a 'sacrificial vessel' as supplantative. Consequently, in figuring out for themselves an ideal for blessedness in this life, no idea of collective worship; no notion of a single jealous God; no need for formalized confession and pardon of sin; no yearning for holiness as evinced by continence, abstinence, humility, joy in everlasting salvation or Divine grace, etc., ever even remotely entered the Chinese mind. Blessedness in the flesh was purely human, and spiritual blessedness in the past or future was—and this only doubtfully oragnostically—supposed to be the same thing.

4. It was reserved for the philosopher Lao-tse, an archivist at the Imperial Court, who lived during the 6th cent. B.C., a generation before Confucius, and who, according to the common view, ascended to heaven and was ushered in by civil strife and commercial activity, in contrast to Confucius' conservative and courtly definitions of li, to define for the first time in what ideal blessedness consisted. Like his rival, Confucius, he was an imperialist and a friend of the old texts. Both philosophers ignored spiritualist views, and attempted to restore social order in the Chinese federation by interpreting exactly the same ancient texts, each in his own 'advanced' way. Even the word 'teaching,' which since the arrival of Buddhism and Taoism determined our connotation of Confucianism in the West, in the time of its origin, has come to signify 'religion' or 'faith,' was not yet applied to these diverging interpretations, which were simply styled 'craft,' 'schema,' or 'plan,' i.e., the plan of life, the plan of government, the plan of ancestral continuity. The old Tao, or 'way,' which now for the first time began to substitute in men's minds individual blessedness for collective blessedness, or, to use Sir Henry Maine's words, to substitute contract for status, took quite a new form in Lao-tse's hands. The old Confucius had not seen the intellectual heights of China, according to the li theories as developed by the then reigning Imperial dynasty (B.C. 1122-8. B.C. 255), whose statutes combined in one indivisible idea law, religion, life, government, the whole in the form of Confucianism, himself. This was Tao. Just as Tchou took a narrower meaning when Lao-tse defined it, so Ju took a narrower meaning when Confucius specialized it. Lao-tse's summing up, literally translated, is as follows: 'My ideal is a series of small States with small populations. Let them possess an army machine of moderate size, but not too ready to use. Let them place a proper value on their lives, and refuse to engage in distant migrations, though they will be possessed of boats and carts, there will be no one to ride in them; though they will be possessed of arms and calumies, there will be no need for arming them. Let the people revert to the old guieu system of record, enjoy their food, take a pride in their clothes, dwell in peace, and rejoice in their local customs. Each State would be within easy sight of the other; the sound of each other's hens cackling and dogs barking would be heard. In the course of each generation, each man would live to a good old age, and would have no movement of intercourse with neighbouring States.'

Since the importation into China of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Muhammadanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, respectively, the doctrine of rewards and punishments was made a feature in future worlds, and then more into the Chinese imagination; and, of course, a certain extent the ideas of holiness and blessedness in this life have become correspondingly modified. But the intellectual classes are still largely swayed by the more materialistic philosophy of Lao-tse and Confucius, and it is very doubtful whether the religious enthusiasm which once revolutionized Europe has ever touched, or will ever touch, the trained Chinese intellect; a fortiori is it doubtful whether blessedness on earth will ever become less human, though it is another portion of a temporary preparation for supposed everlasting blessedness in eternity.

LITERATURE.—Conform's Chanta's, ou 'Springs and Autumns,' enlarged as known to Sen Chou; Shih King, or 'Book of History'; Shih King, or 'Book of Ballads'; Lao KI, or 'Book of Rites'; and Tao Teh King, the Taoist classic of Lao-tse—all translated in the SIE.

E. H. PARKER.

BLESSEDNESS (Christian).—As distinguished from happiness (q.v.), blessedness denotes a state of fruition that is purer and deeper, and hence free from the mixture of the vegetable, animal, and human, to which happiness is exposed. In modern literature the distinction is familiar; Carlyle recognizes it when he writes, 'There is in man a Higher than Love of Happiness: he can do without Happiness, and instead thereof find Blessedness' (Sartor Resartus, 132). But it is one that goes back to pre-Christian ages; one that, whether verbally expressed or not, has always been discerned more or less clearly from the time when men began to analyze the data of the ethical life or to reflect upon the realities of religious experience. What specially concerns us, seeing that the word 'blessedness' in Christian usage is an inheritance from the employment of the word 'blessed' in the NT, and that 'blessed' in the EV of the NT is a rendering of the Gr. ἁγιάζω, is to notice that in Greek poetry and philosophy a distinction was made between ἡγιάζω as 'happy' and μάκαρ or μακάριος as 'blessed.' The gods of Olympus were the μάκαρες θεοί as raised above the mortal inhabitants of the earth (Homer, Odyssey, vi. 49); the dead were the μάκαρες ἄνθρωποι as delivered now from its griefs and cares (Hesiod, Op. 14); the abodes of departed heroes were the μακάριοι νεκροί, the 'islands of the blest' (ib. 171). ἡγιάζω, on the other hand, was applied to those who experienced the twofold salvation of the soul—blessedness that is open to mortals in a world of change and chance; and sometimes it is exactly distinguished from the higher term μακάριος (Aristotle, Eth. i. x. 14).

For the Christian point of view it is significant that, while μακάριος is a word of frequent employment in the NT, ἡγιάζω is never found. This may be partly explained by the fact that to a Jewish mind μάκαριος had come to be blended with a sense of consecration, the accidents of time and circumstance was not the good and friendly 'genius' of the Greek imagination, but an evil spirit by whom men were tormented or urged on to their destruction. But the full explanation lies deeper, and must be sought in the fact that Jesus Christ introduced into the Evangelical new and larger conceptions of felicity for which 'blessedness' alone is the appropriate term.

To understand Christ's doctrine of blessedness genetically, we must compare it not with Greek ideas, but with those which we find in the OT and in contemporary Jewish thought. To a pious Israelite of the earlier history, length of days and earthly prosperity were the con-
stidents of blessedness, which was saved from degenerating into a mere equivalence with pagan notions of happiness, by the fact that these outward, shatterd those naive conceptions, and drove the best minds in Israel to look for blessedness elsewhere than in present prosperity. There were some pious hearts which, in the midst of trouble, were able to grasp by the sheer energy of faith the profounder essence of a blessedness which is inaccessible, committing one's way to Jahweh, in loving His Law, and humbly accepting His will (Ps 1^st 2^nd 40^th 84^st 112^nd, Hab 3^rd). But for the vast majority the powers of faith needed the reinforcement, which came gradually through the prophetic teaching, of the great Messianic hope of a coming King-
dom of righteousness and peace, in which the faithful should be abundantly rewarded and Israel attain to a blessedness of outward power and glory corresponding to that of inward trust and joy.

2. In its fundamental nature Christian blessedness appears as an inward spiritual experience. In setting forth His doctrine regarding it, Jesus vindicated the high idealism of those post-saints of the OT who had risen to the point of understanding the blessedness of the man who makes Jacob's ladder. He himself had previously deprecated the prevailing popular conceptions as to the blessings of the Messianic Kingdom. In Mt. the list of the Beatitudes begins and ends with a declaration of the blessedness that lies in possessions of the earth (Mt 5^st; Lk 6^st-22); but His teaching elsewhere serves to illu-
minate the principles there laid down, which are further illustrated by the Apostolic edification and enforcement of His words.

3. Christian blessedness is a present reality. To the seers and prophets of the OT the day of Messi-
anic gladness had been a far-off vision. To the men of Christ's own time it was a prospect near at hand. But Jesus clearly saw that the messianic blessings still lay in the future—a hope and a promise, but not an actual experience. Jesus declared that the Kingdom of God was come, that its blessedness was already present. 'There is the kingdom of heaven' was the announcement He made at the start of the chart of beatitude which He announced to His disciples (Mt 5^st-9). And the Kingdom being come, its blessedness is come, for the substance of that blessedness, as follows from its spiritual nature already referred to, does not need to be postponed till the arrival of a millennium on earth or the en-
trance into a Paradise of bliss in the future world. At the heart of it there lies the present and im-
mediate assurance of God's Fatherly love, blessing us with all spiritual blessings and daily loading us with earthly benefits as well (Mt 6^st). And if some much-desired blessings are withheld, as of
ten times they are, God's children know that it is He who withholds them, and that nothing can separate them from His love. The best gifts, at least those in which the very soul of blessedness lies, are not withheld from those who seek first the Kingdom of God. The Heavenly Father comforts all such in their sorrows (Mt 6^st), satisfies their hunger for righteousness (v. 6), crowns them with His mercy (v. 9), sanctifies us and love fellowship, with result from knowing God through Jesus Christ as our God and Father, that the essence of Christian blessedness lies.

2. But, while spirituality is the inmost quality of Christian blessedness, natural blessings are not excluded from its scope and content. There was nothing useless or out of the way about the blessedness which Jesus taught about this subject, though traces of a leaning in that direction appear in the writings of St. Paul, e.g., in some of his utterances regarding marriage (1 Co 7^st 8^st; but cf. Eph 5^st-22). Unquestionably Jesus put spiritual goods above everything else, and taught that to these all natural desires and affec-
tions and all concern for earthly benefits must be subordinated, even, when necessary, to the point of utter sacrifice (Mt 5^st 16^st, Lk 14^st). But He freely recognized the intrinsic worth of the things that are naturally desirable, and heaped them a place in any idea of blessedness. He did not frown upon those familiar enjoyments and activities that belong to the ordinary conception of happiness, but showed again and again His own appreciation and approval of them. He loved the beautiful in nature (Mt 6^st). He gave the sanction of His presence to the joys of social intercourse (Mt 11^st, Lk 5^st-21, Jn 2^nd 12^nd), He saw in the work of field and house and market fitting types of the things of the Kingdom of heaven (Mt 25^st-46, Mk 4^st, Lk 13^st); and He set forth as an object of the hope of a Messianic blessedness never ceased to burn. But by the time of Christ the pure radiance with which it glows in the writings of the great prophets had changed into a dusky flame, for men had come to think far less of spiritual benefits and obligations than of outward glory and material privilege. It was against this Jewish background that Christ appeared with His new doctrine of blessedness, which must be determinative for all Christian ideas upon the subject. The locus classicus here is His proclamation of the Beatitudes (Mt 5^st-12; Lk 6^st-22); but His teaching elsewhere serves to illu-
minate the principles there laid down, which are further illustrated by the Apostolic edification and enforcement of His words.
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Blessedness is the joy of the fleeting moment.

But Christian blessedness has its eschatological aspect also, and looks to the future world for its perfect consummation. 'Great,' said Jesus in the last Beatitude, 'is your reward in heaven' (Mt 5:8, Lk 6:20); and probably the eschatological idea is the utmost, though not the only one, in the second of the series, where future comfort is promised to those who mourn (Mt 5:4). We have seen that Jesus did not ignore earthly goods, or treat them as if they were not to be desired, and that He found place for them accordingly in His doctrine of blessedness, which includes the blessing of the poor in spirit, or the lost, or those who suffer, or those who are persecuted. But these terms be used literally, they indicate a pantheistic position, but they can also be used carelessly as mere approximations to a description of the feeling of the moment, and, at most, as equivalent to teājil, 'suffering,' i.e. perception of and submission to the earthly condition.

The most general term for this eschatology or state of religious emotion and bliss is wujūd, which means literally a finding, perceiving, experiencing, either by the physical senses or by the intellect. Thus, when God gives the angels the right to see the Divine by the direct operation of the spiritual being. But wujūd and words cognate to it have also derived meanings which greatly complicate the terminology and lead to various plays on their different senses, and even to theological implications. For instance, the word wujūd, a common word in the Koran, has come the normal word in Arabic for the existent, whether absolute or contingent; and wujūd, which, in the first instance, meant simply 'finding,' has become the abstract 'existence.'

Such double and triple meaning sentences as the following: 'He is a Wujūd (finding or ecstasy or love) in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of His wujūd,' (i.e. 'He is a Wujūd in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of His wujūd') and 'There is no wujūd except in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of wujūd,' (i.e. 'There is no wujūd except in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of wujūd').

The reality and nature, for the Muslims, of this religious ecstasy, and the bliss therein experienced, will be made far more clear by the narrative that follows in Macdonald's 'Emotional Religion in Islam,' in J.R.A.S. for 1901, pp. 285-292, 765-748, and for 1902, pp. 1-28, and his The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam (Chicago, 1909), ch. vi. to end.

For the place and handling of those ideas in the system of Muslim theology the following brief abstract of the now complete work by Sir John McFarlane, The Islamic Al-Ghazali's Ithār will probably suffice. (The Division is that of 'Saving Matters,' and the Book 'The Book of Love and Longing and Friendliness and being Well Pleased,' in vol. i. p. 544 to end, ed. of the Ithār with the reaching and perceiving of the Divine by the direct operation of the spiritual being. But wujūd and words cognate to it have also derived meanings which greatly complicate the terminology and lead to various plays on their different senses, and even to theological implications. For instance, the word wujūd, a common word in the Koran, has come the normal word in Arabic for the existent, whether absolute or contingent; and wujūd, which, in the first instance, meant simply 'finding,' has become the abstract 'existence.'

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For the place and handling of those ideas in the system of Muslim theology the following brief abstract of the now complete work by Sir John McFarlane, The Islamic Al-Ghazali's Ithār will probably suffice. (The Division is that of 'Saving Matters,' and the Book 'The Book of Love and Longing and Friendliness and being Well Pleased,' in vol. i. p. 544 to end, ed. of the Ithār with the reaching and perceiving of the Divine by the direct operation of the spiritual being. But wujūd and words cognate to it have also derived meanings which greatly complicate the terminology and lead to various plays on their different senses, and even to theological implications. For instance, the word wujūd, a common word in the Koran, has come the normal word in Arabic for the existent, whether absolute or contingent; and wujūd, which, in the first instance, meant simply 'finding,' has become the abstract 'existence.'

Such double and triple meaning sentences as the following: 'He is a Wujūd (finding or ecstasy or love) in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of His wujūd,' (i.e. 'He is a Wujūd in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of His wujūd') and 'There is no wujūd except in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of wujūd,' (i.e. 'There is no wujūd except in the presence of the wujūd of the wujūd of the wujūd of wujūd').

The reality and nature, for the Muslims, of this religious ecstasy, and the bliss therein experienced, will be made far more clear by the narrative that follows in Macdonald's 'Emotional Religion in Islam,' in J.R.A.S. for 1901, pp. 285-292, 765-748, and for 1902, pp. 1-28, and his The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam (Chicago, 1909), ch. vi. to end.
BLESSEDNESS (Muhammadan)

as meaning obedience? Obedience rather follows love. Further, the Qur'an (ii. 60, v. 59) speaks of love of and by Allah, and in tradition the Prophet defines faith as loving Allah and His apostle more than any other. Many other traditions and sayings of the saints follow to the same effect. He who loves his Lord will love all His acts of devotion (i.e., the Last Day). At the Last Day, when the peoples are summoned, each in the name of his prophet, the lovers of Allah will be summoned thus: 'Hither unto Allah, O ye Saints of His! They will not be delayed for any judgment. Whereupon His Lord, who loves Him, and when He loves Him He turns to Him; he looks not on the world with the eye of lust, nor on the world to come with the eye of carelessness; that sweetness occupies him in this world, and soothes him in that to come.'

But what is the essence of love, and what are its causes and conditions? Especially, what is the meaning of the love of the creature for Allah? Love is a natural turning to an object which gives pleasure. It springs from perceptions and varies with them, being either from sense-perception, or, in certain cases, that spiritual perception wherein what seat is in the heart. The pleasure through it is the most complete and absolute. Some have held that it is unthinkable that any one should love another than himself for the sake of that other, and that all love is natural, the egoist being apart from the perception of the beloved. That, however, is an error; it is both thinkable and takes place. A man loves by nature, first, himself for the continuance and perfection of his self; then he loves another than himself, because that one serves the same purpose and benefits him. Thirdly, he loves a thing for its own sake, not for any happiness that it brings; but the thing itself is his happiness, like the love of beauty, simply for itself. So, if it stands fast that Allah is beautiful, He must certainly be loved by him to whom His beauty is revealed. Beauty is of different kinds, and is not sensuous only; beauty of mental and moral qualities can be loved. But, lastly, there is often a secret relationship of souls between the lover and the beloved, and it suffices. It follows, then, that the love of beauty, as in the absolute sense. At Allah only. If any one loves another than Allah, and does not do so because of a relationship of that beloved to Allah, his love can only imply defective knowledge of Allah on his part.

When the Prophet is said to love a man, it is to be understood that he loves his love of Allah, and shares in the knowledge and that spiritual perception wherein what seat is in the heart. Allah is the knowledge of the Prophet. The Prophet said: 'Souls are armies divided into bands: those whom know one another agree, and those which do not, disagree.' Such an inner kinship of ideas exists between the soul and Allah. Part of this relationship can be expressed in words and learned from books, and consists in travelling on the path, and making the self over in the Divine likeness as far as possible in the circumstances. But another part, peculiar to mankind, cannot be so taught, and is only hinted at in various phrases in the Qur'an and traditions. Thus in Qur'an xvii. 87, 'They will ask thee about the spirit (rūḥ), say, "The spirit is my Lord's affair."' Also (xxv. 38, xxxviii. 72), 'Then when I had formed him and blown into him of my spirit...'; therefore the angels worshipped Adam. Also (xxxviii. 53), 'We have made thee [David] a representative (ḥulūfa) in the end.' From the Prophet, 'Allah created Adam in his own form (gūra),' which certainly does not mean external form. So, too, in another tradition Allah says to Moses, 'I was sick, and thou didst not visit me'; to which Moses, 'O my Lord, how was that?' And Allah replies, 'My creature, so and so, was sick, and thou didst not visit him: hadst thou done so, thou wouldst have found me with him.' This kinship comes to the surface only through supererogatory acts of devotion (nawwāfīl). Allah has said in a tradition: 'When a creature does not cease drawing near to me through supererogatory acts of love of me, I will give him of the fruits of the tree of life. In the world, I become his hearing by which he hears, and his seeing by which he sees, and his tongue by which he speaks.' But here it is time to draw the rein of the pen. At this point men divide, and some see only an external metaphorical, spiritual, or mystical sense of 'identification' (ittihat) and 'fusing of loving' (ḥulūl)—both views being false. The kinship is real, not metaphorical, but can be known only by experience.

In the human heart there is a property of apprehension, named variously the Divine light, the inner insight, the light of faith. Its nature impels it to apprehend the essentials of all things; and in that is its delight, even as the other human apprehensive have their delight in exercising their functions. But, as the things apprehended rise in the scale,—the external sense, the inner apprehension, etc.—so does the delight in them. Of necessity, then, the knowledge of Allah is the greatest delight of all. How great it is can be known only by experience, although the human apprehension is to a great extent pre-occupied with it. Such are called by men mad and unbelieving, for their speech passes the limit of reason.

Two things strengthen this love of Allah. First, that the ties of the world be cut out of the heart, and the love of any other thing be taken out of it; and, secondly, that the knowledge of Allah and the spread of that knowledge in the heart, and its rule over the heart, be strengthened. Thus can men differ in the love of Allah and the consequent felicity.

But though Allah is the most conspicuous and manifest of beings, and though knowledge of Him might be expected before any other knowledge, yet we find that exactly the opposite is the case. There are many who with all their knowledge, even, and secondly, resist, and resist Him. But, too great conspicuousness: His is the case of the sun and its light; men are confused by it like bats. If the sun never set, and darkness never covered the earth, we should never know that light. So man is, as it were, confused by all creation crying out with Allah. In a homely parallel, he is like the dullard who was riding upon his ass and looking for it at the same time.

Again, that men have a longing (tahāba) for Allah is a proof that there is love of Allah. Love goes before longing. Longing is seeking for that which is loved, and which is thus perceived in one way but not in another. In the case of human beings, this may be because the beloved is remembered in absence, or, being present, is incompletely perceived. Both these reasons hold of Allah. Even by the most experienced saint the veil can never be entirely removed in this world, and even in the world to come Allah can never be entirely known. The story is of the long delayed and its joys and sorrows are very many. But what is meant by the love of Allah for His creatures? That He does love them is plain from divers passages in the Qur'an (e.g. ii. 193, 223, v. 21, 59, ix. 4) and many traditions. 'Love' is a word applied first to human relationships, and
secondly to Allah. But when words are so transformed, the meaning is always changed. They cannot be the same thing as when they mean Allah. In man, love is an inclination of the soul to something that suits it, that is lacking in it, and from the gaining of which it expects profit and pleasure. All that is impossible in Allah, the Possessor of all beauty and perfection, whose being contains nothing but Himself and His own acts, as there is nothing else in existence. Love, then, in Allah means: (1) the removal from the veil from the heart of the creature that he may see Allah; (2) the removal from the lover of the creature to draw near to Allah; and (3) Allah’s willing to make the soul and all eternity. For Allah’s love of a creature is from eternity, inasmuch as it is related to His eternal will, which requires that the creature in question should be given the power to follow the path that brings him near to Allah. But His love is, in time, in relation to the action which draws away the veil. So there is no change in Allah, or drawing near by Allah, or supplying of a lack in Allah. These terms apply only to the creature. And the signs of Allah’s love are some qualities which come up in the creatures. If any one loves Allah and is solely and entirely in love with Allah, that makes love for Allah, and is drawing him near through these trials.

And whether a creature, on the other hand, really loves Allah can be told by the fruits of love. And this shows itself in his heart, and in his tongue, and in his limbs. He should be in love with death, for the lover does not shrink from the journey to the beloved. He should joy to be killed in the path of Allah. Yet, sometimes, love of family brings a dread of death, although there is also in one’s heart some love of Allah. Or he may desire to remain longer in the world, in order to prepare himself to meet Allah. There is no weakness of love in that. Even with moral weaknesses there may be love of Allah in the heart. But sure signs of that love are delight in the thought (dhikr) of Allah, in prayer, and in the Qur’an. So the lover loves everything connected with the beloved, even to the dogs of her tribe. And a sign of weakness in such love is delight in companionship with others than Allah.

So friendship (in), fear (ba‘ad), and kinds (sheneb) among the effects of love; only, these effects differ in the lover according to his contemplation, and according to what is pre-determined. When gazing at the extreme beauty from behind the veil of the Unseen predominates, and the lover fears that he may fall short of reaching the Pinacle of beauty, then he may be in the condition of the one who is afraid and quieted and hastens. That state of disquietude is called “fear,” and is related to a long which is absent. But when those predominates in the lover in the nearness and witnessing of things present, through what has resulted from unrolling, and his contemplation is limited to examining the beauty thus present and unrolled, not turning to what he does not perceive, thereafter his heart rejoices in what it observes, and its rejoicing is called “friendliness.” But if his contemplation be of the Divine qualities of might and self-sufficiency and lack of solitude, and if the possibility of discontinuance and distance present itself, then his heart is pleased with this apprehension, and his pain is called “fear.” So these states follow these above states of love connected with different causes which necessitate them, and they cannot be prevented.

‘Friendliness,’ then, is this rejoicing of the heart in the contemplation of Divine beauty. It sometimes reaches the point of delight where there is no trace left of longing or of fear of change. The lover, then, is intimate with Allah, but strange with all others. He is alone when in company, and accompanied when alone. Yet some have denied all these things, and have said that they would involve that Allah is like to man (tasbih). This opinion is said that there could be no approval (rida) of Allah by His creatures. There could only be patience. All which is mere ignorance and a taking of the shell for the kernel.

When this friendly intercourse is unclouded by absence or fear, it sometimes produces a confidenti-
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Primitive and Savage (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 680.

Buddhist (Louis de la Vallée Poussin), p. 687.

Celtic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 699.

Christian.—See CHILIASM AND STATE OF THE DEAD.

Egyptian.—See SOUL-HOUSE.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Primitive and Savage).—I. Introduction.—The idea of the future life entertained by many peoples is frequently a complex one; in other words, various conceptions are held simultaneously. Thus among one people it may be thought that the spirit lingers round or re-visited its old haunts, that it passes to another region, and there the animal is re-born. This, while due in part to the fluidity of primitive belief and the apparent lack of any perception of contradictory ideas, may also result from the fact that it is often thought that a man possesses several souls, to each of which a different role is assigned after death. Sometimes, however, these concurrent ideas are less contradictory. The soul leaves the other world to return for a time to the grave or the village, while transmigration occurs only after a sojourn, longer or shorter, in the spirit world. The development of the future state will be discussed in a separate article (see STATE OF THE DEAD); here we shall confine ourselves to the idea of it as a blissful region, or to the conception of a region of happiness open to a few favoured mortals. Such ideas have not been universal; while, again, when the belief in a future life is lacking or is vague, the Elysian idea naturally is also vague or lacking. The simplest idea of the life of the spirit in another region after death is that of a mere continuance of the earthly life without change. This conception prevails among several peoples. It is to such a continuance theory that we must trace the idea of life beyond the grave as fuller and ampler than life on earth or of an Elysian state. Such a fuller life is, of course, generally expressed among savages in terms of savage life—there will be better hunting and fishing, and plenty of food; the huts will be larger, and all bodily desires will be amply fulfilled. What caused this transition can only be suggested. Since, in the continuance theory, the chief was still the chief, the slave a slave, and all who possessed wealth or power or tribal lore still retained these, this naturally lead to the idea that for some at least—the chief, the medicine-man or priest, the wealthy—things would be better than on earth. Again, it may have been thought that the gods would be kinder to those who had observed their cult and ritual more carefully, or that those who had distinguished themselves on earth as warriors or by great bravery would be rewarded. Here we approach the dawn of more strictly retributive ideas. Such qualities as are approved among savages—bravery as opposed to cowardice, observance of tribal laws, and the like—have an ethical tinge; while even among the few who show a conception of morality may be lax from our point of view, certain moral ideas are inculcated, and they who observe them are said to be approved by the gods. This does not necessarily mean that the good men, from the savage point of view, is always rewarded after death, but in many cases this belief is entertained, while the bad are supposed to be punished. Hence, though in some cases the influence of a higher religion with a retributive system may have affected savage eschatology, there are others in which the development of such a system has proceeded spontaneously and apart from outside influence. When we add to all this the fact that greater powers are generally attributed to the spirit after death, it will easily be seen that men might readily come to believe that the spirit's opportunities of exercising them would be greater, and its surroundings, along with its capacity of enjoyment, would be more ample. While, then, the continuance state is often deemed a better one than earthly life, one in which different lots are assigned to different classes of men, there arises the idea of different states or places of existence, some perfectly happy, some no better than on earth or even more miserable.

Other ideas may quite well have produced the conception that life after death was blissful. Man's experience of the miseries of this world and his instinctive desire for happiness may have suggested a blissful other-world as an offset to this earth. The same experience led him to form myths of a Golden Age in the past, in which the gods and men lived together or had free intercourse with each other. These may have suggested the idea that such a state still existed, and that it would be restored to man after death. Here the belief is somewhat expressed, the men who were the gods after death, or will return to the region, subterranean
or heavenly, whence they originally came. There is also the belief (expressed in many myths of the origin of death, and that pain, unhappiness, hunger, and thirst are unnatural. Hence they will no longer exist beyond the grave (see AGES OF THE WORLD, FALL). But such a state of the blest, especially when it is the abode of gods or immortals, is often reserved only for a few, while these sometimes pass thither on without dying. It may also be believed in as a state apart from the ordinary abode of the dead, whether that is blissful or otherwise, though occasionally it is a mere region of the other world. This is because there is no abode always divided in these directions, and sometimes it is held that life after death is for all a tame copy of earthly life, a dim, poor, shadowy replica of the present, and that the dead may wander amongst them because the sun is supposed to pass through the place of the dead. Or it is on a mountain, probably because mountains are thought to support the sky, above which, in turn, the blissful abode is also located. Hence men are sometimes buried on mountains with the idea of creating a path for the spirit and marking the change to the conception of a heavenly world whither the spirit floated when set free by the fire. Or, again, the planets, sun, moon, and stars, are held to be the abode of the blest, while many primitive folk believe that stars are the dead transformed.

In many cases the blissful region, like the world of the dead generally, is reached only after a long and toilsome journey, over mountains and rivers, over the bridge of death, while many obstacles and dangers are met with, and various supernatural enemies are encountered. Occasionally these dangers and obstacles are intended to try the worth of the spirit, and if it fails to surmount them, it cannot reach the blissful abode. Possibly, however, these trials and dangers are reminiscences of similar experiences in the old migrations of a tribe, traditionally handed down and made part of the experience of the dead where they were supposed to return to some former dwelling-place of the abode of the blest.

Whatever ideas are held concerning the abode of the dead are strengthened and amplified by dreams, in which the soul is thought to have visited it; or when the medicine-man claims the power of going thither, and returns with a vivid description of its character; or by myths telling of visits of visits of the living to that land, their sojourn there, and their return (see § 7).

2. The lowest peoples.—We know nothing of the exact nature of the eschatology of pre-historic man. The fateful nature of the interment may be derived from the Stone Age, and from the elaborate customs of sepulture in its later periods, we may be certain that some continuity theory existed, whether of the body or of the spirit, in the grave or in another region. Whether it was blissful or not cannot now be known (see MacCulloch, Exp T xvii. (1906) 489). On the beliefs of the lowest peoples surviving now or within recent times, our information is more extensive, and, though it has been surmised that some of their eschatological ideas have been assimilated to the Christian, there is little reason to doubt that on the whole they are original. The belief of the Tasmanians was vague, yet they looked forward to a happier life in which they would untiredly and with constant success pursue

the chase, and for ever enjoy the pleasures which they coveted on earth. Contact with the white man suggested to them that there was an 'up among white men' on an island in the Straits (H. Ling Roth, Abor. of Tos. 1800, p. 69). The religious ideas of the Australian tribes have sometimes been exaggerated by uncritical observers, but there is no doubt that among many of them a belief in a happy other-world. In the Australian tribes of Australia little is known, while among the central and northern tribes a belief in perpetual re-incarnation existed universally (Spencer-Gillen's, 491); but among those scattered over the south-east coast the belief in an apocalyptic view of the future has been supposed to be suspected or imported from the west or in the sky is generally found (Howitt, 438).

This is a land like the earth, and is sometimes called 'the gun-tree country,' but is more fertile, was watered, and abounds with game, while everything is better than in this world; and the spirits live there as they did on earth. Considerable exaggeration is in the way the setting sun or by the Milky Way, sometimes itself the dwelling of the gods, and by the Milky Way, as in the Herbert Islander's water-course with fruit-groves and all desirable things: and there are many legends regarding its former accessibility by a tree or other means. (Howitt, 472, 473, 475.)

The tribes around the Gulf region believe in a happy life in Falurong, and a spirit above who looks after them there. Falurong is the Milky Way, a broad stream, a place, full of beautiful, shady trees, with plenty of water and abundance of game, and all things are as they were in life, so that the spirits, after returning to the stars, and the natives have no dread of going there (Palmer, JAI xiii. 291).

Something corresponding to the division caused elsewhere by rank, ritual observances, etc., is found among a few tribes. The Wakelurniture thought that right-handed men went to the sky, left-handed men to the ground, while the handfuls of certain tribes round Maryborough is reached only by the 'good,' and those who show excellence in hunting, fishing, etc. (Howitt, 472, 475). Among the Gulf tribes the custom of knocking out two front teeth is connected with their entry to the sky-world. Those who have been subjected to this custom will have bright, clear water to drink, others will have dirty or muddy water (JAI xii. 201). Such beliefs may explain the retributive ideas ascribed to some of the tribes, though the fact that the great being believed in by all these groups is supposed to be a kind of moral governor may have occasionally led to a retributive eschatology (see Anonymous, 4; to them, 491; JAI ii. 269–89). In the belief of a certain tribes lives in Bullaman, the land of rest, a eternal paradise of beauty and of plenty, where good, spirit, and can save from Elenbah-wundah, the abode of the wicked. (Park, More Aust. Legendary Tales, London, 1828, 90, and cf. Lang's Tales, etc., 2.)

The Andaman Islanders believe that beneath the earth is a jungle world (chaitan), where the spirits of the dead dwell and hunt the spirits of animals and birds. Between earth and sky is a cane bridge, only the souls of the wicked dead go to paradise, while the souls of those who have committed such sins as murder go to a coral region called jerepul-muqyu. But all souls will finally be united with their spirits, and will live permanently on a new earth in the prime of life. Sickness and death will be unknown (Man, JAI i. 161–2; but cf. Temple, Census of India, Calcutta, 1903, iii. 62).

Among the primitive pagan tribes of the Malay peninsula, Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, there is a belief in the abode of the blest. These are considered of the race which inhabited the Malay Peninsula 15,000 years ago, and often identified with those who fear to meet the terrible beings of the soul-bridge, are condemned to a wretched existence, though sometimes they are submitted to a process of purification and permitted to enter Paradise; Paradise is a place for all others. If situated in the abode of the blest, the death of a fisherman, "Island of Fruits," from which all that was noxious and distressing to man had been eliminated" (Scate and Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, 1923). The Semang and Jakun divide the instruments into three tiers; the two upper tiers are the Paradise of the blest, filled with wild fruit, and certain regions of the blest. The abode of the blest, "Island of Fruits," which, in some songs, is preceded by a "Garden of Flowers." The choicest heaven is reserved for the old and wise.
BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Primitive and Savage)

Among the western Samoans the island of fruit-trees is reserved for bachelors (medicine-men); and while the girls are being wicked, go across the sea to a land of screw-pines and pitch-pine, where all the girls that have died are supposed to be purified in the infernal regions by 'Granny Langut,' after which they cross a great chopper over boiling water. The wicked fall below to proceed to the island of the dead (111, 239 ff.). Among the Jakun, the Blandas think that in the Island of Fruits souls of the old become young; there is no pain or suffering, but they eat and drink according to their location in the moon; it contains every kind of fruit-tree; there is perpetual feasting, and souls lie in indolence, their muscular movements are alone admitted to it. According to the Mantra, souls pass to Fruit Island in the west and live in harmony and enjoyment, feasting in fruit for ever in marrying and having children. Pain, disease, and death are unknown. Souls of men who have died a bloody death go to Rangoon, as they maintain that souls are swallowed by the snake thence to a cheerful abode in the heavens, where, dowered with immortality and decked with flowers, they dance and enjoyed themselves, looking down from the parapet of Avalki. This Elysium of the brave consisted of 10 successive heavens, and was the home of Tangaroa, the god of day. But in Raratonga warriors lived with Tiki underworld, in a beautiful region with shrubs and flowers of unifying fragrance, eating, drinking, and sleeping, and within direct participation in the admission here depended on their having brought a suitable offering (Gill, 18, 152 ff., 170). In the Society Islands, while the people descended to Po, members of the Aorei society, chiefs, and those whose families could afford surfeited as a gleam went to the aerial paradise of perfumed Rohutu, where, amid beautiful scenes, every sensuous enjoyment was open to them. Neglect of certain rites and offerings might, however, debar them from this (Ellis, Polynesian Researches, 1852, i. 245, 252, 297, 408; Smith, 1856, i. 306); and when souls that went to Po, the place of night, where they were eaten, though some became immortal spirits by this process. A few went to the under- ground paradise of Miru and Ake, while chiefs without were led by the gods to the otherworld. The under- ground paradise was level and beautiful, and everything grew of itself. In Miru's part, souls amused themselves with noisy games; in Ake's there reigned a solemn peace (Katzed, Hist. of Mankind, 1897, i. 315; Ellis, i. 306). For the spirits of the dead in Savage Island there was an underground region called Mani, but their favourite place was the land of Sina in the skies (Turner, 306). Another account says that the virtuous passed to Ahone, Everlasting Light, the virtues being chastity, Theft from another tribe, and slaughter of enemies (Thomson, JAI xxxi. [1901] 139). In Bowditch Island the common people went to a distant region of delights full of fruits and flowers, where they enjoyed feasting and dancing. Kings, priests, and their families went to the moon and enjoyed all sorts of pleasures, the moon itself being their food (JAI xxi. [1891-2] 51; Turner, 273). Bolotu was the Elysium of the Tonga Islanders, an island of gods and spirits of chiefs and men of rank. Fruits and fruits were unlooked at and freely regarded; and dogs, when killed, came to life again. This exquisite region was not open to the people, whose souls died with their bodies. The Maori subterranean Hades, Po or the Reinga, is variously described. Sometimes it is regarded as a state with disgusting food, again as an excellent state like earth, visited by the sun, with rivers, good food, and many villages and people. It was also thought to be divided into several compartments, the lowest being the wear and all of lesser order. There was only one named as a goddess, and in it was the living fountain in which the sun and moon bathed and were renewed. Great chiefs and heroes went to one of the heavens after death, or became stars. There was, however, much uncertainty as to whether the spirit went up or down, or remained near the body. Karakia, or prayers, aided its ascent. Reiga is described by one writer, probably confusing it with the sky-abode of chiefs, as a beautiful heaven where all things were abundant, with eternal sunshine and gladness (Nicholls, JAI xv. [1855], 290; see also Shortland, Traditions of N.Z., 1854, ch. 7, Maori Rel. and Myth., 1882, pp. 43, 52; JAI xix. [1890] 115-9; Taylor, Te Ika a Maui, 1855, pp. 103, 186, and passim).

Group Avaki was a hollow underground region whither all who died a natural death went to be eaten and annihilated by Mani. Fathers being swallowed by Rongo, climbed a mountain and thence went to a cheerful abode in the heavens, where, dowered with immortality and decked with flowers, they danced and enjoyed themselves, looking down from the parapet of Avaki. This Elysium of the brave consisted of 10 successive heavens, and was the home of Tangaroa, the god of day. But in Raratonga warriors lived with Tiki, in a beautiful region with shrubs and flowers of unifying fragrance, eating, drinking, and sleeping, and within direct participation in the admission here depended on their having brought a suitable offering (Gill, 18, 152 ff., 170). In the Society Islands, while the people descended to Po, members of the Aorei society, chiefs, and those whose families could afford surfeited as a gleam went to the aerial paradise of perfumed Rohutu, where, amid beautiful scenes, every sensuous enjoyment was open to them. Neglect of certain rites and offerings might, however, debar them from this (Ellis, Polynesian Researches, 1852, i. 245, 252, 297, 408; Smith, 1856, i. 306); and when souls that went to Po, the place of night, where they were eaten, though some became immortal spirits by this process. A few went to the underground paradise of Miru and Ake, while chiefs without were led by the gods to the otherworld. The underground paradise was level and beautiful, and everything grew of itself. In Miru's part, souls amused themselves with noisy games; in Ake's there reigned a solemn peace (Katzed, Hist. of Mankind, 1897, i. 315; Ellis, i. 306). For the spirits of the dead in Savage Island there was an underground region called Mani, but their favourite place was the land of Sina in the skies (Turner, 306). Another account says that the virtuous passed to Ahone, Everlasting Light, the virtues being chastity, theft from another tribe, and slaughter of enemies (Thomson, JAI xxxi. [1901] 139). In Bowditch Island the common people went to a distant region of delights full of fruits and flowers, where they enjoyed feasting and dancing. Kings, priests, and their families went to the moon and enjoyed all sorts of pleasures, the moon itself being their food (JAI xxi. [1891-2] 51; Turner, 273). Bolotu was the Elysium of the Tonga Islanders, an island of gods and spirits of chiefs and men of rank. Fruits and fruits were unlooked at and freely regarded; and dogs, when killed, came to life again. This exquisite region was not open to the people, whose souls died with their bodies. The Maori subterranean Hades, Po or the Reinga, is variously described. Sometimes it is regarded as a state with disgusting food, again as an excellent state like earth, visited by the sun, with rivers, good food, and many villages and people. It was also thought to be divided into several compartments, the lowest being the wear and all of lesser order. There was only one named as a goddess, and in it was the living fountain in which the sun and moon bathed and were renewed. Great chiefs and heroes went to one of the heavens after death, or became stars. There was, however, much uncertainty as to whether the spirit went up or down, or remained near the body. Karakia, or prayers, aided its ascent. Reiga is described by one writer, probably confusing it with the sky-abode of chiefs, as a beautiful heaven where all things were abundant, with eternal sunshine and gladness (Nicholls, JAI xv. [1855], 290; see also Shortland, Traditions of N.Z., 1854, ch. 7, Maori Rel. and Myth., 1882, pp. 43, 52; JAI xix. [1890] 115-9; Taylor, Te Ika a Maui, 1855, pp. 103, 186, and passim).
Retribution was not strictly ethical, but ritual and ceremonial, as some of the above cases have shown. When the friend of a dead man in Nanumea gave a great funeral feast, the deceased was admitted to a heavenly land of light and clear waters; if not, he was sent to darkness and manslaughters (Turner, 292). Entrance to Mara, the western paradise of Tamana, with its clear streams and abundant food, depended on an even number resulting when pebbles were thrown by the dead man to a red rock; odd numbers could not call the spirit to be unmutilated (ib. 294). In Pukapuka and the Hervey Group, Vacaata ate spirits which had committed ceremonial offenses; all others went westwards to the house of Reva, where they passed a blissful existence. In Aitutaki, spirits which were provided without, could not escape by a ruse from being eaten by Mira, and went to the pleasant abode of Iva, where they feasted on the richest food and the finest sugar-cane (Gill, 171, 175). In Netherland Island, however, "souls of the honest, kind, and good" are admitted to the light in Heaven. The thief, the cruel, and the ill-tolerated went to prison of darkness under the earth" (Turner, 301).

4. Dayaks, Papuans, and Melanesians.—The Dayaks exhibit a great diversity of beliefs, and the general disposition towards a retributive view, as amongst all savage nations, is strong. A belief in a second or future state may owe something to Hindu or Muhammadan influences. More purely native beliefs are seen in the occasional idea that the other-world is a copy of this, or is open to all, or that a better fate awaits the mind, who die a violent death or women dying in childbirth.

The Sea Dayaks of Sarawak believe in simple continuance. The dead build houses and make paddy fields; they are subject to the same natural laws as the living. They can bestow the living amulets and medicines of magical power (Ling Roth, Native of Sarawak and Ternate, 1860, i. 210). Others, like the Sibuyan state, have a communication through the dead. Thus, the whole tribe of —thieves and great criminals—being punished in the first. Eventually the final heavenly state—beautiful, peaceful, and happy—is reached. The streets are clean and regular, the houses perfectly formed. There are lakes and rivers, gardens with fruit-trees and flowers, and the people are happy and rich. This place is enclosed by a great wall, while at a distance the souls of Malays have a Kampung (Brooke, Ten Years in Sarawak, 1859, i. 55). The Dyaks of the Island, and others tribe place paradise at or near the top of a mountain which all souls ascend, and which is guarded by a fiery dog or some other monster of a terrifying form (ib. ib.). The Dyaks of New Guinea and the Sandwich Islands have a paradise at or near a mountain peak. It has rivers rich in fish; in its midst is a sea surrounding an island on which there is fruit, grass, and fine cloth for clothes. It also furnishes the Water of Life, which the souls drink to become youthful (this is also effected by eating the flesh of the bird). While the souls are traveling through this world, all are tree farm, every desire is supplied by abundant fulness, and there are all kinds of enjoyments, and rich fruits and gold. Souls, however, eventully die, returning to the earth and entering a fruit or leaf, etc. Thieves, unjust chieftains, and those who turned a good into a bad cause are excluded from these enjoyments (Grabowski, Inter. AE, ii. 181 ff.; Ling Roth, citing Schweiner, ii. pp. 612 ff., c6). The Melanesians made the other world resemble this, with seas, rivers, and sage plantations; but those who had died a violent death had a separate paradise from those who had died a natural death, and divided into regions for virtuous, worms, etc. (Cresipgy, JAI v. 36). Various places were allotted to the souls of the dead, according to their class, and this was transmitted to the memory of their children. Those who died a violent death and women dying in childbirth state in Long Julian, where they had all their wants supplied, and all their wishes were gratified. Those who were drowned went to Long Yang, a land of plenty below the rivers, where all property lost in the waters became theirs. A place called Ochredes was reserved for widows (Ibe, in Ling Roth, i. 229).

Among the Papuans of New Guinea and the adjacent islands there is a general belief in a future state by the elaborate ceremonial ceremonies and by explicit beliefs. But these beliefs vary in different regions, and the other-world is located now on an island, now in the sky, now underground. Sometimes it is open to all, sometimes to those only who comply with various ritual observances; or, again, there are various places according to the manner of death. It is conceived as a region of light and happiness; friends are reunited; hunger is unknown, and the souls enjoy an existence of hunting, fishing, and feasting.

In the Solomon Islands all souls whose bones have been taken go to the island of Watuma by way of a serpentine bridge; to the full all the pleasures of life, the women cultivating and working, the men fighting for their idle fards (Haddon, P. F., 184; Haddon, F., 194, p. 339). In the western islands of Torres Straits the abode of the dead was in a mythical island called Fongia, where souls sat together on tree-tops; but those of the best men, greatest warriors and skull-hunters, were better off (Haddon, JAI xix. (1860) 318). In the eastern islands the spirits pass underground to the other side of the dead, and eventually to the island of Bugai, being conducted thither by Terer, the first man from whom all the people on the islands descends. He was so happy and bright, had plenty of food, and did no work. The death ceremonies comforted the mourners, and gave them assurance of the future state of contentment (Hunt, JAI xiv. 1883). The Eleina tribes of the Papuan Gulf, New Guinea, thought that those who did not fight to the sky-cloud of the god of war, and could not roam about and annoy theirivotmlC. Various localities were assigned to those passing a natural death, while those who were murdered or killed by crocodiles or snakes became wandering spirits (Holmes, JAI xxii. (1907) 428). Other tribes entertain different ideas. Some think that all spirits live in Taurus, a glorious place where the souls welcome the newcomer, and where hunger is unknown. A similar paradise called Laka, there believed in by the Motu-motu people; but here only those whose noses are pierced enter it (Challener, Pioneering in N.Y., 1888, p. 160). The Morokot tribes of the Solomon Islands, however, restricts the soul, or else it perishes, and must cross a great water by a ladder. Here it meets a powerful spirit who first questions it, and if it answers not, these the ladder is tripped up, and the soul falls into the water, whereas there is no return. Otherwise it is met by two women, who lead it to the subterranean home of western ghosts dwell. They can revisit their former home and bring good or ill luck (Inter. AE, xiii. 47).

Throughout the Melanesia, where future life is a reflection of life on earth, there is a general disposition to ascribe greater happiness to the chiefs and warriors, and a greater amount of power to the disembodied spirits. But here also attention to ritual obtains a special card, and there is an approximation to retribution. The place of the dead is an island, or sometimes (Solomon and Loyalty Islands) or underground (New Britain, Santa Cruz, New Hebrides, Fiji). Sometimes there are different places for different classes, or according to the manner of life or death, and in general all these regions of the dead are reached with difficulty.

The people in the north of New Britain believe that souls which lived a bad life have no money to offer the god can enter a desiriable paradise called Tengeria-torawen. Paradise, however, is not sent to a black region. The Salukas of the south coast believe that if a chief's nose is not pierced he can prove their life to have been satisfactory (Fulman-Burry, Trans. 3rd Cong. Hist. Rel. i. 84).

In the New Hebrides the Lavinia tribe is easily reached by ghosts which have their noses pierced (Florida), or have their hands marked with a conventional design, lacking which they are prevented from entering. But this distinction is not observed in these island abodes; the ghost bathe, and their laughter is heard. In some cases the common ghosts turn their white ants' nests and are eaten more vicious ghosts, who also at last undergo the same transformation (Codrington, Melanesians, Oxford, 1901, 256 c.). Similar beliefs are held in other islands of the group.

An underground world is believed in from the Torres Group to Fiji; and its abode is generally the island opposite. The New Hebrides is Panioi. The Banks Islanders think there are four divisions, season for different classes, e.g., youths dying in the flower of their age inhabits a more pleasant region with flowers and scented plants in abundance; or, according to the season of their death, to the manor of their parents or their death. Those who died a violent death and women dying in childbirth state in Long Julian, where they had all their wants supplied, and all their wishes were gratified. Those who were drowned went to Long Yang, a land of plenty below the rivers, where all property lost in the waters became theirs. A place called Ochredes was reserved for widows (Ibe, in Ling Roth, i. 229).

In Fiji the way to the place of souls, Mubatu, was long and dangerous, and ritual ceremony and observances are the lot of the deceased. The ghosts of bachelors were annihilated, all other ghosts had to be approved by Ndengei, great warriors especially gaining his favour. In Mubatu punishments were
awarded to those who displeased the gods, those who had not
their ears bored or were not tatted, or had not slain an enemy.
Those who had always been eaten by the gods. Hence there were divisions in Mibua, and of
these Mibora was the most Elysonian. These sacred groves and
the sacred snakes, which were not sacred if food was not
his affection for them, were most desired by the gods and
any joy. A native song says, 'Death is easy: death is
est.' (Williams, Fiji, 1855, l. 243 B.) It is also noticed, in a
ancestors, especially the native spirits of the W. African Negro tribes, though
the evidence must be received with caution. Souls of
good men ascend to heaven, sometimes by the Milky Way, the
path of the ghosts of the deceased. The souls of the
Ochichi, the evil being punished (Waitz, i. 191). But Bosman's
account of the beliefs of the Ogoni, North-Western Nigeria, shows
what 'goodness' means here. There is a judgment of
souls after death: the good, viz., those who have strictly observed
ceremonial and religious laws, and have not offended the
gods, are sent to a happy and pleasant Paradise; offending souls
are slain or drowned (Finkenberg, Paganies, xvi. 491). Among
the Arni also, souls of the good begin a new life analogous to
this after death (L'Anthropologie, Paris, iv. [1893] 434) and this
is said to be true of some of the tribes on the Upper Congo, who
think that Longa, the other world, is tenanted by souls of the
good (Weeks, Eth. xii. [1901] 184). It is not improbable that a
belief in a future judgment is taught in the Secret Societies of
W. Africa.

5. Africa.—An Elysonian conception is but slightly
developed among the peoples of Africa, partly be-
cause some tribes have a vague idea of a future life,
and partly because among these tribes the spirits of
55) partly because with many others the belief in
transmigration and re-inarnation is very strong.
The cult of ancestors is, however, general, and
shows that some kind of future existence is com-
monly believed in, though it is not definitely out-
lined, and many profess ignorance of its nature.
But as the spirits of the dead are so often the gods
of the living, and are adored as great spirits, this
must argue that their lot, or that of the more
important of them, is better than that of the human
race. Though this is a very general idea, it is likely
that in some cases the division be-
 tween good and bad shows a Christian colouring, and
the national belief may simply have been that
certain souls alone could enter the happy state,
others being debarred, i.e. those who died a violent
deer; those who were not trouble to thank or bow to
dangers of the soul-journey, cowards, or those for
whom sufficient offerings had not been made at their
tomb. But in other cases those who were
debarded or are sent to a gloomy region are wicled,
they have committed offences against tribal law,
and are a plague to society, as among the Dela-
wares, Blackfeet, and Ojibwes.

Where a state common to all was believed in, it
was thought to continue all the pursuits of earthly
life under absolutely unintermed conditions. 
Hunting and war were sacred, holy, and always with
success. There would be neither want nor sorrow. 
The woods, lakes, streams, and plains would not only be more beautiful, but
would swarm with every desirable creature. The
'happy hunting grounds' were the natural paradise of
hunting tribes, and there they dwelt with the
chief divinity or 'great spirit' in supreme felicity.
Many poetical and sensuous descriptions of this
land are to be found in the myths of various
tribes, but all things in it were as incorporeal as
the spirit itself, 'the hunter and the deer a shade',
Generally it was supposed to be in heaven, the
Milky Way forming the way thither, as with
the Chalams, some N. Californian tribes, the Iroquois,
and the Wimicowes (N. vi. ii. 522; Meade, Yan-
kee Mission Island, 1885, p. 448; Morgan, League of
the Iroquois, 1851, xvii. 176; Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes,
Phila., 1853-6, iv. 240). Or it was in the region of
the rising sun, or on a mountain (the Mojavies, N. vi. iii. 526). The Navahos thought it was below
the earth, whence men had once come forth. They
have all things growing in it, and the spirits enjoyed
peace and plenty (N. vii. i. 528).

Among many tribes bravery in war as well as rank earned for men the abode of bliss, while the
medicine-men taught that it was a recompense for
successes in life. (Ritchie, Uzima, 1847, p. 32.)
Cowards and common people were debarred or
might enter Elyson only after a long period of
suffering. With the Abts, chiefs and warriors went to the beautiful heaven of Quawteash, untroubled by storms and frost, revelling in sunshine and abundance of game. All others went to the subterranean kingdom of Chayher (Sproat, 200). The Taman, the Ojibwas and the southern of the Chiloooks were open only to brave hunters and warriors. The Ojibwas thought of it as a great village in a fine country, with continual amusements and dances, and plenty of food. War was unknown; the hunter obtained his prey without the fatigues of the chase. The Taman and others were anathemised (Pinkerton, Voyages, xiii. 14, 457). The Nativeez, the Tensas, and the Apalacheas held that chiefs and warriors went to reside in the glorious land of the sun (Müller, Amer. Urreligionen, Basel, 1855, p. 66 ff.). Far more elaborate in such divisions was the eschatology of the ancient Mexicans, who assigned to the dead the deities of the emperor, nobles, and fallen warriors were borne eastwards to the paradise of Huitzilopochtli, where honeyed flowers and luscious fruits abounded in shady groves, and rich hunting parks awaited the hunters. The gods went round the sacred sun daily in triumph to the zenith, and then returned to their blissful Elysium. Finally, they were transformed into birds with golden plumage. Women dying in childbirth were also admitted to this paradise, and, dressed as warriors, escorted the sun from the zenith. An earthly paradise free from sorrow, and abounding in every kind of fruit and vegetable, was open to those dying of certain diseases, to the drowned, and to sacrificial victims. This was the perpetual summer land of Tlalocian. Mictlan, a buttery and honeyed ground or nether world, was assigned to all who died from any other cause (Reville, Rel. of Mexico and Peru, 1884; Sahagun, Hist. Gen., passim).

In some of these instances bravery and cowardice determined the fate of the soul. This approach to an ethical distinction according to the native moral standard, and doubtless underlies many of the instances usually cited of more strictly retributive justice. Thus, with the Nez Perces and some Haidah tribes, the wicked and those who had not died for the Lord, were sent to a desolate region of mean desolation after death. Being there, they were alone, and the path became ever more beautiful as he went on. He reached a ledge, where he was told to leave his body behind and enter the shadow-world and cross the lake where the spirits of the wicked met their fate. Now he reached the happy island of souls where there never was cold or hunger, or any mortal labour, for the air itself nourished the souls, and where, amid eternal sunshine, they wandered through the blissful fields (Schoolcraft, i. 521). See also America.

7. SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS—Of the numerous tribes of S. America, taken as a whole, it is difficult to generalize concerning their ideas of a happy other-world. The earlier beliefs of some of the Chichimecas, Spanish translaters Huitzilopochtli, the Virginian emperor, and the abode of the gods. Thus, the Chichimecas, according to the ancient Mexicans, who assigned to the dead the deities of the emperor, nobles, and fallen warriors were borne eastwards to the paradise of Huitzilopochtli, where honeyed flowers and luscious fruits abounded in shady groves, and rich hunting parks awaited the hunters. The gods went round the sacred sun daily in triumph to the zenith, and then returned to their blissful Elysium. Finally, they were transformed into birds with golden plumage. Women dying in childbirth were also admitted to this paradise, and, dressed as warriors, escorted the sun from the zenith. An earthly paradise free from sorrow, and abounding in every kind of fruit and vegetable, was open to those dying of certain diseases, to the drowned, and to sacrificial victims. This was the perpetual summer land of Tlalocian. Mictlan, a buttery and honeyed ground or nether world, was assigned to all who died from any other cause (Reville, Rel. of Mexico and Peru, 1884; Sahagun, Hist. Gen., passim).

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In some of these instances bravery and cowardice determined the fate of the soul. This approach to an ethical distinction according to the native moral standard, and doubtless underlies many of the instances usually cited of more strictly retributive justice. Thus, with the Nez Perces and some Haidah tribes, the wicked and those who had not died for the Lord, were sent to a desolate region of mean desolation after death. Being there, they were alone, and the path became ever more beautiful as he went on. He reached a ledge, where he was told to leave his body behind and enter the shadow-world and cross the lake where the spirits of the wicked met their fate. Now he reached the happy island of souls where there never was cold or hunger, or any mortal labour, for the air itself nourished the souls, and where, amid eternal sunshine, they wandered through the blissful fields (Schoolcraft, i. 521). See also America.
BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Primitve and Savage)

In this place of all sensuous delights enjoyed to the full, they would take pleasure in everything which they had desired or possessed on earth. It was endowed with glorious hunting grounds and fishing streams, and anything for food. Or they fed on rich fruits, which required no toil or labor. Such was the bliss of life. Life was restful and peaceful, without suffering or grief, and with the added delights of drinking, feasting, and dancing. There they met all their dead relatives, and their wives existed in beauty and youthfulness. Such were the beliefs of the Guaranys, Guarani, Chiriguana, Araucanians, Yuncasiris, Ottomakeni, Apacra, Warrwa, Bahalri, Guajiro, Pampas tribes, and others (D’Orbigony, 109-110, 164, 337, 342, 347; Molins, Chili, Leipzig, 1791, p. 72; Castellau, Expedition to the Guayanas, aux polaristes centrales de la Améri., Paris, 1850, ill. 314; Schomberg, Reisen, Leipzig, 1847, ii. 446; Ausland, 1865, p. 338). The Saliva Indians placed their paradise in the moon; and thought of it as a place without mosquitoes (Tylor, i. 70).

A distinction according to rank is met with among the Guayanures, who thought that chiefs and medicine-men hovered round the moon and went to regions of pleasure and enjoyment (Martius, Zur Ethnog. Amer., Leipzig, 1867, i. 283). More usually bravery, as opposed to cowardice, merited the abode of the dead, in this world, after which the brave men and good fathers went to an earthly paradise full of delight and feasting, with abundance of women and chicha, where they devoted themselves to singing and dancing (Koch, op. cit. 119). The Caribs of the Antilles believed that the spirits of brave warriors dwelt in pleasant islands like those of their own land, abounding in delicious fruits. There all their wishes were fulfilled; they feasted and danced, and had their enemies as their slaves. Cowards, on the other hand, would become slaves to the Arawaks. It was also believed that the spirits of the best men became stars. In Thurn says that the present Caribs of the mainland think of the spirits as remaining near their present dwellings, while some hope to become white men or go to Sky-land, a copy of this world, whence their ancestors came (Indians of Guiana, 1883, p. 339 ff.; Rochefort, Îles Antilles, Rotterdam, 1681, p. 430). Some of the Pampas tribes believed that in the heavenly abode of Pillan warriors enjoyed eternal drunkenness, broken only by great hunts, in which they slew so many ocelots or jaguars that they fell down, and fell among the clouds (Reclus, Prim. Folk, n.d., 105). Goodness and virtue are sometimes expressly mentioned as meriting paradise, but on examination this proves to mean savage bravery. Thus the Tupinambas thought that after death those who had lived virtuously, i.e. who had avenged themselves on and eaten many enemies, would go behind high mountains, where they would dance in beautiful gardens with their ancestors (Lery, Voyages fait en la Terre du Brésil, La Rochelle, 1678, p. 292). So, too, among the Chiriguana, good men were those who fell in war, and they, with women dying in childbirth, enjoyed a blissful future (Koch, 128). In the same way may be interpreted the respective beliefs of the Yaer, that those who ‘lived well’ went to heaven; of the Yanaros, that the good went to a place where they enjoyed divine food; and of the Wazanos, that, while the souls of common people went to heaven, the good attained to a superior region, where they found beautiful women, rich hunting grounds, and continuous feasts, and did work only for the enjoyment of the gods (Koch, 127). Among the ancient Peruvians there was no distinction between good and evil beyond the grave. While the bulk of the people went to a dreary underground region, a heavenly paradise was the lot of the higher classes and the children of the Sun, their father; nobles and great warriors were received in the heavenly world of Haman Paka, where their happiness consisted in perfect freedom from evil, in repose and peace, and they were waited on by the wives and slaves who had been put to death with them (Müller, 402-3; Prescott, Peru, 1856, p. 413).

8. Sky-land.—Among most of the peoples whose conceptions of an abode of the blest have been discussed, there is also frequently found a belief in a happy world of other beings, often divine, above the sky. Many visited the heavenly region, of which the sky seemed to be the floor, with the greatest of his imagination. Especially was this the case when his world of the dead was situated elsewhere. Thus the Zulus, believing in an under world of spirits, thought that above the blue sky, conceived as a rock, was a heavenly country, the abode of a remote powerful being and of a nation of heavenly men (Callaway, op. cit. 63, 137 ff., 393 ff., Nursery Tales, i. 152, 316). Again, as the sky seemed to rest on earth at the horizon, or on lofty mountains, or even on high trees, according to a myth, all these forms are by which Sky-land can be reached. Or it rests on pillars, or may be reached by a bridge, a ladder, a rope, etc. There is little doubt that these ideas survive in tales of the Jack and the Beanstalk cycle (see OP 432; Blest, Aboof THE (Savage, 259). Legends of others often claim to visit that land, either by some of these means or by a bodily or spirit flight, just as they also claim the power of visiting the world of the dead. This is a very common belief in Australia (Spenor-Gillen, 689; Howitt, 383, 381). In one case, when the flowers withered because Baimai left the earth, the wirecunus ascended a mountain and were carried to the sky, where they were allowed to carry off the fadeless flowers of the heaven-land (Parkes, More Austr. Legend. Tales, 84).

Legends of other peoples ascended to their Sky-land, and returning thence with the elements of civilization or performing other feats, are of frequent occurrence in the lower culture.

In a Melandian instance, the hero reaches the upper world and teaches the Sun’s children to make fire and cook (Coddington, 306). An earthly son of Tui Lang, king of the sky, went thither by a magisterial, according to a Fijian legend, and learnt there how to sky the local gods (FLJS v. 256). In a Polynesian story, Lesti ascends to the sky and compels its people to give him shoots of taro, queen of the cocoa-tree, and the monstrous conch shell, which he placed on the earth (Turner, 105). Si Jura, in a Dayak myth, climbs to the Peleades by a magic tree, and learns the secrets of astronomy (Ling Koh, op. cit. 396). In other cases of which there are many variants, the hero ascends above the sky and captures the sun, compelling it to descend slowly (TURNER, 306). There are also many American Indian tales of visits paid to the land of the Sun above the solid rocky vault of heaven (OP 436, 440, 456).

Other heroes visit Sky-land to obtain a wife, or to regain her, or to dwell with her there. In Simoco, La ascended to Tapobore’s beautiful place of rest in the sky, and was given his daughter as wife (Turner, 13). In many tales, when a mortal has captured a daughter of the sky who has descended to earth, she sometimes returns thither; but she follows her and regains her, sometimes remaining there. Of this there are Nacari and other Polynesia, Melanesia, and Malay versions (Grey, Fijian Myth. Legend., 194; Tylor, Early Hist. of Mankind, 1857, 340), while the idea recurs in European and other variants of the Swan maiden cycle. There are also several versions of the story of a hero who ascends to the sky to dwell with his immortal wife, or with some other relative, usually then becoming immortal (Grey, op. cit. 68; FORSS, Primitive Mankind and Customs, 1859, p. 256 [AIAGONPA]; Cole, 14, 1875 [Santall]; Bunt, Legends...of British Guiana, n.d., 20).

These stories may be compared with another large group in which visits to the world of the dead are paid to obtain a boon, to regain a lost wife, etc., or to a vague under world or fairy region (OP 45, 438).

Other myths tell of an earlier Golden Age when gods and men dwelt together on earth or in heaven, or how the ascent of the sky was accomplished by some of the means already mentioned. But this at last came to an end, and the means of intercourse was broken off (see FALL, ii. 3 and 18).

Thus the Eskimos and others heard that the gods had created the peopling of the earth by a pair from heaven (Nansen, op. cit.)
Blest, Abode of the (Buddhist)

259 ff.; Long 7, i. 181). Many myths of the Aesopine tribes tell of a woman cast out of heaven, from whom men are descended (Brontin, American Hero-Myths, Philol. 1882, p. 64). In other cases, men are the offsprings of their immortality (Tongay [Mariner, ii. 115] Cuvencce [Forbes-Leslie, Early Jues, Edin. 1871, ii. 171]; Upsall, Florence [Scott, Women Voyages of Guinea, 1744, l. 176]); or can return thither from whatever cause of accident (Nepent [Hatzet, ii. 351]; Cudworth, Eng. Philos. , 1703; these are akin to another group, namely S. African and American Indian, in which men ascend to earth from an under world (Casalis, 261, 261; M. Dorman, Origin of Primitive Superstitions, Philadelphia, 1881). Cf. also a Kizilas legend of former intercourse with the people of a mountain, where fruit trees bear all the year round, flowers never withered, women were as beautiful as young, death, cold, and darkness are unknown, and all are happy, whereas men on earth are now miserable (Sven Hedlin, Through Asia, 1888, i. 231). A funeral chant among the Basutos suggests the existence of a bright and happy sky-land, whither men cannot go (Casalis, 260).

b. Reviewing these primitive notions of a state of the blest, we see that, even where they suggest a reward for goodness, the delights of Paradise are mainly sensual, or at least sensuous. A suggestion of more spiritual conceptions may be seen, perhaps, in thought that the hereafter is now dwelt in by gods or goddess, or in the poetical descriptions of the beauty of the land. But any true spiritual outlook is generally wanting, and the ethical conception of this Elysium as a reward for righteousness is not very different from religions of Mexico and Peru, where the belief in sin as an offence against the gods was comparatively well developed.


J. A. Macculloch.

BLEST, ABOE OF THE (Hindu).—From an orthodox Buddhist point of view 1 it must be said that the only ‘blest’ are the saints who have entered absolute nirvana. Owing to their approximation to this goal, the epithet may be applied, by anticipation or metaphor, (1) to the saints who are to enter nirvana at the end of this present life (who possess nirvana-on-earth [see art. Aihat and Jivanmukta]—this is Little Vehicle; (2) to those who have taken the ‘vow’ of becoming Buddhas and meantime enjoy the joy of ‘giving and of saving creatures’ more joyously than in the present life (see art. Bodhattaya)—that is Great Vehicle. Nevertheless, there is place in both Vehicles for categories or abodes of the Blessed.

1. Little Vehicle.—The ‘heavens’ of the Little Vehicle have been, for the greater part, adopted and adapted from Brahmanic or Hindu belief. To understand the exact position of the Buddhist thinkers, the following is of importance.

The fundamental characteristic of the True Law, its historical and dogmatic foundation, is the conviction (intuition or belief) that no ‘existence whatever can be absolutely happy. Such, it appears to the present writer, is the real significance of the Buddhist pessimism—a topic open from every side to serious mistakes (see art. Pessimism). Like the Brahmanic Buddhists (i.e. Buddhist monks, bhikkhus, not laymen, upasakas) aim at perfect and eternal happiness; they feel or profess to feel, desirous for any sort of transitory happiness, and without consideration for sensual joy. They live in the world (marga, pratipad) that leads to nirvana, to eternal refreshment. But there is certainly some sort of 

* The reader is aware that this expression always involves subjective appreciation.

** Arahats are styled Simonhedhara, ‘purity-gods’; contrasted with kings, samudita, ‘opinion-gods,’ and gods, upapattideva, ‘born gods’ (Vibhaadal, p. 452).

happiness in the world of becoming, in the wheel of transmigrations (bhavavachakra). The brute creation itself is not devoid of agreeable sensations; men are sometimes at ease; gods are by definition the possessors of bliss.

No adherent of the Buddhist teaching ventures to doubt that the gods and the power of the gods. Monks (bhikkhus) think that they have to strive for something far better than paradies (avarga); nevertheless, as is clear from Atoka’s lapidary sermons, as well as from many passages of the Yali canon of Scriptures, Buddha and Buddhists (monks and laymen) lay their hands on the royal road to a further life. The Master commended the doing of good actions (in order to be re-born as a happy man or as a god), avoiding bad actions (in order to avoid unhappy human existences, animal births, or hell); and, for the wise, the avoiding of both bad and good actions; abstaining from desire and action from the latter (for producing and securing the former) being necessary to holiness, to nirvana. Birth in heaven often appears as a progress towards human emancipation, and, as with men, man, alone, not gods, can enter the path of release.

It must be borne in mind that (1) human happiness is always mixed with suffering (as human birth is produced by mixed actions, ‘black’ and ‘white’; (2) sensual pleasures always turn to suffering; (3) true pleasure is only a means to supreme beatitude, as it enforces clinging to existence. Therefore no one who has seen the truths (i.e. who has entered the stream of release, sotadpunana) can strive after transitory and ambiguous union.

1. Amongst men, two categories are worth noticing: (a) the inhabitants of the Northern continent (Uttarakuruvipa, Auttakaurava [see art. Hyperboleans]); (b) the ‘wheel-kings,’ t or universal monarchs (Chakrawartha), who embody the Indian ideal of earthly sovereignty. Men indeed,—as it is forcibly said by the scholastics,—but possessing supernatural faculties and powers, although they live on earth, they feel themselves at home in the atmospheric or heavenly regions. Their body is characterized by the ‘marks’ (lakshana) of the ‘great beings’ (mahatpara, ‘great man,’ ‘great male’—a name of Vishnu; they conquer one, two, three, or the four continents, have successful wars with gobins of all kinds and even with gods; they possess the ‘seven treasures’ (elephant-treasure, wife-treasure, etc.); they reign with justice, but not without kingly pride. Nevertheless, like ordinary men, they are susceptible of becoming disgusted with transitory life (although they live for centuries!) and of

The analogy between the Hyperboleans and the men of the Northern continent has been pointed out by Sp. Hardy (Manual of Buddhism, p. 11), who gives a brief description of this continent. We may observe that, amongst many characteristics (especially the absence of premature death, of unholy phallicism, of the unembryonic life, living from the Desire-Tree, re-birth as god or man, etc.), the Auttakaurava are ‘moral by nature’ (pratigra, ‘true to a purpose’); they love all things good (public rights); they do not commit bad actions (akalavakapata, ‘abandoned to unhappiness.’); they do not please themselves in anything that is not agreeable objects (karanvachari [gentle]; there is no ‘restraint’ (austhara), because there is no ‘rule’ (plamas). Therefore there is no entrance on the Path of release; and Bodhisattvas will not be born there (Abhidharmakosayukkha, Atatuotpavanta suttha [Gimboll, p. 355]; Mahabodhi, i. 103; Waskeil, Buddhissan, p. 245).

1 On the Chakrawartha see Mahakusumandaravarta, tr. by Rhye Darshi, Satsodhata, S. Asian Art. 1889, p. 199. Bakhshad, ‘Sahih Al-Dawiana, p. 210; 224-221; the standard text (Chinese sources) is named by Takakusu, J refugee, 1905, p. 17. The Chakrawartha have a place in Pali (Sanghad) and in the Chinese (bhiknavacharo) states that they ‘save the beings’ (p. 125, 159). W. Hopkins, like Ed. Hardy and others, observes that they are the ‘true successors of the post-Aeolian (Great Epic of India, New York, 1901, p. 306, n. 2).

2 But, like Buddhas, two Chakrawartha cannot coexist. Like Bodhisattvas, they enter their mother’s womb with full consciousness.
entering the path of salvation.* Such is not the case with the Hyperboreans and the gods.

2. The various schools differ, however, on this last point,—conflicts of scholastic views are the crux of Buddhist dogma,—but the common opinion is that heaven and paradise *are* the abodes of the *saints* (in the sense of holiness) amongst gods.† Heavenly beings do not forget that they owe their actual 'promotion to godship' to former good deeds, and their *morality* is therefore strongly established against sinful delusions.‡ But, being re-born for joy, they cannot (because they have already gone through the truth of suffering—which is the root of the Buddhist holiness. Gods, we say, are possessors of bliss, but (it is not an easy task to reconcile these contradictions) they know that their happiness will come to an end when the treasure of merits shall be exhausted; and they are therefore troubled by anxiety (parināmanadukhāta)—the more so that, owing to the mysterious law of retribution, a god may be re-born as a beast or as an inhabitant of hell (see art. KARMA).

3. The different kinds. Without attempting a general survey of the matter, we must distinguish:

1. Sensual heavens (kāmadhātu), where sexual pleasure exists. But sexual union, in the celestial spheres, is not what Buddhists call grāmundhātru (the pāramukto, or 'released' God). For pleasure and beget by simple contact, touching the hands, looking or smiling at one another, etc. On the cosmical disposition of these blissful realms, see art. COSMOLOGY (Buddhist).

2. Material heavens (rūpadhātu), where bodhisattvas inhabitation from生世的 several worlds, come to inhabit the region of nirvāṇa. They are said to be the abodes of those who have not yet realized the 'vow' or the 'question', and are said to be the abodes of the 'saints' (in the sense of holiness) amongst gods.

3. Non-material heavens (arūpya-dhātu), with four stages of perfection; it is difficult to say if they ought to be understood as 'abodes (since there is no *man* or *earthly states*) (since they are said to be the dwelling places of spiritual beings). Their common characteristic seems to be the gradual loss of consciousness. Like the 'material heavens,' they are truly Buddhist combinations or fancies, being inhabited by saints who have not realized in the inferior stages the absolute freedom from thought and desire necessary to release, and who must wait for some centuries in the happy and transitory unconsciousness of the 'non-material' worlds, before merging into the happier and definite form of the nirvāṇa. They are all mere stages of the same region—which have only been 'Buddhized' a little—are no more than prolonged trances analogous, but for their limits, to the trances of the holy life (see art. DHYANA).

II. Great Vehicle. —The piety of the so-called 'new' Buddhism has evolved paradises very like the Christian or the Vaisvāvite abodes of the Blessed. The happiness is now of a purely spiritual nature (in contrast with the sva-ragata, inhabited by sensual gods and nymphs), and essentially devotional in character (with the self-control and unconscious blissfulness which are the chief elements of the 'orthodox' and Buddhist meditations). Such a paradise is the Tusita-heaven (the abode of the gods Tusi-tas, the 'satisfied ones'), the regular abode of the future Buddhas of our world during their last existence but one. There reigned Šakyamuni, then named Svetaketu, before his last re-birth; there they meditated on the question of the nature of the future savior.* But, as a rule, 'paradises' are not a part of our world (lokadhātu), as is the Tusita, but special realms, ruled by excellent Buddhas who have at last realized their 'vow' of creating worlds. Their number is, of course, infinite (see art. COSMOLOGY (Buddhist)), but in the 'compound of cosmos' which we inhabit (sahālokadhātu) the most celebrated are: (1) the paradise of the East, under the rule of the Buddha Bhaisajyaguru (the 'Master of remedies,' also Healing Buddha); (2) the Happy [universe], Sukhavatī (lokadhātu), of the West, where, from every quarter of the world, blissful creatures are born from lotuses before the Buddha Amitābha and the Bodhisattvas Mahāsthamapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara. To be accurate, the Happy universe is not an everlasting paradise. The Blessed who there enjoy the privilege of seeing the radiant body of the Buddha, and of hearing his preaching, are candidates for Buddhahood; Amitābha's heaven is a blissful paratory and a school, not only a place of retribution. But, from a practical and historical point of view, the Sukhavati, as said before, is the exact counterpart of the Vaisvāvite paradise.§

We have few Indian documents dealing with the devotional practices arising from such a conception of everlasting life in Amitābha's presence. But Chinese and Japanese sources, ancient and modern, Bodhisattvas of Amitābha's paradise. In all these peaceful abodes the Blessed enjoy the vision and the actual presence of their god, and the successive degrees or savours (sasa) of devotion, friendship, filial affection, ecstatic susceptibility (Barth, cit. p. 225) re-unite to produce the happy spiritual experience (see Barth, p. 226, and art. Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthama).

* Mention of Maitreyas as the next Buddha, the Buddha to come, who will build an everlasting paradise and bestow only a small retribution, occurs in the Pāli Canon of Scriptures (see Oldenberg's Buddhism, 7th Germ. ed. p. 139). It is ignored. It is also ignored to take Maitreyas, i.e. 'orthodox' Buddha, as the Buddha to come, although this view is held by the Law (2000 Anna Buddha). Both forms of Maitreyas' worship are frequent in Chinese sources (Piligrim; the latter is canonic in ecclesiastical preaching); to bear the preaching under the Dragon-Flower-Tree, (Chavannes, JA, 1905, 566), and, together with iconographic evidences (images of Maitreyas; see Grünwedel-Burgess, Buddhist Art), show that special regard was paid to the Tusita heaven. See Julien, L'Art et voyages de Hiron-thonang, p. 344 (writing in Beul's Records, but see his Buddhist in China, London, S.P.C.K. 1844); I-Tsing, Religieux éminents, tr. Chavannes, p. 72, Paris, 1894; Forcher, Art prise-boutique, p. 59 (huiyakai varahavatya = the best abode), Paris, 1905.

* Every future Buddha aims at possessing (i.e. creating by his own effort a Happy universe free from the obstacles met with by saints, gods, and men; see Arhat-khātā, p. 382 (apokramavuttika).


* The earliest documents are the Sukhāvatiyūga, the Sūtra of Amitābha (SBE, vol. xli.), and the Netherlands Buddhayoga, (see art. Avalokiteśvara, p. 258 note 1; note 2; also Beal, Catenia, p. 313). Ngakjuna (Nanjio, 1150, and Watters, On Pāli Ceylon, p. 245) mention the Sukhāvatiyūga (the Sūtra of Faith, Chicago, 1900, p. 146) teach re-birth in Sukhavātī. There is no record of the Sukhāvatiyūga in the Sanskrit sources. The vehicle: the mention in Mahābhārata, iii. 463, 10, is from the colophon; see Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S, 1886, p. 422. A Japanese picture is found in Ukiyo-e, Shūgaku-shojo, p. 105, and Grünwedel, Mythologie der Buddhämumus (Leipzig, 1901, p. 115). Sukhāvatī (also Sukhākara [Lotus, SBE, vol. xx. ch. xiv. 300] has been mentioned in the Buddhist literature (Sukhā, Nimlocani), by Max Müller (SBE, vol. xlv. p. 321), and as identified with the χρυσίδον and the Gardens of the Hesperides, by Kern (Lotus, cit. loc.)
BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Celtic)—The Celtic doctrine of the future life is discussed elsewhere (see CELTS, § xvi.). This article deals with the Celtic belief in a happy Other-world, or Elysium, which, as will be seen, was not necessarily the abode of the dead.

1. Names of the Celtic Elysium. These names are mentioned in the medieval literature, sometimes they particularize the situation of this happy land. Of the former are Mag Mor, ‘the Great Plain’; Mag Moll, ‘the Pleasant Plain’; Tir n’Aill, ‘the Other World’; Tir na Nog, ‘the Land of Youth’; Tir Sorcha, ‘the Shining Land’; Tir na Nueo, ‘the Land of the Living’; Tir Tairngiri, ‘the Land of Promise’ (perhaps a Christian derivative). Of the latter are Tir ra Ton, ‘Land under Waters’; I–Bresail, ‘the Land of Bresail’, and ‘the Isle of the Men of Falga,’ which denote Elysium as an island afar off. The Falga is the ‘Island of Man’ (Rennes Dindsenchas, RCCL xv. 449), which was connected with the god Manannan, who appears as lord of the over-sea Elysium. If the Goddes occupied Britain before passing to Ireland, then the former, which was the Western isle, the ‘island of the Lord of the Other-world’ (Meyer and Nutt, Voyage of Bran, London, 1895, i. 212). To this period may belong the tales of Cuchulainn’s raid upon Falga (considered as the Other-world), which were afterwards carried to Ireland (see § 6).

2. Various aspects of the Irish Celtic Elysium. Some of these titles show that Elysium was regarded from different points of view; it was beyond the seas, or it was under the waves. But an examination of the tales which refer to it shows that there were at least two other aspects: it might have been either the land or the hollow hills, or it might be a mysterious land revealing itself suddenly on the earth’s surface and entered through a mist. Reserving a consideration of these different localities till later, we shall here summarize the more important tales in which the Other-world appears. These tales mainly describe the visit of mortals to that land. Some of them belong to the Mythological, some to the Cuchulainn, some to the Ossianic cycle. The MSS in which they are found are frequently among the earliest known to Irish paleography, but there is no doubt that many of the tales are of a greater antiquity, and that all of them, if not actually composed in pagan times, are based upon pagan ideas, upon story-currents current before the rise of Christianity.

(a) The Island Elysium conception is found in several tales, and is also current in existing folklore. The story of the ‘Voyage of Bran’ (found fragmentarily in the 11th cent. Book of the Dun Cow [c. L], and complete in 14th–16th cent. MSS [Meyer and Nutt, Voy. of Bran]) tells how Bran hears mysterious music and falls asleep. On waking he finds a silver branch with white blossoms. Next day, as he is sitting with his men, a mysterious woman appears singing the story of the land under seas, its beauty, its freedom from pain and death, its music, its wonderful tree. It is one of thrice fifty islands to the west of Erin, and there she dwells with thousands of ‘motty white trees.’ The branches of the leaning beams into her hand. The poem then describes Bran’s sailing with his comrades, his meeting with Manannan mac Lir, crossing the sea in a chariot, his arrival at the Island of Joy where one of his men remained. According to the story, the welcome they received, the dreamlike hours of time, the food and drink which had for each the taste he desired. Finally, it recounts their homesickness, the warning from the queen not to set foot on Erin, otherwise they shall remain ashore there and become a heap of ashes, how Bran from his boat told of his wanderings, and then disappeared over (the tale of ‘Oisin in Tir na Nog’ [see KEHN CYCLE, § 5] has several points of resemblance to ‘Blírnan,’ especially in the fate which overtook Oisin). In the Cuchulainn cycle the story of ‘Cuchulainn’s Sickness’ (found in L) relates the temporary union of the hero with the goddess Fand, deserted by her consort Manannan. She will become his mistress if he will help his sister’s husband Labraid against his enemies in Mag Moll. Cuchulainn’s charioteer Laeg visits the place, and it is from his report that we learn the nature of the Other-world, where Labraid lives in an island frequented by troops of women, its different trees with marvellously beautiful leaves and fruits, and a vial of mead. It is reached with magic speed in a boat of bronze. Thither goes Cuchulainn, vanquishes Labraid’s enemies, and remains a month with Fand. Then he returns without hurt to Ireland, where he has arranged a meeting with Fand. At that meeting his wife Emer is present, and mortal and goddess strive to retain his love. The difficulty is solved by the sudden appearance of Manannan, for whom Fand’s love returns (L 437; Winisch, Trièche Texte, Leipzig, 1880, i. 205 ff.; Leisy, Heroic Romances, London, 1905, i.; D’Arbois, Cours de Litt. Celt., Paris, 1892, 170 f.). Here Labraid, Lian, and Fand, though dwellers in an island Elysium, are called sid-folk, i.e. they are of the sid, or Otherworld. The two regions are partially confused, but not wholly, since Manannan is described as coming from his own land (i.e. the true island Elysium) to woo Fand. Apparently Labraid (who, though called chief of the sid, is described in terms which leave little doubt that he is a war god) is at enmity with Manannan’s hosts, who suffer defeat at Cuchulainn’s hands.

In the Ossianic cycle, besides the story of Oisin (see above), there is a description of the Land of Promise over the far Dindsenchas, which is related by Manannan himself, in the story of the ‘Gilla Dacker’ (see Joyce, Old Celt. Romances, London, 1894, 222).

Of greater importance is the tale called ‘Echtra Conda’ (L 120; Winisch, Irische Gram., Leipzig, 1879, 120; D’Arbois, v. 384). Connla, son of Conn, king of Ireland (A.D. 122–157), is visited by a goddess from the immortal land of Mag Mell. Her people dwell in a sid, or mound, and are called Aes sidhe, ‘men of the mound.’ Thither she leads him to a choice spot, feeding him an apple which supports him for a month without growing less. In a month she returns and tells Connla, who has been filled with desire of her, that the Immortals invite him to join them. She bids him step into her crystal boat and come with her to the Land of Joy where dwell only women. He does so, and in a moment disappears for ever from the sight of his father and his druid who has vainly tried to exercise his spells against the woman. Here again, we note a distinction between the Underground and the Over-sea Elysium.

(b) Tir ra Ton, ‘Land under Waters,’ occurs with greatest distinctness in the tale of Laegaí mac Crinnin (Book of Lismore, 15th cent., O’Grady, Silva Gaelica, 290). Fionnach of the
men of the sid appears among the men of Con-
nacht assembled at Loch Naneane, and implores
their help against his enemies, whose chief Goll
has abducted his wife. Laegaire and 50 men dive
into the Loch with him, and reach a wonderful
land, where marble music, and wine, is the rule.
Is this the sid-folk attack the fort of Mag Mell, and defeat Goll. As reward they each
take a woman of the side, and remain in the
land for a year. Then they yearn to return, but
are warned not to descend from horseback on Erin.
Annwn, among their own people, copies the title
wonders of Tir fa Tonn, and in spite of being
implored to return, they return thither, and are
seen no more. Here, too, the Underworld and Tir
fa Tonn are scarcely distinguished, and its divine
hosts, as in the tale of Cuchulainn, are at war (see
for another account of Tir fa Tonn, entered from a
well on an island over-sea, the 'Gilla Daeker'
in Joyce, (253).

(c) The sid world: pure and simple is described in
the Story of Mider and Etain, found in the 11th
century MS, but became when his daughter
consort Etain in her re-birth as a mortal, married
to king Eochaid, appears to her and tries to
regain her by describing Mag Mór, the great plain,
the immortal land, its music, its beauty, its heady
delicacy, its delicious food. Ultimately Etain, who has no recollection of this land,
flies away with Mider, both in the form of birds.
Eochaid's druid finally discovers Mider's under-
ground sid. Eochaid captures it, and takes away
his wife (Lu 129; Ir. Texte, i. 118 ff). This tale
amply illustrates the belief that the gods, the
Tuatha Dé Danann, were living in underground sid,
in which they finally became the fairies of popular
lore, to whose mounds, exactly like Mider's sid,
mortals often paid visits. These sid were simply
Elysiums in Irish myth, and the secret soil.

(d) 'The Adventures of Cormac mac Airt' (found
in 14th and 15th c. MSS, but probably con-
ected with a tale of the same title mentioned in the
old epic list) well describes the fourth conception
of the Other-world. A divine visitant, with a branch
bearing nine apples of gold which, when shaken,
made sweetest music, appeared to Cormac. He at
once asked for this branch whose music dispelled
all sorrow, but for it he had to give up wife, son,
and daughter. In a year he desired to see them, and
in the shadow of a mist he found himself enveloped in a mist, through which
he came to a house where a strange pair offered
him hospitality. These proved to be Manannan
and his consort. The god then brought in a pig, a
each of which was cooked in the telling of a
true tale. While the third quarter was cooking,
Cormac told of the loss of his wife and children;
whereupon Manannan, after sending Cormac to
sleep, opened a door and they appeared. Finally
he produced a cup which broke in pieces when a
his MS told, but became when his daughter

that the Tuatha Dé Danann first appeared in
Ireland.

3. Various aspects of the Brythonic Elysium.-
A certain correspondence to these Goldie beliefs is
found in Brythonic story, but here the Elysium
conception has been considerably influenced by
later Christian faiths. The word 'annwn' is
Annwn, which means 'an abyss,' 'the state of
the dead,' 'hell,' etc. (Silvan Evans, Welsh Diet.
s.). But in the texts relating to Elysium, Annwn
does not bear any likeness to these meanings of
the word, save in so far as it has been confused by
readers of the tales with the Christian hell, Avern.
In these tales it appears as a region on the
earth's surface or an over- or under-sea world,
in which several of the characteristics of the Irish
Elysium are found: a cauldron, a well of drink
sweeter than wine, animals greatly desired by
mortals, which they steal (see § 7), while it is
of great beauty, and its people are not subject to
death or disease. Hence the name Annwn
has probably taken the place of some earlier pagan name of Elysium.

(a) Annwn in the tale of Pwyll, which forms
the earliest reference to it in Welsh literature
(Loth, Mabinog, Paris, 1889, i. 27), is ruled by
a king, Arawn, who is at war with his rival Hafgan,
and obtains the cauldron of the chief of
Hafgan, by exchanging kingdoms with him for a
year. It is a delightful land, where merriment
and feasting on the choicest food and drink go on
continually, and it has no subterranean character,
but appears to be conceived of as a province adjoining
Pwyll's kingdom.

(b) Annwn is also the name of a Land under
Waves or Over Sea, called also Cædr Sidi ('the
revolving castle,' cf. the Ille Tournoi of the
Grail romances, and the revolving house in Celtic
Edda saga) and Pwyll's island. A'ennwain,它的
'streams,' and which is reached by a long voyage.
It is 'known to Manawydan (Manannan) and
Prydveri,' just as the Irish Elysium was ruled by
Manannan (Skene, Four Ancient Books of Wales,
Edin. 1885, i. 270). Another 'Caer of Defence' is
beneath 'the ocean's wave' (Skene, i. 256).
Hence the two ideas were probably interchangeable.
The people of this land are free from death and sick-
ness, and in it is 'an abundant well, sweeter
than white wine the drink in it' (Skene, i. 270).
There also is a cauldron of a most marvellous kind,
the cauldron of Annwn,' that is, of the lord of Elysium, like that of
the Dagda, which is stolen away by Arthur and
his men. A similar cauldron is the property of the
people of a water-world in the Mabinogion
(see § 5).

(c) Finally, the description of the mysterious
island of Avalon, even though this was later
identified with Glastonbury, whither Arthur was
carried to be healed of his wounds, completes
the identification with the Goldie Elysium. No tem-
"ple, no exchange of heat or cold, no anxious
organisms troubles it; it is blessed with eternal spring,
and with fruit and flowers which require no husband-
man's labour; it is the land of eternal youth
unvisited by death or disease. The island of
Annwn, more beautiful than her beautiful maiden
attendants; she cured Arthur of his wounds, hence
she may be identified with the Morgien of other
tales, while she and her maidens resemble the
divine women of the Irish isle of women (Chréitén,
Erc, 1903-1909; Glaudrey, Vita Merlini, 41; San
Marte, Geoffrey, 425).

The Identification of Avalon with Glastonbury is probably
post-pagan (Loth, ii. 215, 264, 360), while the names applied to
Glastonbury—Avalon, Inisla Pomumana, Iona, Sienna—may
be primitive names of the island Elen (Brewer, A Guide to
Malmes-
by'r (Ant. Glaston, Eccl.) says that Ionula Pomunana is a
translation of the native name, Ionula Avalon, which he
connects with the Brythonic anna, 'apples,' because Glastenig

360 BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Celtic)
found an apple tree there. The name might therefore have been connected with marvellous apple trees, similar to those of the Irish Elysium. But he also suggests that it may have been derived from a Latin word meaning "invited", probably with a reference to the goddesses who were said to have visited and healed by the regia virgo (San Marto, 425). He may therefore have been a mythical land of the other-world, and his daughters were the Elyrians (see Rhy. As Ael. Leg. 335). He also derives Glastonbury from an eponymous founder Glastenig, or from his native name Ynysutiron ("Glass-island", Trottis, ii. 10). The glass fortress appears to have been the cited foundation of the fort on the Celtic Crétien, in the form, "l'Ile de voire." Giraldis (Spec. Eccles. ii. 9) explains the name from the glassy waters which surround the monastery. We must see in it an early name of Elysium (cf. Merlin's glass house, Triads, ii. 10; the glass fortress, ibid) as the Milerian Nennius, § 33; the glass bower of Elain (Celt., § 5); and the glass mountains of Teutoncynology and folk-tale.

4. Origin of the Celtic Elysium conception.— Most mythologies tell of a Golden Age in the remote past, when men were happy and when the gods lived with them (see Ages of the World, Fall). Man's imaginative faculties as well as his acute sense of the misery of his earthly existence may have led him to believe that this happy state still existed in the distance, and that a Golden Age in distant time. Wherever it was, it held endless joys; it was in a special sense the land of the gods or of some gods; thither some favoured mortals might penetrate. This was the germ conception of Elysium, but it is extremely doubtful whether it is so in Celtic mythology. Perhaps the Celtic myth of man's early intercourse with the gods may have taken a twofold development. In the one instance the idea which he hoped to go after death was that lost land, conceived as a subterranean region, and in the other there was no means to recover; men would not go there after death, but favoured mortals might be invited thither during life. It was thus clearly distinguished from the land of the dead, however joyful that might be. But this question requires separate consideration (see § 5). In Ireland it was held that after the conquest of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the gods, by the Milesians, they had retired within the hills or mounds (sid). But it agrees with the more primitive aspect of Celtic religion, as an agricultural race, to suppose that some of the deities, the fruitful Earth-divinities, had their abode beneath the earth, which, as the home of the gods, would be conceived in the loftiest terms. Thence man had perhaps originally come, and thither he would return after death. To this extent, therefore, the Underworld of the Earth-divinities was also the place of the dead. The later association of the gods with hollow hills and mounds was but a continuation of the belief in this divine Underworld, only, it seems obvious from the tales that these hollow hills, or sid, had become simply an Elysium state, not a state of the dead. These were, on the whole, still conceived as going to some region under the earth. There are no data to support the conception of a distant Elysium arose among the Celts. It may have been first suggested to them, while still on the Continent, by the setting sun: far off there was also a divine land where the sun-god sank to a blissful rest. On reaching the coast it was inevitable that a similar idea should be over seas, in some happy island such as they saw on the horizon. That island might be still connected with the sun-god, but it was more naturally connected with the god of the sea. Hence the sea-god, as usual, was the source of Elysium tales. The under-world Elysium and the over-sea Elysium were conceived in identical terms, and the same set of names applied indifferently to either. Perhaps the locating of Elysium in the sid may simply be due to the tendency to give a local habitation and a name to every mysterious region as time goes on. To this identity also may be assigned the mingling of the sid-folk with the over-sea Elysium. Both were in the same class of beings.

The idea of a world beneath the waters is common to many mythologies, and, generally speaking, it owes its origin to the animistic belief that every part of nature has its indwelling spirits. Hence the spirits of the Elysian place are conceived as dwelling far below the surface under a divine king or chief. Tales of supernatural beings appearing out of the waters, the custom of throwing sacrifices therein, the belief that human beings were extinguished into the water, or could live with the beings beneath the waves, all are connected with this primitive animistic view. Among the Celts, however, that water-world assumed the aspects of Elysium; it was a divine land like the over-sea Elysium. Hence in later story it became a fairy world, and as the modern Celt has and had precisely the same sensuous joys as in the island paradise; it also has names in common with it. Tir fa Tonn is also Mag Mell. Hence in many popular tales it is hardly differentiated from the island Elysium in which the fairies have become practically synonymous. Hence, too, the belief that such water-worlds as the Irish I Bresail, or the Welsh fairy-lands, or sunken cities off the Breton coast, rise periodically to the surface and would remain there permanently, like an island Elysium, if some mortal could fulfill certain conditions (Giral. Camb. ii. 12; Hardiman, Irish Min., London, 1831, i. 367; Rhy. Celt. Folklore, Oxford, 1901, i. 170; Sébillot, Folklore de France, Paris, 1904, ii. 56 ff.)

The Celtic belief in Tir fa Tonn is closely connected with the current belief in submerged towns or countries, which is perhaps found with greatest detail on the Breton coast. Here there are legends of several such towns, but most prominent are those which tell of the city of Is, which was submerged with all its people and still exists beneath the sea, where (or occasionally on the surface of the waves) it may still be seen. It was submerged as a punishment, because of the wickedness of its people. Other versions of the same belief suggest that Is must seek the love of mortals (Sébillot, ii. 41 ff.). Elsewhere in Celtic regions precisely similar legends are found, and the submergence is the result of a curse, or of the breaking of a tabu, or of neglect to cover a sacred well. The best example is that of the town covered by the waters of Lough Neagh (see Girald. Camb. Top. Hitz. ii. 9; Rhy. Celt. Folklore; Kennelly, Legend, Fictions, London, 1866, 282). There is little doubt that one important fact lies behind these various legends, viz, the tradition of actual cataclysms or inundations of the sea, such as the Celts encountered on the coast of Holland. Once formed, it was inevitable that these legends should intermingle with those of the divine water-world.

The idea that the Other-world is on the same plane as this world, or temporally locates itself there, and is hidden in a mist, is probably due to the belief in the magic power of the gods. One of the commonest pieces of druidic magic was the causing of a mist to effect concealment, and it was natural to believe that the gods could do the same. Behind that mist, for some definite purpose, the divine Elysium was temporarily located, with all its marvellous properties, as in the story of Cormac (and also in folk-tales where fairyland is thus imagined) (see O'Flaherty, Celt., 108, 170), or from such a mist supernatural beings frequently emerged to meet mortals. In such
cases the mist may simply have concealed the sid of the gods, from which the messenger emerged, or to which the mortal, misled by the mist, was introduced. Such appearances from a mist often occur in the legend of Tethra and elsewhere. (Cf. mumpl., West Highland Tales, Edin. 1890, Nos. 38, 52; Scott. Celt. Rev., Paisley, 1885, i. 70.) On the other hand, there may have been an existing belief that the divine world was invisibly co-extensive with this world, since in recent Welsh and Irish belief fairyland is on the same plane as this earth, and interpenetrates it; men may interfere unwittingly with it, or have it suddenly revealed to them, or be carried into it and made invisible (Rhys, i. 230; Curtin, Tales of the Fairies, 158). 5. Was the Celtic Elysium the land of the dead? A land of the dead is a land where there is neither grief nor death, a land of immortal youth and peace, filled with every kind of sensuous delight. In a few tales, however (the Malinoig of Ffeyll, Siek.-led of Cheadllain, Lægæirnæc Crimhith, Æol D—rmaid, Dairmaid in Tīr fa Tonn), while the sensuous delights are still the same, the inhabitants are at war with each other, invite the help of mortals, and are sometimes slain in battle. But in both these groups Elysium is the land of the dead, although the beings, a land to which a few favored mortals are admitted while still in life. It is never described as the world of the dead, nor do its people ever appear to be the dead. These two conceptions of Elysium, (1) a land of peace and deathlessness, (2) a land where war and death occur, may be both equally primitive. The second may simply have been formed by transferring to the divine world the actions of the world of mortals, as a direct result of anthropomorphism. It would also be on a par with the concept of the divine world itself, which was likewise a replica of the life of mortals in this world. But men may early have felt that the gods were not as themselves, that their land was a state of peace and immortality. Hence the creation of the legend of the peaceful Elysium. The two conceptions may have existed side by side, but apparently the more peaceful one found most favour with the people. Mr. Nutt (Brm, i. 159) thinks that the other conception may be due to Scandinavian influence acting on existing tales of the supernatural. But, as has already been said, the wars of divine beings occupy a prominent part in the mythological and Ossianic cycles of the Irish Celts, this is doubtful. Or again, the peaceful Elysium may have been the product of the Celts as an agricultural people, since it is ‘a familiar, cultivated land’, where the fruits of the earth are produced without men’s labour, where there are no violent storms or excess of heat or cold—precisely the fancies which would appeal to a toiling, agricultural people, while the more warlike Elysium may have been produced among the Celts as a warlike people, appealing to their warrior instincts. What is certain is that the inhabitants of Elysium are supernatural beings; chief among them are the well-known figures of Celtic mythology, but the others have every trace of divinity. D’Arbois, Rhys, and others, however, maintain that the Celtic Elysium is the world of the dead. Elsewhere will be found reasons for the belief that the orbis alias (Lucan, Plurr. i. 457), whither the dead went, is a national Phœnician Suburbanian region. Or, if it was an island, it was not the island Elysium (see CELTS, § xvi.). D’Arbois’ theory of Elysium as the state of the dead rests mainly upon different passages in 8krr3x (p. 339), which is interpreted by him in a way which seems somewhat wide of its true meaning. The sense of the passage seems to be: ‘The Ever Lastening’ (Cf. Rhys, p. 339), which pleases these people. They see thee every day in the assemblies of thy fatherland, among thy familiar loved ones.’ D’Arbois assumes that Tethra, the Fenian king, is ruler of Elysium, and that after his defeat by the Tuatha Dé, he, like Corgen, took refuge in Elysium, where he now reigns as god of the dead; while by introducing 8krr3x in the place of the words ‘on thy erra,’ he maintains that Conna, by going to Elysium, will be seen among the gatherings of his dead friends (D’Arbois, Dictionnaire de la langue Celtique, 1891, iii, 166, 233; Rott. xvi. 175). But it is impossible to take ‘Thou everlast’ as a champion of mankind’s and the soul of the god of the dead. It appears to mean simply that Conna is a mighty warrior, one of those whom Tethra, a Fenorian war-god (Stokes, Corrn., iii. 85; Curtin, Tales of Fairies, 158), ‘Tethra’s mighty men’ or ‘Tethra’s mighty’ men used elsewhere (Dialogue of the Sages, Rott. xvi. 27.), seems to be a conventional phrase for warriors. The note of this land is that it has its fleet or barque of immortals from afar, or Tethra’s mighty men, see Conna in the assemblies of his fatherland in Erin, among his familiar friends. The breadth of death awaits us all and the gods have left us. Would not the mortals desire Conna to escape that by coming to Elysium? Her words do not imply that she will not meet them; otherwise, moreover, if the dead went to Elysium, there would be little reason for inviting a mortal there while still alive. Thus this tale, like all other Elysian tales, was given for the occasion of the contention that Elysium is the place of the dead. Moreover, the rulers of Elysium are the Tuatha Dé or the sid-folk, never a Fenorian like Tethra. ‘Tethra’ is glossed as ‘waterwell,’ ‘sea,’ by O Cleary (Stokes, C. a. Tethra’), and Ó Céilecháin speaks of the sea as ‘the plain of Tethra’ (Arch. Rev. i. 125.), but we cannot infer from these that he was ruler of an over-sea Elysium, and the passages are probably derived from the association of the Fenomani with hostile sea-powers (see under Caisa, § x.). D’Arbois’ assumption that ‘Spain’ in ‘Nemnus’ account of the invasion of Ireland (Celt. Brit. § 123) is the land of the dead generally, means the land of the dead, and that it was introduced in place of some such title as Mag Mór or Mag Mheth by the enehanerial compiler of the Spanish Elysium. The fact that (1) Rott. xvi. 231) is equally grounded. In other documents which have been subject to Romano-Celtic influence these terms are generally the same; but there is no proof that a document, now lost according to D’Arbois, that the invader came from or returned to Mag Mheth. Once, indeed, but not so called (Alcuin, Ep. 192, vi. 197, ed. Murs.); the name of Spain (Book of Leinster = UL. S. 2.) but here a person is intended. It is much more probable that there was a connexion between Ireland and Spain from early times, both religious and commercial (Reinach, Rott. xix. 18. Streit, Les Premieres Ages du Metal dans le Sud-Est de l’Espagne, 1893); perhaps some of the Goddelic invaders reached Ireland from Spain or Gaul. This connexion, traditionally remembered, would be the chief basis for the name of Spain. It was further supported by the fact that early maps and geographers made Ireland and Spain contiguous (Uroschus, c. 2.); hence the traditional tale Ireland was invaded by Spain in Spain (UL. 11. 2). The word ‘Spain’ was used vaguely, but it does not appear to have meant Elysium or the land of the dead. 6. Characteristics of the Celtic Elysium.—(a) Nothing can exceed the romantic beauty of this land as described in the tales, and in nearly every one this is insisted on by the messengers who come from it to mortals. The beauty of its landscapes, its hills, cliffs, peaks, valleys, is seen from the air, or from the trees, rivers,—of its trees, of its inhabitants, of its birds, is obviously the product of the imagination of a people keenly alive to natural beauty. And borrowed from the delight which the Celt took in music is the recurring reference to the marvellous music which every bare swells in Elysium. It sounds from birds on every tree, from the branches of the trees which lull to forgetfulness the favoured mortals invited thither, from marvellous stones, from the harps of divine musicians. In Elysium, as the visitant says to Bran, ‘there is nothing rough or harsh, but sweet music striking on the ear.’ Probably no other race than the Celtic has, in describing the joys of the other world, so spiritualized the sensuous joys of sight and hearing, or imagined anything so exquisitely beautiful. (b) Certain of the tales which deal with an island Elysium make it evident that it was composed not of one but of several islands, ‘three fifty’ in number, according to the Voyage of Bran, though this may be a later conception. It is frequently described as the ‘Island of women’ or ‘of ever-living women,’ though in some instances there appear to be other inhabitants also. These women give their favours to Bran and his men, or to Machlúin and his company (Voyage of Machlúin, Rott. xvi. 653); indeed, it is said that these women exactly equals that of the mortal visitors. Similar ‘islands of women’ occur in Marchen still.
current among Celtic peoples, and actual islands were or are still called by that name—Eigg in the W. Highlands (Martin, *West Isles*, London, 1716, 277), Grongez off the Breton coast (Schéilhot, ii. 76). Similar islands of women are known to Chinese, Japanese, and Ainu folklore (Burton, *Thousand Nights and One Night*, ii. 285; Scalabrin, *Aino Folk Tales*, London, 1888, 38), to Greek mythology (Circe’s and Calypso’s islands, cf. the land of the Ama
dons), and to ancient Egyptian conceptions of the future life (Maspero, *Histoire des peuples de l’Orient*, Paris, 1886, i. 158). They were also known elsewhere, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that in making such an island a part of their Elysium, the Celts were simply making use of something common to universal folk-belief. It may, however, owe something to the memory of a time when women performed their rites in seclu-
sion, a seclusion which is perhaps hinted at in the references to the mysterious nature of the island, its inaccessibility, and its disappearance once the mortals leave it; to these rites men may have been initiated by the inner circle of the Celtic women who performed such rites on islands (Strabo, iv. iv. 6; cf. Ploss, *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1885, ii. 70, artt. Birth (Celtic), and Celts, xii. 1). This may have originated the idea of an island of divine women as part of the Elysium belief, with its reference to the female aspects of that Elysium. Love-making, in effect, had a considerable place in the Elysium tales. Its divine inhabitants sought the love of mortals, goddesses of men, goddesses of women (cf. the tales of Bran, Connla, Osian, etc., of Manannan seeking the love of Tuag [*Kel. xvi, 152*]; Mider, that of Etain). The mortal desired to visit Elysium because of the enticements of the divine visitor, regarded by later Christian redactors of the tales as a demon (see ‘Cuchulainn’s Sick-bed,’ D’Arbois, v. 216). On the other hand, the love-making which goes on among the people of Elysium, even in documents edited by Christian scribes, is said to be ‘without sin, without crime’ (*Bran*, § 41).

(c) Besides their beauty, the characteristic of the inhabitants of Elysium which is emphasized in most of the tales is that they are immortal, or ever-living. Elysium is *Tir na nBélo, the land of the living*; its people ‘look for neither decay nor death;’ they are eternally youthful. The general belief among primitive peoples was that death was brought by the man who were naturally immortal; hence freedom from that accident naturally characterizes the people of the divine world. But, as in many mythologies that immortality is more or less de-
pendent on the eating or drinking of some food or drink of immortality; so it is in certain Celtic tales. Manannan, in the tale of Cormac, had immortal wine, which, killed one day, came to life the next; and with the flesh of these he is said to have con-
ferred immortality on the Thuntha Dé Danann. This was also conferred by the isle of Golland, with water of Gol-
land, which either by itself or with the flesh of swine formed his immortal feast (O’Grady, *Silva Gadel*. ii. 385; O’Curry, *Atlantis*, iii. 859). Besides con-
ferred immortality, the food of the Other-world was inexhaustible, and whoever ate it found its effect to have precisely that taste which he preferred. The fruit of certain trees of Elysium was also believed to confer immortality and other qualities. Cúchul-
ainn’s servant, Laeg, tells of 150 trees which he saw growing in Mag Mell; their nuts fed 300 people (L. 30). The apples given by the goddess to Connla was inexhaustible, and he was still eating it when he found another favored mortal visited Elysium—Teigne, son of Cian. ‘When once they had partaken of it, nor age nor nimbleness could affect them’ (D’Arbois, v. 384; O’Grady, ii. 385). Apples, crimson nuts, and rowan berries are specifically said to be the food of the gods in the ‘Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne’ (*Joyce*, 314). Through carelessness one of the berries was dropped on earth, and from it grew a tree, three of whose berries eaten by a man of a hundred years made him a young man. To keep one of them, Fionn, the leader of the Fianna, was great to guard it. With this may be compared the dragon-guarded rowan tree in the tale of Fioscos (Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, i. 30, with many variants elsewhere); its berries had the virtue of nine meals, added a year to a man’s life, and healed the incurable. It was supposed to grow hazel trees with crimson nuts, which fell into the water and were eaten by salmon. If these salmon were caught and eaten, the eater would obtain knowledge and wisdom (O’Curry, *Manann and Customs*, ii. 143). But the stories in which these hazels are mentioned show that they grew in Elysium, and their berries were the food of the gods, which a mortal might not eat without incurring danger (*Kel. xv. 451*; Burton,* Heroic Romances*, vi. 389). Windisch in the *Immergut* says that the trees of Elysium are much more marvell-
ous; they have silver branches (Bran); they have golden apples (Cormac); they produce won-
derful music, which sometimes causes sleep and oblivion.

(d) As these various nuts and fruits were prized in Ireland as food, and in some cases, perhaps, were used to produce an intoxicant, it is obvious that they were, primarily, a magnified form of earthly trees. But all such trees were doubtless objects of a cult before their produce was generally eaten; they may have been totem trees, and their fruit eaten only occasionally and sacramentally. If so, this would explain why they grew in the Other-world, and why their fruit was the food of the gods. Whatever man eats or drinks is generally supposed to have been first used by the gods, like the Hindu soma. Miss Hall points out that, in some tales, the branch of a divine tree becomes a talisman leading the mortal to Elysium; in this resembling the golden bough plucked by *Eneas* before descending to the under world (*FL* xii. 321). But this is not the primary function of the tree. On the other hand, Mr. A. B. Cook is of opinion that the branch is derived from the branch borne by early Celtic kings of the wood or representa-
tives of trees, and argues that it was not beneficial to be near such a tree, or to enter the living for-
tive form of the trees which incarnated a vegetation spirit (*FL* xvii. 158). But, again, it is the fruit of the trees as the food of the gods on which the greatest stress is laid in all the tales. When mortals eat it, it has the effect of conferring immortality upon them; in other words, it makes them of like nature with the gods, and this is doubtless derived from the primitive idea that the eating of food given by a stranger produces kinship with him. Hence to eat the food of gods, or the food eaten by the dead and the mortal to them, was he cannot leave their land. When Connla ate the apple, he desired to go to the Other-world, and could not leave it once he was there: he had become akin to its people. In the stories of Bran and Osian, they are not said to have eaten the divine food, but the primitive form of the tales may have contained this incident, and it would explain why they could not set foot on earth unsheathed.

(e) The inhabitants of Elysium are also invisible at will—Teigne’s, and the druid of their divinity. They make themselves visible to one person only out of many present with him. Thus Connla alone sees the goddess, his father and the druid with him do not see her; and, when Manannan comes to recall Fand, he is invisible to Cuchulain and she visible with him. This agrees with what Mider says to Etain:
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‘We behold, and are not beheld’ (Windisch, i. 133).

(7) In most of the tales of Elysium, and in other stories about the gods, a magical cauldron has a prominent place, as it also has in tales of semi-mythical and legendary origin. It was the inexhaustible cauldron of the god Dagda, which came from Murias, probably some over-sea world (Ecol xii. 57), or the vat of inexhaustible mead described in ‘Céchulainn’s Sick-bed.’ Whatever was put into such vessels satisfied every one, no matter how numerous the company might be (O’Donovan, Battle of Mag Rath, Dublin, 1892, 50). Such a cauldron was stolen by Céchulainn from Midir, lord of the isle of Fúlga (the over-sea Elysium), along with several cows (Li. 169b); and in what is perhaps another version of this tale he obtains an inexhaustible cauldron from the daughter of the king of Scath (Hull, Cuch. Sages, 234). Similarly, in the Welsh poem called ‘The Spoils of Annwfn,’ Arthur steals a cauldron from Annwfn; its rim was encrusted with pearls, voices issued from it, it was kept boiling by the breath of nine maidens, it would not boil a coward’s food (Skene, Four Ancient Books of Wales, i. 265). In the Welsh story of Taliesin we learn how Tegid Vogel, a pagan bard, kept an inexhaustible cauldron of lake Tegid (i.e. ‘the Land under Waves’). Their son was so ugly that Ceridwen resolved to boil a cauldron of science and inspiration for him. For a year and a day it must boil till ‘three drops of the grace of inspiration’ were yielded by it. Gwion was set to stir it, and by accident obtained the inspiration himself (Guest’s Mabinogion, London, 1838, iii. 321 f.). Finally, in the story of Branwen, daughter of Llyr, her brother Bran gave the king of Ireland a cauldron into which any slain man might be restored, but be restored to life the next day. The cauldron had been given to Bran by two beings, a man and woman, who came out of a lake (‘Land under Waves’) (Loth’s Mabin. i. 65). The three properties of the cauldron— inexhaustibility, inspiration, regeneration—may be summed up in one word, fertility; and it is significant that the god with whom such a cauldron is expressly associated, Dagda, should be a god of fertility (see further, CELTS, § v.). But we have just seen it associated, directly or indirectly, with goddesses—Ceridwen, Branwen’s mother, was a personification of the lake—and perhaps this may point to the earlier cult of fertility associated with goddesses, and later transferred to a god. The cauldron as a regenerator would be significantly connected with a goddess, since woman as the fruitful mother early suggested to man the idea of the fruitful Earth-mother, who was also frequently a goddess of love. Elton had already concluded that Branwen was a goddess of love (Origins of English History, London, 1882, p. 291). The cult of fertility was usually associated with orgiastic and indiscriminate love-making, and it is not impossible that the cauldron may have symbolized fertility, like the Hindu yoni. Again, the slaughter and cooking of animals were usually regarded as sacred acts in primitive life. The animals were symbolic, enormous cauldrons, which were found as an invariable part of the furniture of every large Celtic house (Athen. iv. 34; Diod. Sic. v. 28; Joyce, Soc. Hist., London, 1903, ii. 124). The quantities of meat which they contained may have suggested magical properties to people, and the cauldron was a symbol of fertility. Thus the symbolic cauldron of a fertility cult was merged with the cauldron used in the religious slaughter and cooking of animal food. The cauldron was used by the Druids of the Gauls, according to Strabo, vii. 2. 1, referring to the Cimmeri, but this may also have been a Celtic usage; Brehon Laws, i. 195; Jullian, Recherches sur la rel. gaul., Bordeaux, 1803, 44). Like the food of men which became the food of the gods, the cauldron of this world became the marvellous cauldron of the other world; and, as it then became necessary to explain the cauldron of the dead, it was told how the cauldron arose, telling of how they had been stolen from the divine land by mortals. In other cases, however, its place is taken by an equally magic vessel or cup stolen from supernatural beings by the heroes of the Feinn saga or the heroes of Míracían. Here, too, it may be noted that the Graal of Arthurian romance has affinities with the Celtic cauldron. In the ‘Conte du Graal’ of pseudo-Chrétien, a cup comes in of itself and serves all present with food. This is a simple conception of the Graal; in other poems its sacrosanct character is heightened, until at last it became the chalice in which Christ instituted the Holy Sacrament. But in certain of its qualities it presents an unmistakable likeness to the Celtic cauldron—it supplies the food which the eater prefers, it gives perpetual youth. There is little doubt that the Graal is simply a fusion of the pagan Celtic cauldron and the chalice of our Lord’s blood (see Villemarqué, Contes populaires des anciens Bretons, Paris, 1842; Nutt, Legend of the Holy Grail, London, 1843).

(g) Sensuousness as are many of these characteristics, they yet have a spiritual aspect which must not be overlooked. Thus the emphasis placed on the beauty of the land, its music, its rest, its peace, its oblivion, is more spiritual than sensual, while the dwelling of favoured mortals there with divine beings is suggestive of that union with the divine which is of the essence of all religion. Though some who are lured there seek to leave it, others do not return, while Céchulainn’s charioteer Laeg says that he would prefer to stay with the kingship of Ireland (Winston, i. 219), and in Ireland elsewhere re-echoed by Laegaire mac Críththimn. On the whole, then, it may be said that, of whatever elements it was composed, the conception of the Celtic Elysium was the imaginative shaping of man’s instinctive longing for peace and rest. He hardly expected to obtain these beyond the grave, for there life went on as here, although that future state was one which had no terrors for him. A few great personages might reach Elysium after death, according to Plutarch, deorum deorum (Oraç 18) may hint (see under CELTS, § xvi. 5), but it was shut to all save a few favoured mortals who might be carried there in life. And possibly the hope that he might be so favoured of the gods buoyed up the Celt as he dreamed over this distant Elysium.

7. The Celtic Elysium and the gifts of civilization.—In the opinion of the Celts, as of many other peoples, wisdom and culture belonged first of all to the gods, by whom they were given to, or from whom they were stolen by, man. Examples of this have already been found in the tales in which a mysterious cauldron is stolen from the Other-world (§ 6). It is also hinted at in the tales of divine trees guarded from mortals, and in the belief in the hazards of wisdom which endowed mortals with supernatural wisdom and knowledge. But when men came to domesticate animals, it was believed in course of time that the knowledge of domestication or, more usually, the animals themselves were given to them from the Other-world; in this case, the animals were of a magical, supernatural character. Such a belief underlies the stories, already referred to, in which cows are stolen from their divine owners by Céchulainn. In the tale of ‘Ner’s Adventures in the Land of Promise’ (Celtic Man. 236), Ner’s wife and several kine from the sid of Crussan; and similarly Tulehin, who took a wife from the Land of Promise, obtained
9. Elysium and Paradise. — While the tales already dealt with are mainly re-mouldings of earlier pagan originals, while a few have been handed down orally, or are based upon the materials of pagan belief, they have in many ways been influenced by Christian ideas, although their main incidents are purely pagan. But in another case, in which the original pagan tales were written, the Elysian conception recurred, and finally ends in becoming the Christian paradise or Heaven. These are the *Immrama*, or *Voyages*, of which that of Maelduin, found partly in the 11th century MS St. Columba, and in complete form in 14th to 16th century MSS, stands at the head. 

The voyage is undertaken for the purpose of revenge; but the travellers reach a number of strange islands unpeopled, or peopled by men and women, by animals, or by monsters. One island closely resembles the Isle of Women in the pagan Elysium. Besides the Isle of Laughter, found also in *Bran*, there is an Isle of Weeping, and in this we approach the idea of a place of penitence. Another island, guarded by a fiery rampart, is the domain of feasting and singing—an approach to the Christian paradise. The Isles of Weeping and Laughter are also found in the *Immram hua Corra*, where also is the island of the Miller of Hell, mentioned simply as a miller in *Maelduin*. Thus, even in *Maelduin* the use of the pagan materials is indicated, and the Elysian conceptions have become vague. Elsewhere, as in the *Voyage of Snefnus and Mac Riongla*, the journey is undertaken as a pilgrimage, and the Christian atmosphere is more pronounced. One island, however, has a kind of intermediate state, and in it dwell Elijah and Enoch and a multitude of others without sin, without wickedness, waiting for the day of judgment. Another island is nothing less than the Christian Heaven viewed from an ecclesiastical standpoint. Finally, in the *Voyage of Brandes* the pagan elements have practically disappeared: there is an island of Hell and an island which is the Christian paradise or Heaven. In these *Immrama*, the number of islands visited may be compared to the thrice fifty islands of *Bran*, whether it be the fifty tales of the pagan paradise or not; the old idea of a mortal lured thither by a goddess has disappeared, and the voyage is undertaken for a specific purpose—revenge or a pilgrimage. Another series of tales, in which the Christian elements appear in vision (Adamnan's Vision, *The Tidings of Doomsday*, etc.), are purely Christian products, but it is remarkable that the joys of heaven are described in terms of the pagan Elysium. There is an imaginative beauty, music, absence of sickness, of pain, of death; there is no age, decay, or labour. The whole description of heaven has a sensuous, material aspect which reflects that of the old pagan stories. In the latter text there are two hells; besides heaven there is a place for the boni non cullo which corresponds to the island where dwell Enoch and Elijah in the *Voyage of Snefnus*. The conception of this island, which is not heaven, may be borrowed directly from the pagan paradise. The connexion of the pagan Elysium with the Christian paradise is also seen in the title of *Tir Tairngiri*, 'the Land of Promise,' which is applied to the heavenly kingdom or to the land flowing with milk and honey, as in glosses (7th or 8th cent.) on He 6, where *regnun coomorun* is explained by *tir tairgiri*, 'the land of promise,' on Co 10, where the heavenly land is called *tir tairgiri inna mho*; 'the land of promise of the living ones'; thus apparently equating it with the *nab mho* of...
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'Conna's Voyage.' If tir taurnigiri was not already a title of the pagan Elysium, it was now applied to that heavenly abode by a development from the influence of this identification.


10. Elysium in later folklore.—Most of the stories of the pagan Elysium reappear in folk belief almost unchanged. The under or sid world is everywhere in fairy-gounds, forth from its fairy-dwellings into which mortals are sometimes inveigled, and where all the characteristics of the earlier divine world are found—magic lapse of time, marvellous beauty, magical properties. Similarly a marvellous over-sea land is still a commonplace of Celtic Maine and Celtic belief. Tir na Nog is still a living reality to the Celt. Within that fabled land are the mystic and magic things of folk-tale—the fountain of youth, healing balsams, life-giving fruits. It is peopled by marvellous men, and by gods, and by incomparable fairy folk. Sometimes it is visible only to favoured persons, or it is sunk beneath the waves, and comes to the surface only at intervals. But in whatever form it is found, it is obviously linked on to the abode of Elysian gods in the pagan Celtic world.

In the 11th cent. Irish documents, from which our knowledge of Elysium is mainly drawn, and which, of course, imply a recognition of the abode of the immortals, the world of the sid is still the world of divine beings, though these are beginning to assume the traits of fairy folk. But probably among the people themselves the change had already been made, and the sid world was simply fairyland. In Wales the same change had early taken place, as is witnessed by the story of Eildrons enticed by strange people into a shadowy world of fairies. Similar traditions are told by Geraldus Cambrensis (H. anc. i. 5). For the over-sea land see J. F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands, London, 1860—62; MacDougall, Folk and Hero Tales, London, 1891; Howells, Cambrodian Superstitions, Tipton, 1853; Scholz, Fabeln aus der Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschland, Legendäre Fictions, London, 1866; or any collection of Celtic Maeren.


BLEST; ABODE OF THE (Greek and Roman).—f Greek.—In the Homeric poems the gods are the favourite deities; the old strata of the poems is immortality an attribute of man. Complete life for him exists only on earth and in the light of the sun, and only with the complete union of soul and body. When separated from the body, the soul passes out of this world into a shadowy, powerless existence, which is nowhere expressly stated to be eternal. The idea of an earthly paradise, i.e. an abode of bliss upon earth, where life is continued in full vigour without the suffering experience between soul and body which death renders possible, is a poetic conception of the problem of an after-life. A solution so naive does not long remain an article of belief in Greece except among the ignorant vulgar. In the history of religion the idea is absorbed by the belief in immortality, which was soon fostered in Greece under the influence of imported mystical tenets and of philosophic systems founded upon them. The earthly bliss, which at best could be attained only by the favoured few, is transferred into the other world, which is the happy abode after death to all who have lived uprightly. In the history of literature the idea survives as a beautiful fancy which is cherished by poets and often serves in later times as a basis for the romantic re-constructions of human society in which the Greeks found a melancholy consolation for some of the darkest periods of their history.

1. Homer, Hesiod, and the Epic Cycle.—In Homer, as the gods alone are immortal, so they alone can confer immortality. Their favourite heroes, always of divine descent, have such immortality conferred upon them by the drinking of nectar or the eating of ambrosia, and are therefore translated either to heaven or to an earthly paradise such as the Elysian plain. The most striking instance of such an earthly translation is to be seen in Od. iv. 561, where Protons prophesies to Menelias:

But it is not thy destiny, O Menelaus of Zeus, to die and meet thy fate in horse-pasturing Argos. The immortal gods will send thee to the Elysian plain and the verge of the world where fair-haired Rhadamantys dwells, where life is easiest for man. No snow falls there, nor any violent storm, nor rain at any time; but Ocean ever sends forth the clear, shal low waste of the West wind to refresh mankind; because thou hast Helen to wife and they count thee to be son-in-law to Zeus.' (Cf. Eur. Heli. 167 ff.)

Here it should be noted that Elysium is on earth and not in Hades. It is the counterpart of Olympus, the mountain-home of the gods, described in almost the same words in Od. vi. 43—45. Further, Mene lads is not it, but Thetis, as a representative of heroes. Like Rhadamantys, he is of kin to Zeus. The blissful existence in Elysium which is conferred by the gods upon their kin is an exceptional privilege, exactly parallel to the eternity of bliss which they inflict upon their enemies in Erebo (Od. xi. 576 ff.). This is the actual ancestor conception. But in a later period of Hellenism, the conception has become rather than religious. The heroes who have passed thither exert no influence upon the world of men that they have left behind. The gods transfer to them none of their own prerogatives save immortal life. The conception is an extension of the other ideals of blissful, though mortal, existence that are found in Homer—chiefly in the Odyssey, which is permeated by a peaceful spirit characteristic of men who have enjoyed undisturbed quiet long enough to value it, and foreign to the martial temper of the Iliad. Of such ideals the most noteworthy are the idyllic lands of Phaeacii (Od. vii. 81), of the island of Syriee, the home of Eumenes (Od. xv. 409), and idyllic peoples such as the Abii (H. xii. 8) and Ethiopians (H. i. 423).

This enchanting fancy of an earthly paradise became an ideal of the mind of Greek thought once it had been incorporated in the Homeric poems. The common people of Greece were accustomed to the idea of 'translation' in the worship of such heroes as Amphiaraos and Trophonios, who had passed into death and were believed to have been translated to heaven. The 'translation' of heroes, so rare in Homer, is of common occurrence in the post-Homeric Epic. In the Cyprus, Iphigeneia is rescued by Artemis, carried to the land of the Tauri and rendered immortal (Proclus in Euporcan Graec. Fragi., ed. Kinkel, p. 19). In the Aethiopis, Mennon is translated by his mother Eos to her home in the East and made immortal by Zeus at her request (ib. p. 33). In the same poem, Achilles is saved from death by Thetis and conveyed by Proteus to the abode of Zeus (ib. p. 34). In the Telethegenia, the latest of such Epics, Teleconus, the son of Odysseus and Circe, brings the bodies of Penelope, Odysseus, and Telemachus to his mother, who confers immortality upon them in her home in Aeaea (ib. p. 58).

Thus far the idea of an earthly paradise is developed at the will of each particular poet. The fortunate heroes have no common home, but are transferred to magic lands which are alike in nothing else save that the gods have found them. The various strands of fancy are woven together into a consistent whole by Hesiod, in whose poems we meet with the expression 'The Isles of the Blest' for the first time. In Op. et Di. 170 B., after
the description of the three races of Gold, of Silver, and of Bronze, follows a fourth race better than the race of Bronze—the heroes or demi-gods who fought at Thebes and at Troy. Of these, some died gloriously, but others fled away. The number of them is not specified in the works of Homer, Sallust, and Theopompus. Some others were placed in the centre of Libya (Herod. iii. 29) or in the Antipodes (cf. Serv. Aen. vi. 532). The home of Diomedes was found in the Treni islands in the Adriatic (Strabo, vi. 283, 284). Lenke, the Velo of Achilles, was placed in the Enkine (Ael. Fast. iv. 489; Pind. Andr. 1232 f.), Iph. T. 420), at the mouth of the Danube (Paus. iii. 19. 11), and was counted as one of the Isles of the Blessed (cf. Plin. HN iv. 93, "Insula Achilis, eadem Luce Euan Mazaron diatii"). Similar legendary lands are placed near the Indian Ocean (cf. Aristophanes, A. 144; Aesch. frag. 192, Nauck). For further attempts see Hesychius s.v. 'Lesbos,' and Snudia s.v. 'Rhodos.' A parody of the belief will be found in Lucian's Vera Historia, ii. 6 ff. The inscriptions containing references to the Elysian plain and the Isles of the Blessed may be consulted most conveniently in G. Kaibel's Epigra"numa Graecae, exlapidibus collecta, Berlin, 1878. But here it is no question of earthly bliss. The Blessed Isles (Ep. 640. 2), the Elysian plain (Ep. 814. 8), and the Islands of the Blessed (cf. Plin. HN vii. 141), are not of this world, but only testify to a life beyond the grave to which the righteous can aspire. The Epigram on Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus (1046. 8), μη δοξάσαντες τοὺς μάρτυρας τοῦ θαύματος τῆς κόσμου θανάτου, is merely a literary adaptation of the older belief.

2. The Romance writers.—The best account of these will be found in Rohde's Griechische Romantik, pp. 178-260). The political downfall of Greece, which began in the 4th cent. B.C., and the widespread disasters which accompanied it, led men to seek relief from the hopelessness of present affairs in the freedom of fanciful speculations. Social reformers, whether politicians or philosophers, embodied their ideas in sentimental romances—a branch of literature which developed naturally out of the old sagas (e.g. the tale of the Argonauts) and the stories of fabulous adventures and ethnographical curiosities which had long been popular in Greece. As early as Solon we find a comic description of a race of cannibals (Sol. Frag. 36; Hip. 260. 27), and Homer's Mys and Phlegyas (Hom. Iliad 6. 27) and the passage in Hesiod (II. 454) are similar tales. In the eighth book of his Philippics he introduced a description of an ideal country called 'Meroips' with its cities Machimos and Eunës—first a town of warriors, the second the abode of peace and justice. A more philosophic work was 'The Hyperborean' of Hecataeus of Abdera, a philosopher at the court of Ptolemy I., and a pupil of the sceptic Pyrrho. Pyrrho's philosophy was less a theory of doubt than a conviction that the whole world of things was unverifiable, and that a calm indifference was the only feasible rule of conduct. His pupil's romance on the Hyperboreans, who live in the island of Heiuxia, in the Northern Ocean, seems to have been prompted by similar views. Anometus, a contemporary of the first and second Ptolemies, travelled outside the range of native mythology, and based his romance of the Attaeci (Tit. HN vi. 17, 55) upon the Indian legend of the happy land of Uttarakuru, north of the Himalayas (cf. Lassen, WZKM ii. 63, 64). Enriemus of Antissa, after having been shipwrecked, finds his Utopia in the island of Panchaia in the Indian Ocean. Iambulus (of uncertain date, but earlier than the age of Augustus) finds an Island...
BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Hindi)—The Hindus believe that there was, and is still, a place of bliss on earth, a kind of earthly paradise, inaccessible to men, and far far away from our part of the earth. But the idea, frequent among many savage tribes and some civilized peoples, that the brave and the virtuous go to such a place on their decease, seems not to have been current in ancient India. For already in the Rigveda the abode of the dead, who in life have done pious deeds is said to be in heaven above, and, according to the Atharvaveda, the wicked receive their punishment in the hell below.* And in later Sanskrit literature heavens were multiplied to such an extent that the souls of the deceased were amply provided for, and required no dwelling place on earth such as the Islands of the Blessed of the ancients. The Indian belief in a place of bliss cannot therefore have developed from an earlier one in a heaven on earth; but we shall postpone our inquiry into the probable origin of this belief till we have described it in all its details. We must, however, define this place of bliss more accurately as one believed to be still in the earth, in order to distinguish it from the state of bliss which obtained in the Golden Age, when the whole earth, newly come into existence, was, as it were, all one abode of the Blessed.† In the Sanskrit epics, the Purânas, and the classical literature the Uttarâkurus are regarded as the Blessed, and their land as an earthly paradise which is localized in the far North.

1. Site of Uttarâkuru.—It will be convenient first to set forth the Paurânic opinion on the site of Uttarâkuru, since it is the most explicit one. According to the Purânas, the earth, of which India forms part, is a circular island, or rather insular continent, of enormous dimensions, called Jambudvîpa. There are six more such islands, Sîkâdvîpca, etc., which, however, are not connected with our present subject. In the centre of Jambudvîpa rises Mount Meru, 8,400 yojanas above the surface of the earth. The whole continent is divided by six parallel mountain ranges, running due east and west, three south of Meru and three north of it. The southernmost range is the Himalâya, and the fabulous mountains Nîskûta and Sêtavâparâsa, and having vanquished many mythical people, Arjuna reaches the north of the country Harîvâra. There he is warned not to proceed further, because the region beyond Harîvâra is inhabited by certain beings which are not to be mentioned. The Purânas also mention those four countries, substituting, however, Bhârata for Jambudvîpa, and likening them to the petals of a lotus whose pericarp is Mount Meru. Sometimes they seem to be located as continents outside the middle varsa, sometimes as islands lying off the coast of Jambudvîpa in the great ocean. The efforts of the Purânas to explain this result in worse confusion.

* A. M. Butler, *Vedic Mythology* (in Grundriss der Indischen Philol. und Altertumskunde), Strassburg, 1897, p. 29 ff.
† See art. Aces of the World (Indian) in vol. i. p. 200 ff.

The counterpart of Bharatavâra, i.e. the segment to the north of the northernmost range, Śrîgîn, is Uttarâkuru. It may be mentioned that the other varsas, or strips of land between the several mountain ranges, as inhabited are not, in the model of them all seems to have been the Uttarâkurus. From the position of the country of the latter it is clear that they were regarded as the antipodes of men, if it be allowed to apply this term to an earth figured as a disc.

In the Bhishma Parvan, adhy. v. and vi., in a part of the Mahâbhârata of a decidedly Paurânic character, we meet with a somewhat different description of the earth, called here Sudarśana instead of Jambudvîpa, with the number, arrangement, and names of the mountain ranges in the same as in the Purânas, but the names of some of the varsas are different, and those of the two most northern ones are omitted. In vii. 10, however, all the northern segment is called Āravâta, not Uttarâkuru, which, by the way, is also the case with the Jains; yet the excellence of the country and the happiness of the inhabitants of Āravâta are exactly like those of the Uttarâkurus as described in a preceding chapter. In this account (vi. 13) the land of the Uttarâkurus is described as being near the eastern side of Meru, or near the centre of the disc of the earth. Round Meru, we are told, are grouped four dvîpas, lit. 'islands,' but, according to the commentary, countries surrounding by a broad river; these islands are Uttarâkuru N., Bhadrâsa E., Jambudvîpa S., Ketumâla W. Here we must distinguish, it seems, two accounts: the Paurânic account, which is the basis of the description of the earth; and combined with it an older one, which places Meru in the ocean, and the four insular continents round it.* Here, too, Jambudvîpa is the abode of men, and Uttarâkuru that of the Siddhas.

What the present writer considers the earlier of these two accounts is actually the idea underlying the Buddhist system of geography. There Meru rises from the ocean, round it are seven concentric mountain ranges separated from each other by ring-shaped seas, and beyond them, in the vast ocean known to men, are four insular continents—Jambudvîpa S., Pûrvavâdeha E., Uttarâkuru N., and Apraśâtra W. Jambudvîpa, then, is of a triangular shape, and Uttarâkuru, the abode of the Blessed who live 1000 years, forms a square.†

The Jains, whose geography has been developed on the same lines as that of the Paurânas, also place the Uttarâkurus in the centre of the world, the Jambudvîpa, between Gandhâmâdana and Mûlayat, two spurs of Mount Meru running N. and N.E.‡

In such parts of the epics as do not yet exhibit the fully established system of Paurânic geography, the Uttarâkurus are placed in the extreme North in the borderland of the inhabited or known earth. In the Divyâypaçarvan of the Sabhôparvan of the Mahâbhârata (ii. 28), Arjuna's conquest of the northern countries is related. After having crossed the Himalâya and the fabulous mountains Nîskûta and Sêtavâparâsa, and having vanquished many mythical people, Arjuna reaches the north of the country Harîvâra. There he is warned not to proceed further, because the region beyond Harîvâra is inhabited by certain beings which are not to be mentioned. The Purânas also mention those four countries, substituting, however, Bhârata for Jambudvîpa, and likening them to the petals of a lotus whose pericarp is Mount Meru. Sometimes they seem to be located as continents outside the middle varsa, sometimes as islands lying off the coast of Jambudvîpa in the great ocean. The efforts of the Purânas to explain this result in worse confusion.

† TatÔtrââdhyâyana Sûtra, ed. Umâvât, ch. iii., tr. in ZDMG, vol. xiv.
‡ TatÔtrââdhyâyana Sûtra, ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1903, Appendix, p. 28 f.
is that of the Uttarakurus: 'he that entereth if, human, is sure to perish.' In the Rāmāyana (iv. 43) we meet with a description of the North where the monkeys are despatched in search of Sītā. The mountainous regions of the Himalayas, which do not form part of the Pauranic system of geography, are mentioned. In the North sun and moon cease to shed light, and even farther north live the Uttarakurus.* Their country is bounded by the Northern Ocean, in which rises Mount Sumeru, the land of the Nambuyas, which are said to be the home of the demigods, and which itself is so placed as to surround the earth. Notwithstanding the prevalence of Pauranic geography during the classical period and some centuries before it, some faint knowledge of an actual tribe of Uttarakurras, somewhere on the slopes of the Himalayas, seems to have continued even then. Lassen has drawn attention to some notices in the Epics and classical writers where the Uttarakurus are not regarded as a fabulous people. Important in this regard seems to be a passage in the Viśvaveda Brahmana (vii. 151), where the Uttarakuru aurochs are mentioned, upon which a rest against the Mountains, has the following note which sums up the whole question under discussion:

They seem to have been stock from which the Kuru's and the Vriksharvas and the Dhyāra Kangas were originally derived. In both of these branches of the Kuru's engaged in happy rivalry (Xli-P. cix. 1966-40); but the wild recollections of their ancient home idealized it afterwards into a blissful land, where fancy gave itself free scope (Râmây., Ksh. xiv. 69-135). They seem to have occupied the uppermost valley of the Indus near its sources, with Kailâs lying beyond (Yâna-P. cix. 1025-35); and servile imitation also placed them close to Mount Meru on its north side (Bhishma-P. vi. 207-8, and vii. 509), or in the region Harîvaras, and declared men could not enter their sacred land (Sânt-P. cxi. 151-54). Men, living in primitive happiness, and women had the utmost freedom there (742, 4792-93, and Râmây., loc. cit.).

* The first mention of the Uttarakurus is contained in the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa. In viii. 14 we read: 'hence all people living in northern countries, such as the Uttarakurus, Uttarakurānadas, are inaugurated for living without a king (vairâyana), and called Vîrâ, i.e. "without king."' Here the Uttarakuru aurochs seem to be a real people, that in which the Indians, at the time of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, were actually acquainted, or, at least, of which they had some kind of positive knowledge; for the very name Northern Kuru's, and the two tribes mentioned, the Vriksharvas with the Northern Madras, proves that these peoples of the North were regarded as related by kinship to the well-known Indian tribes of the Kuru's and Madras. But the Uttarakurus were already looked upon as superior beings, for in the same Brâhmaṇa (viii. 20) it is declared that Uttarakuru is 'the land of the gods, no mortal can conquer it.'

It must be added that Plotinus (vi. 10) mentions a mountain, people, and town of the name of Uttorokurâ, which obviously stands for Uttarakuru aurochs, and Plutarch in his Historia Plurari and Tacitus. On the other hand, many fables seem to have been told of them. For Pliny says: 'de ipsis privato conditio

* Even in later Pauranic myths we meet with the belief that the gods and the demon lived among the Uttarakurus; e.g. Sâkhâ, the wife of the Sun, escaped in the shape of a mare in order that her husband might not discover her (Harihârâs, 661, P. 12, c. 117, 3), cf. G. F. Kunckel, ch. 77.


* Ib. p. 357.

1. Description of Uttarakuru.—The classical passages about the land and the inhabitants of Uttarakuru are Rāmâyana iv. 43 and Mahâbhârata vi. 7, of which we subjoin a translation:

In Rāmâyana iv. 43 it is said that in the farthest North sun and moon cease to shine, and even farther live the Uttarakurus. There they are said to come to the river Sâkhâ, whose water, according to the Bengal redaction of the text, turns into stone the man who touches it. On either side of this river grow red fruits, which carry the India (Sâkha.) to the opposite bank and back. There is Uttarakuru, the abode of the kuru aurochs, watered by lakes with golden lotuses. There are rivers and water-lilies, leaves of the colour of sapphire and lapis lazuli, and the lakes, other than the one of the sun, are there filled with golden beds of red lotus. The country all round is covered with costly jewels and precious stones, with gay beds of blue lotuses of golden petals. Instead of sand, corn forests, costly woods, and gold form the banks of the rivers, which are covered with trees of gold shining like fire. The trees always bear flowers and fruits, they are of a heavenly smell and touch, and yield all delights; other trees yield milk and milk-yielding trees. They are divided into the seven principal branches. There one always hears the sound of song and music mixed with gay laughter, pleasant to all creatures. There is none who does not rejoice at the sound of the seven desirable sounds, which are out of place there, but on the whole it is in the same strain. Besides the items given above, there are gold and silver, and there is no lack of milk-yielding trees and milk-yielding cows, and of milk-yielding forms of the milk yielding trees. The people there live in dwellings of boiled rice, and trees on which grow beautiful maidens hanging down from their branches.

The description in Mahâbhârata vi. 7 runs thus in Protop Chandra Ray's translation: 'On the south of the Nila mountain there is the northern side of the Himalaya (the Northern Kuru's, which are the residence of the Siddhas. The trees there bear sweet fruits, and are always covered with milk and milk-yielding trees, and yield milk of excellent taste. Some of the trees, again, yield fruits according to the will of (the plucker). There are, again, some other trees, which yield alms given by the alms giver, and milk and six different kinds of food of the taste of Amrita itself. Those trees also yield clothes, and in their fruits are ornaments (for the use of man). The entire land abounds with fine golden sands. A portion of the region there, extremely delightful, is so free as to possess the radiance of the ruby, or of the lapis lazuli, or other jewels and gems. All the seasons there are agreeable, and nowhere does the land become miry. The trees are always covered with the fruits and flowers, and the gold and silver trees, and the trees from which there are dropped from the world of the celestial. All are of more birth, and all are handsome in appearance. There twins (of opposite sexes) grow there, and the children of gold and silver are raised without injury, and in beauty. They drink the milk, sweet as amrita, of those milk-yielding trees, and in the form of milk, without delay, and they are always happy. Some of the opposite sexes grow up equally. Both possessed of equal beauty, both endowed with similar virtues, and both equally blessed, both created in love and grace. The people of that country are free from illness, and are always cheerful. Ten thousand and ten hundred years they live, and never abandon one another. A class of birds called Madrâpura, furnished with sharp beaks, and possessed of great strength, take them up when dead and throw them into mountain caves. One more item must be added. In the following chapter it is narrated that on the south of the Mount Meru three trees grow the jagatind, the jambuh, and the jambudvâra, from which the name Jambudvâri is derived. It touches the very skies, and bears fruits of 1115 cubits circumference. In falling upon the earth these fruits make a loud noise, and then pour out a water which is scattered on the ground. That juice of the Jambu, becoming a river, and passing through the shop and the region of the Northern Kuru's. If the juice of that fruit is quaffed, it conduces to peace of mind. No thirst is ever felt after;' decreases desire and weakness there.'

Most Purânas give no detailed descriptions of the Uttarakurus, for the number of fabulous peoples inhabiting the other vayesa beyond the Himalâya is very great in the Purânas, and all these peoples live in a state of happiness denied to the human race. The Utarikuru is one of the smallest equals of the Uttarakurus who, though still regarded as the blessed race, lost something of the interest originally attached to them. There is, however, a description of Uttarakuru in the Markandeya Purâna vii. 2, which is apparently based

* Schwaner, Megasthenes' Indica, Bonn, 1846, p. 117.

* See Markandeya Purâna, tr. p. 252. (Tr. p. 389.)
BLAST, ABODE OF THE (Japanese).—1. The ancient native religion of Japan, Shinto, had little to say regarding a future life, and the old records or scriptures are silent on the subject. The closest reference to the state of the dead occurs in the Nihongi (Trans. Jap. Soc. Supp. I. i. 296, London, 1896), where the dead Tamichi appears from his tomb as a serpent and kills his enemies. ‘Therefore the men of that time said, “Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?”’ Shinto, in its later developments, has been influenced by Buddhism regarding the future state of the dead. The earlier texts frequently assert that the dead were confined within Yomi (‘darkness’), the Root-country (Ne no kuni), or Bottom-land (Soko no kuni). This neutral-tinted Hades is called ‘a hideous and polluted land’ (Nihongi, i. 24), and one prayer invokes protection against ‘the unfriendly and savage beings of the Root-country’ (Aston, Shinto, London, 1903, p. 187). But, though it is not stated to be the region of the dead, the word yomi appears to have been used metaphorically for the grave or the state of the dead. There are gods in Yomi, and sometimes they and some of the gods there are said to have been born like Izanami, whom her husband, Izanagi, tried to rescue, according to a myth resembling that of Orpheus and Eurydice (Chamberlain, Ko-ji-ki, Yokohama, 1883, p. 36; Nihongi, i. 24; for other tales of descents to Yomi, see Aston, 106, 181; Joly, Legend in Japanese Art, London, 1908, pp. 5, 11). This myth may simply be a reflexion of the belief that mortals, when they died, went to Yomi. Native writers on Shinto have identified Yomi with the state or place of the dead (Dazai Jun [1860-1847], Trans. Third Inter. Cong. Hist. Rel. Oxford, 1908, i. 163; Motoori [1730-1801]; Aston, 55), but the question is obscure. Generally the gods of Yomi are deities of death, disease, pestilence, and poverty, and in a Norto, or Ritual, offences are described as sent to Yomi by the god Ikuni-do-mushi (Aston, 302). In later times, Yomi is regarded as a place of punishment, and is identified with the Buddhist Jigoku, or hell (Joly, 117; Aston, 54, 357).

2. Heaven.—As in most primitive forms of eschatology, the Japanese belief is a compromise between the future state of men of rank, power, and wealth, and that of the masses of the people, so it was probably in Japan. Izanagi, who was not immortal, after his futile attempt to regain Izanami, died, and went, according to one account, to an Island; but, in another, went to dwell in the palace of the Sun. The ‘plain of high heaven’ is also the place where great men, heroes, mikados, and the like are said to go, there to dwell with the gods. This is in accordance with the later designation of men, whether living or dead (mikados, wise, virtuous, and heroic men), who would then be associated with the heavenly deities, as a class of lesser gods. Later Shintoism, adopting Chinese views of the soul, maintains that, at death, the kon, the positive spirit or yotoku, goes to heaven (Aston, 52). Ame, or heaven, where the gods dwell, is minutely described in the early records. It lay just over the earth, and was connected with it by the floating bridge of heaven (perhaps the rainbow), and supported by a pillar, though the sacred tree also described as the pillar of heaven. The tranquil river of heaven is the milky way, where the gods assemble. It has mountains, caves, valleys, streams, groves, fields, trees, and flowers, and all kinds of gods and goddesses. When one goddess on a rock or hill of the sacred tree on one occasion retired, is particularly referred to, as well as the rare jewels, the marvellous mirror, and the splendid robes hung on the sacred sakaki.
tree to tempt her forth. The scenery of the 'plains of high heaven' is that of earth on a more beautiful and extensive scale. (For these details, see Ko-ji-ki and Nihongi.) Tales of mortals ascending to the sky and remaining there, either through miraculous visitors or by divine favour, are common (Joly, 163, 295).

3. The Eternal Land.—Toko-yo no kuni, the Eternal Land, is sometimes spoken of as the place whither certain persons go after death, e.g. the god Sukunahime and her sister, the fire-god Mikado (Aston, 54, 117). This Eternal Land is sometimes identified with Korea or China. From it Tajima Mori brought a fragrant fruit, the orange. The land lay across the sea and took ten years to reach, and on his return he said, 'This Eternal Land is no other than the mysterious realm of gods and goddesses, to which mortals cannot attain' (Nihongi, i, 186-7). In a well-known popular tale the Eternal Land is identified with the palace beneath the waves of the Dragon King of the Sea.

Urasinha, having rescued the king's daughter, went thither with her and remained for three years. At the end of that time long years had passed, and there appeared a box which he gave his wife to open. Having reached his home, he found that over 300 years had elapsed and he was thought to be dead. His daughter told him of the box, where light puff of smoke came from it. This was his soul, and he fell dead (Joly, 384; Aston, 322).

Aston notes that this region is also identified with Hōrai, an island paradise of Japanese legend and art have much to tell. Hōrai is the land of everlasting life, where stands Fusus, the mountain of immortality. On it grows a wonderful tree with roots of gold, a trunk of gold, and fruits of rare jewels. The finest flowers and fruits, all unfading, grow there; eternal spring reigns; the air is always sweet, the sky always blue. The place is rarely found by mortals, though many have sought it, for it is visible only for a moment after afar off.

One favourite story tells how Wasabrose reached it after long voyaging and was met there by Joloku, another mortal visitor, who had fled from a tyrannical emperor under pretence of seeking the herb of immortality, and had found life so pleasant in Hōrai that he had no wish to return. Wasabrose also remained there for two hundred years, which lapsed away as in a dream. All things remained as in a perpetual present, there was neither birth, nor death, nor change of any kind. The island was peopled by wise men and beautiful women, the elect of the gods, and with them he passed the years with happiness. But he was of this unvarying beauty and sweetness and calm, and longed for death or escape. Finding no means of dying, for death was impossible there, he trained a glove to be his death. He put a fish in it and put it on his back. After many other wanderings he returned to Japan to tell of his adventures (Kern, SBE xi. 476; Tōnken, 1855, 146; Rinder, Old-World Japan, London, 1895, 79; Joly, 126, 253, 386).

4. Western Paradise of Japanese Buddhists.—Several influential sects of Buddhism in Japan, though their teaching is rejected by many other Japanese Buddhists, owe their popularity to their doctrine of the Western Paradise of Amitā. This doctrine of Northern Buddhism was first introduced into Japan in definite form by the Jōdo Shin, or ' Sect of the Pure Land,' and it is plainly expressed in one of the books of the Northern Buddhist canon, honoured and widely read by these sects, the Hok-ki-ki, the Japanese name for the Lords of the South, the land of the extremely rhetorical and imaginative work. The founder of the Jō-dō sect in Japan was the Buddhist saint, Hōnen (1133-1211), the fundamental tenet of his teaching being belief in the power of the saintly Amitābha, the Lord of the South, to save the soul of the believer to the Western Paradise. This teaching was based on that of the Chinese founder of the sect, Zenō. Entrance to the pure land of Amitābha after death was made to depend upon belief in, and repetition of, prayer to Amitā; and this simple doctrine, easily understood, at once became popular. According to Hōnen,

'Perfect bliss Amitābha would not have till he knew that all who would invoke him might be saved. This is his primal vow. Every sentient being, the chance of being born in the western paradise is in existence amongst the peoples. Whoever calls earnestly upon his name, all the beings of the Western Paradise, at the time of his birth, will enter the Western Paradise. Amitābha, as in his own body, will be born among his people, and will come to him, welcome him with all his attainments; or shall obstacles nor demons keep him back' (Aneeski, 'Honen, the Priest Saint, Trans. Third Interpreters of Rel., Oxford, 1893, 166).

Even more emphatically is faith in Amitā alone taught by the Shin-shin, or True Sect, which also holds out the reward of the Western Paradise, in painting it in more attractive colours, while it teases that not one of these rewards of Amitā allow the believer under his protection to conduct the dead to paradise, but even now, immediately upon his profession of belief. The Nichiren Sect, on the other hand, teaches that a man must work out his own salvation. Amitā dwells in this blissful Western Paradise or Pure Land, called Sukhāvati, as ruler of the blessed dead. In it, said Hōnen,

'There shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, age or race; no life, no death; all shall have full life, after having called, with complete desire, on Amitā. Just as a great stone, if on a ship, may complete a voyage and be carried by the great waves of the ocean, so we, though our sins be heavy as giant boulders, are borne as if by the falling leaves to the other shore, and are not sinking in the sea of birth and death' (Aneeski, i, 125).

The Pure Land is open to all who wish to be reborn there, and this blissful existence is thus made easy for all to whom the necessary discipline for the final attainment of Nirvāna is too great, or too difficult, or too difficult, or because of sickness, or because of the difficulties, while it has taken the place of Nirvāna in practical thought. The Pure Land is thus described in the Saddharma Pundarika:

'There no women are to be found; there sexual intercourse is absolutely unknown; gold and silver are the coins of the land; the poor turn into existence by appositional birth, are sitting in the unending laps of eternity; all of the Chief Amitsūbha blushed and sat on a throne in the pure and nice cup of a lotus, and shines as the Sāla-king' (Kern, SBE xxii. 417).

The same work also states that any female, after reaching the age of twenty-five, immediately returns to its twenty-second chapter ('Ancient Devotion')

'will, after disappearing from earth, be reborn in the world Sukhāvati, where the Lord Amītābha, the Tathagata dwells, exists, lives, surrounded by a host of Bodhisatvas. There will be he (who formerly was a female) appear seated on a throne consisting of the interior of a lotus; no affection, no hatred, no infatuation, no pride, no envy, no wrath, no malignity will vex him.' He becomes a Bodhisattva, his equal is not to be found in the universe, nor does he prefer this existence.

Again, those who wish and keep this Sutra shall, when they die, arise and stand in the company of the gods of the paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come to look after them, and they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs' (ib. 485).

Vivid descriptions of the Western Paradise abound in the larger and smaller Sukhāvatīvyāha, works which are of authority to the Pure Land and Shin-shin sects (SBE xlii. pt. ii., Oxford, 1894). In the smaller work, birth in the Land of Bliss occurs if the name of Buddha Amiṭābha is merely repeated for a few nights before death; and it asserts that birth there is not a reward and result of good works in earthly life (op. cit. 98 f.); but in the larger work the doctrine of merit is not thus neglected. According to both works, the Happy or Blissful Land is a state where there is neither mental nor bodily pain, for pleasure is universal there, and there is no fear of suffering, and the length of life there is immeasurable. It is adorned with terraces, and enclosed on every side with the four gems, gold, silver, beryl, and crystal. It contains lotus lakes adorned with gems, on their banks gold and silver flowers of various colours. There are great rivers of different kinds, with waters of different sweet odours, bearing up flowers of different perfumes and adorned with different gems. The dwellers there bathe in the waters, wearing whatever vesture and of whatever colour they desire, and are exactly of the temperature they prefer. Exquisite music is
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caused by the flowing of the rivers, by the trees and bells, by innumerable birds singing in concert. Every one born in that land is endowed with spirit, and is not lacking in any of the elements of virtue, and obtains dress, ornaments, gardens, produce, and every enjoyment of touch, taste, smell, and sound. Whatever food they desire they enjoy without even tasting it. Or if they desire musical instruments, or ornaments, or a palace, these appear before them and are produced as they dwell and enjoy themselves, surrounded by myriads of Apsarases. Language and metaphor are exhausted in these two works to set forth the bliss of this glorious, fertile, and beautiful Paradise. Probably the idea of the land of bliss, a region of the Earth, is preserved in the Land of Bliss was the Brahmanic teaching regarding the city of Varuna in the west, sometimes called Sukhā, or 'the Happy' (Max Müller, introd. SBE xix. pt. ii. p. xxii). Many Japanese works have been composed on the Western Paradise of Amābitā.

See, further, Buddhist section of this article, p. 687.


J. A. MACULLOCH.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Persian).—The Persian tradition concerning an abode of the blest of Paradise has come to us through three main sources, each with its wide-spread interpretation as a Flood legend, an additional element of complication being the divergent theories regarding the original character of its hero, the Indo-Iranian Yima-Yima. In view of this confusion it seems best to give first, without comment, the data of the Avesta and Pahlavi literatures, then the spread of the belief to other religious systems and its possible parallel in Norse mythology, and finally to discuss the meaning of the legend.

Data of the Avesta, etc.—The earliest source for the Iranian legend of the abode of the blest on earth is the second part of Vendidad ii., which falls into two parts, 1–20 treating of Yima and his Golden Age, and 21–43 devoted to Yima's suffering, which, here, can be considered as constituting the abode of the blest on earth.

This chapter may be summarized as follows (cf. also the analysis on the basis of textual criticism and the tr. by Goldner in Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxv. 179–192). Yima was the first of mortals, excepting Zoroaster, to whom Ahura Mazda taught his religion (1–2); but on his confession that he was 'neither formed nor learned to remember and to sustain the faith,' Ahura Mazda urged him 'to further creatures, to increase creatures, and he be the protector, guardian, and overseer of creatures,' to all of which Yima agreed, declaring that 'in my kingdom there shall be neither cold wind nor hot, neither dimension of day nor night, nor no limit of four seasons. For even the earth was full of cattle small and great, of men, and dogs, and birds, and fires red and blazing,' so that he was compelled to come south and enlarge the earth by 600,000 yojanas. In 600 years he was forced to enlarge the earth by two-thirds, and in 300 years by three-thirds, still proceeding southward (12–20). Here ends the first section of the chapter. In the second part, which here concerns us more immediately, Ahura Mazda, the 'king of spiritual angels' meet Yima and the 'best men' in the holy region of Aryanam Vaejō, which may perhaps be identified with Azerbaijan (Jackson, Zoroaster, New York, 1905, vol. i. p. 119); but it is more important as representing the coming of terrible winters (on the translation of this difficult passage see Bartholomae, Zum altiran. Worterb., Strasbourg, 1896, p. 60). Yima is accordingly commanded to

Aryanam Vaejō is also identified by Darmesteter (Le Zend. Avest. de Tuit., p. 171) with Arrin, the name of the 'city of Ormuz,' in Trans-Caucasia, and by Marquart (Erdkunde, Berlin, 1901, p. 115) with Chorumena; but, as Bartholomae very pertinently remarks (ibid., 1896, p. 151), 'es ist nicht zu bestimmen, wohin man es verlegt hat.'

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make a vara a baraotu (according to the tradition, 2 miles) square, which should serve as an abode for men and cattle, and which should be surrounded with water in such a way (according to the tradition, 1 mile) long, with birds along its banks. To this service moreover, should be taken the germs of cattle, human beings, men, women, girls, boys, dogs, cats, all kinds of foods, and these germs should be in pairs (uṣṇaḥstra) and concealing 'all kind of good things which should be found (citra susravat) (caraśtra, possibly, however, only a plurale majusculum); whatever there be no sort of deformity, disease, or infirmitv should here be found (varad-e sita-sitah, 119–25). In the midst of the sea of the abode of the blest of Paradise, in the middle six, and in the lower three, the first being 1000 germs of human beings, the second 600, and the lower 300; and there was also to be found 'having its own light on the inner side' (dastāt) as well as 'houses, men, and a cellar, an altar, a fire, and a bastian, and a circumanivation' (25). This vara, which was to be inhabited by 'stamped apart, with the heels and dog asunder with the hands' (yantra), was accordingly identified with the abode of the blest of Paradise. The original of the vara was from 'lights self-determined and world-determined (i.e. eternal and transitory). Only once (each year) does one idol the setting and the rising of the sun, and on this old they think that what is a year is but a day. When 40 years have elapsed, from two human beings are born two human beings, twins, both male and female; so (also) of them that are of animal kind. And these human beings, who are in the vara that Yima made, live with most happy life (40–4). The religion of Ahura Mazda was brought to the vara by the bird Karshapi (the spiritual lord of all birds and acquainted with speech; cf. Bundāhīš, xvii. 10, 16, xxxiv. 185, 186), and the Zoroaster religious are Urvātapa-nas (one of the three earthly gods of Zarathustra and the head of the agricultural class; cf. Bundāhīš, xix. 5, xxxiv. 187, 198, 199, 263).

The remaining Avesta material of relevance in the present connexion adds little to the main source just summarized. Aryanam Vaejō is described as the garden created by Ahura Mazda (Vendidad i. 2), and in it, as a sort of eminently holy, sacrifice was offered by Zoroaster (Vāt y. 104–106, ix. 25–27, xvii. 45–47; see also Jackson, loc. cit.), and even by Ahura Mazda (Vāt y. 17–19, xv. 38), and there are a number of admissions to the Golden Age, but where the most of the blest of Paradise is concerned. Although, though the first section of Vendidad ii. shows that this Golden Age is a tradition separate originally from that of the vara, to which it forms a quasi-prelude (see Yasna ix. 4–5; Vāt y. ix. 8–11, xv. 15–16, xvi. 28–31, xxv. 32–33; Aogemadādāt, 94–95; cf. also the Pahlavi Jamaspī-Namaḵ, ed. and tr. Modi, Bombay, 1903, p. 113 f.).

The Pahlavi literature adds considerable information to our knowledge of the Persian abode of the blest on earth. The account given in Vendidad ii. Bundāhīšī is repeated somewhat in Bundāhīšī vii. 20–24, Bundāhīšī xxix. 14, that 'the enclosure' formed by Yim is in the middle of Pārs, in Srvāk; thus, they say, that what Yim formed is below Mount Yimaikān (see West, SBE v. 190, note b.); but it is more correctly stated (see West, 1868, p. 143); but Dinā-Ī Mānān-Ī Khurāxi lxvi. 15–19, says that 'the enclosure formed by Yim is constructed in Airāvējō, below the earth' (so also Bundāhīšī xxxii. 5, and the Persian RaBERT, ed. and tr. Sachau, JRAS, 1885, p. 226 ff., esp. p. 253), adding that there men lived 300 years. The same treatise describes the blissfulness of Aryanam Vaejō (xxiv. 17–35), where, despite the evils of many serpents and ten months of winter, men live 300 long years, with one child every winter. In the first 300 years, keeping the primitive faith and virtues of the earth. The real 'crux in the interpretation of the vara is constituted by the passages Dūstāstān-Ī Dēnak xxvii. 94–96; Dīnī-Ī Mānān-Ī Khurāxi xxvii. 27–31; Bahman (and other texts, see West, SBE v. 190, note b.); Aogemadadāt, xix. 1–4, and Jamaspī-Namaḵ, tr. Modi, p. 118.

The most complete of these passages, with which all the rest are closely connected, is Dūstāstān-Ī Dēnak xxvii. 94–96, 100 f. (101 f.): 'One (of the proofs of the ultimate triumph of Ahura Mazda over Ahriman) is this, that is, even that prodigious devastation of which it is declared that he caused the snow to fall of Mokhsh, when, through snow, innumerable cold, and the unproductiveness of the world, most mortals die; and even

* West (SBE xxv. 109, note 8) takes this to imply 'that its position could no longer be discovered on earth.' The passage Vendidad ii. 31–32 should, however, be considered in this connexion.
the things attainable by mortals are attended with threatening of scarcity. Afterwards—as among the all-wise, preconcertedly and solemnly popularized, spiritism was established that there is one of the species of hands that is called 'the enclosure formed by Yim,' through which, by orders issued in the month of Tishri, the son of Yima and Vivanga, the world is again filled—men of the best races, nullifying the unbelief of those most sacred foods, in that manner came back miraculously for the restoration of the world; which new men are substituted for the former mortals, who were an uprooted dead.

The tales of Zoroastrian chronology drawn up by West SIR viii. 33-41) show that the accession of Yima took place in the year 3500 B.C.; but he was slain by manu ante reloginion 2500-5500 B.C., and that the winter of Maliksh (Avesta, Marhidia) was to take place in the century named, A.D. 770-780, so that the son of Yima would have lasted over 3500 years.

2. In other religious systems.—The legend of Yima's wana was borrowed by Mehozism, which, and has also been claimed to exist in Judaico-Christian apocryphal literature. In the former system, according to oral traditions collected by Petermann and Stoiuli (Brandt, Mandische Religion, Leipzig, 1899, p. 154), the earth, after the depleating catastrophes of the end of the world, will be re-peopled from wana wana, a mysterious and invisible, but transitory, locality upon the earth, where dwell perfectly righteous, religious, and happy men who die without pain. Other sources locate wana wana either beyond the northern boreal mountain range, or, as in the scanty and late allusions in the Genzes (r. 29, 18; 302, 18; 333 ult. —339, 5), regard it as floating in the clouds (Brandt, op. cit. pp. 371 f., 53, 601). In this Mandean wana wana (ib. p. 154) was probably rightly, a reminiscence of Yima's wana. As regards the Judaico-Christian borrowing, it will be sufficient to refer to Bökle, Verwandschaft der jud.-christl. mit der pars. Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1902, pp. 130-144, who mentions Commodian's Instructions, II, 7, and compares Genes. apol. 341 f., with Narratio Zosimi, ch. 10, as well as the Ethico-Conflicts of the Holy Apostles, even though it seems to the present writer that the resemblances here noted by Bökle are too general in character, and too near akin to what would naturally occur to one describing a place of ideal bliss, to be positively claimed as borrowed from Iranian belief. An analogue to the legend of Yima's wana has been sought, as common property of the Indo-Germanic peoples, by Rohde (Mythology, London, 1890, p. 306-390, esp. pp. 379-388) in Norse mythology. With the wana he compares the Norse Jord lifanda manna ('earth of living men'), or Odainsark ('acre of the not-dead'), a land either subterranean or on the surface of the earth, where the dead, then, juxtaposed, enable living men to reach. In this realm, which was ruled by Gudrun (Minim) and enclosed by bulwarks that no disease, death, or age could surmount, and where none could die, men lived many generations (cf. also Meyer, De germ. Mythol., Berlin, 1891, pp. 126 f., 134 f.). Furthermore, the final cataclysm will be preceded by the futoelvetr, a three years' winter with no summer, during which Lif and Lifthrasir ('Life' and 'Immortality') conceal themselves in Hoddmimer's groove, whence, after all the rest of mankind have been destroyed, they will emerge and re-peopie the earth (Sőderblom, La vie future d'après le mazdeisme, Paris, 1901, pp. 204-221; de la Saussaye, Religion de l'Inde, 1902, p. 351 f.; see also below, p. 386, n. 17). The latest, and almost certainly, a Norse account (de la Saussaye, loc. cit.; Meyer, op. cit. p. 163), and though it would be, in the present writer's opinion, a scarcely warranted assumption to suppose that the Norse and Iranian traditions form a connection, it may be, nevertheless, that the two legends of an earthly abode of the blest serve to illustrate each other. Arising independently and under different conditions, they might yet be parallel in their psychological development.

The most important question of parallelism, however, is that raised by the fact that Yima is an Indo-Iranian figure, facing his counterpart in the Indian Yama (cf. Spiegel, Arcische Perioide, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 243-256). The original nature of Yama has been the subject of much speculation (cf. the data and references in Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, London, 1897, p. 190). If, in the writer's opinion, it may be regarded as admitting of little doubt that, whatever theosophical and even astro-mythological attributes were given him, he was, primarily, as the Atharvasvaedca Yima, the Indo-Iranian equivalent of the Hebrew Elohim, the first to die (ye namara prathama martarpman). He is thus the king of the dead (Yigedca, xvi. 771, 771), for whom 'may Yama there mete out abodes' (yrd yamah sadatas min motus, x. xvii. 13), 'there obviously being his realm in this man in Yama at the same time observing it rising above the eastern horizon.' Yama is the antipodal point to Rûm (ib. pp. 372, 383), and, in accordance with tāqub and al-Fazān, the country of the 'limbo' of the fallen spirits. The name Dērāb (Yara) for Tārām, i.e., ṣur, or 3, is within a sexa...

As koš means "castle" and Yama is the angel of death, the word reminds me of Kangdž, which, according to the Persians, had been brought by Zoroaštra or Jam (rather than Jamshid, the king of the east, behind the sea, for dīz means in Persian "castle," as koš in the Indian language") (ib. p. 350). Kangdž (the name of Yima's abode) is thus the invisible castle, or castle, separate from Airāvātē, so closely associated with the sacred (Bûndahish xxiv, 57, 55; Dîyâ̄ Mānîqû Xaṛāh xxiv. 12-15; Sad Dar x. 7), and as 'in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed of the widespread ocean towards that side' (Bûndahish xxvi. 10). Hyde (Hist. religionis veterum Persarum, Oxford, 1760, p. 173) records, from a manuscript of the Aitongast, a mythical city of Jagandā ('City of Yama-Yima') on the equator to the extreme east, and Abul Fida describes Jamkūt, or, as the Persians called it, Jagandā, as on the equator, to the extreme east, and antipodal to the easternmost (east and South) islands of Zoroastrianism (ib. p. 350). Yama is the present writer to be specifically an Indo-Iranian development. If all events, the data do not appear to him to warrant any real connexion or kinship between Yama and Yima's wana—the location is too different, the chronology, too distinct, the development of events is too great, and the development of Yama and Yima in India and Iran is too divergent from the Indo-Iranian period onward to render possible a theory of a connexion of two absolutely mythical places, which, after all, can no more be localized than the 'west'. The present writer has therefore...

3. Meaning of the legend.—The view is widely current that the story of Yima and his wana is a legend of the Deluge—a theory defended with much learning by Kohut (ZDMG xxx. 61-68), Usener (Die Sintflutagen, Bonn, 1899, pp. 208-212), and Geibner (Geschichte in Mittheilungen der antropol. Gesellschaft in...
BLEST, ABOBE OF THE (Semitic)

Wien, xxxi. 328 f., Darmester (op. cit. ii. 191, lii. pp. Iviii-ix), and Linder ('Die iran. Flut-
sage,' in Forschungen R. v. Roth, Stuttgart, 1885, pp. 213-216). This hypothesis has been-
as has been shown by Bishop Casertalli (Philoso-
phy of the Mazdayasnam Religion under the Sassanids, Eng. tr., Bombay, 1889, p. 198 f.), and
especially by Söderblom (op. cit. pp. 167-222, where will be found a rich collection of parallels
and full citation of authorities on both sides).

Not only is the vara of Yima eschatological
in purpose, and existing for centuries, but certain
other chosen heroes, as Windischmann observes
(Zoroastr. Studien, Berlin, 1895, pp. 244-249), are
also the subjects of motifs more than eschatological significance, for it would seem to be a
blending of two motifs, the Golden Age and the Aboe of the Blest, plus a migration
tradition of distinct value. The first two motifs
have in common a time-phrased identity, but a
brief note may be appended on the story as a
migration legend. Ayiryan Vâqô, the scene of
the Golden Age of Yima (see above, p. 702*) was,
besides its sanctity and beauty, a land where, as
the Vendidâd states (i. 9), ' there are ten winter months,
two summer months. There is the centre of
winter, there the heart of winter.' From this
region, according to Vendidâd ii., Yima, after
900 years, was forced by increase of population to
go southward, and to repeat the story after 900
years. This can be explained only as the southward
migration of the Iranians (very probably, indeed,
of the Indo-Iranians), and it would seem as though
the tradition which locates the vara in ' the middle
of Pârs' marks this place as the centre of the
Iranian peoples when they ceased their wandering.
At this time, there were found in the mind of the
people a tradition of memory as the realm of the
Golden Age, and in it, by a transfer of thought which
would not be unnatural, was localized the vara, the
abode of the blest. The migration thus suggested
would seem to have been identified away so generally held,
of the wandering of the Indo-Iranian stock from
the early home of the Indo-Germanic races in
Europe through Armenia into north-western
Persia, and so south through the mountain passes
leading to the Panjâb. This wandering, too,
accounts for the fame of Yima as a builder of
cities, among them Sârâ or Hâmadân, Ctesiphon,
and the ruin still known as the Taht-i Jamsîd,
or 'Throne of Jamsîd,' at Persepolis (Justi,
Iran. Namenbuch, Marburg, 1889, p. 144; Win-
dischmann, op. cit. p. 30; Mirkhoud, Hist. of the
104 f.; Jackson, Persia Past and Present, New
York, 1906, p. 310).

LITERATURE.—This has been given in detail in the article.

* See Barton, Semitic Origins, 29-96.

† See Barton, Semitic Genesis, xxvi.-vii.

‡ As to the identity of Gihon and Pison, views diverge.

Delitzsch (Wo bly das Paradies) identified these with
Ghâzanān, one of the rivers near the Babylonian
Kassite city of Chaldis, which was the
Kassite country to the east of the Persian Gulf.

Haupt (Die Versammlung der Länder von Mesopotamia
1889-1892) had found the Gihon with the Red Sea
and the Pison with the Nile, regarding Cush as
Nubia. Hommel (Abenteuer und Abhandlungen, 395-396)
identifies all these with the Euphrates, except the
Suphan, which becomes the Euphrates in Arabia.

Gunkel holds all the rivers to be heavenly rivers sus-
gested by the Milky Way (Genesis, p. 59).
for the primitive oasis is changed into a garden, the name of which is Babylonian.

It seems that a form of this story was naturalized at Tyre—a form in which Tyre, or the temple there, was regarded as Paradise. Our witness to this is the 4th century b.c. If Ezekiel's Eden was preserved in Tyre, or at least as Ezekiel conceived it, Paradise was a garden, but it was situated on a mountain. Its tree was no longer a palm, but a cedar. In this garden were many precious stones, and, if we read back Ezekiel's description of any mountain in ch. 47, a river flowed out of it. Ezekiel's picture modifies the primitive conception of the oasis still more than does the account in Genesis. It corresponds strikingly to the description of the sacred abode of Hammab, the god of Eden, in the fifth tablet of the Gilgamesh epic. In connexion with that was a grove of sacred cedars. Out of the mountain on which it was situated a sacred river ran, and here divine voices were heard (cf. KB iv. 457, 441, 573). Cuneiform inscriptions recovered at Susa in recent years show that the sign for cedar tree was there a part of their deity's name. Probably this portion of the epic, or the story which lies behind it, had influenced the Tyrian conception of Paradise. This primitive paradise was thought by both Babylonians and Israelites to be formed by the dawn of civilization. In Genesis a serpent tempted woman to eat the fruit of the sacred tree, and she effectually tempted man. The motive is that they may become like gods, knowing good and evil. Knowing good and evil*, is equivalent to having reached the age of puberty. The result of the sinfull act of Adam and Eve is that they perceive that they are naked, i.e. become conscious of sex. Clothing is invented, and child-bearing begins.* It is clear, therefore, that this story belonged to the period of the Golden Age with the dawning of the consciousness of sex. The Midrash Rabba, Genesis, § 20, holds that the serpent was an emblem of the sexual passion. Their sacred tree, the palm, was also bi-sexual, and its fertilization was a sacred act.† Whether the serpent and the tree were or were not conscious used because of symbolic significance, one element in the Biblical story—and it is the most important element—was the idea that primitive paradise was lost by the union of man and woman.‡ This is the view propounded by the Jewish Talmud and thence, the Gilgamesh was permitted to make a journey, from which he returned. The road to this island was a long journey, in the course of which one came to a great pass in the mountains of Mashu. This was guarded by scorpion-men. After this pass came a long road of midnight darkness. At last one came out to a 'park of precious stones,' after which a bitter river had to be crossed. Next came the 'waters of death,' beyond which the divine island lay (KB vi. 211–220). It was formerly thought that the Mashu mountains were to be looked for in Arabia, as was the 'park of precious stones,' that the 'bitter river' was the Persian Gulf, that the 'sea' above the south of the Dead Sea, and that the happy isle lay to the south of Babylonia (cf. KB iv. 467, 460, 473). Jensen, however, has proposed a different view. He now holds that the mountains of Mashu were the Lebanit and Anti-Lebanit ranges; that the 'park of precious stones' was by the Dead Sea coast; the Mediterranean was the 'bitter river'; the 'waters of death' lay to the westward of the Straits of Gibraltar; and the abode of the gods was in the Atlantic Ocean (cf. KB iv. 573 ff. and Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur, I, 24, 34, 47, Map ii.). This view has been accepted by Zimmer (KAT.573 ff.). One strong reason in Jensen's mind for this view is his belief that the Gilgamesh epic is based on a sun myth, and the sun travels from east to west. Gilgamesh was told, it is true, when he was desirous of crossing the dreadful waters, that only Shamash (the sun) crossed them. In favour of Jensen's view, too, is the fact that Ezekiel speaks of a garden in which are precious stones at Tyre. This would correspond to Jensen's conception of a sacred grove of cedars, the dawn of civilization and that which is described below. The story of primitive Paradise held that man once had a blissful abode, with the gods on earth, but had lost it. The Par-napishpit and Gilgamesh stories hold that it is still possible that one or two ancient heroes may have attained the happy isle, and found a blissful abode with the gods.

The third view is that of the abode of the bliss on earth developed among the Jews in the two centuries before Christ, in connexion with the Messianic hope. It was believed that the Messianic kingdom would be established, and the living Israelites to enjoy it were but few in comparison with the great host that had died. The author of Is 26, therefore, writing about B.C. 334, declared that departed Israelites should be raised from Sheol (Is 261) to share in this kingdom. This reversed the time-honoured conception with reference to the deceased, for it was accepted, as Ps 8810 and 119 show. It was, however, accepted by the author of Enoch 1–36, who wrote B.C. 200–170, and who thought that dead Israelites would be raised to enjoy a Messianic abode of bliss. In Ch. 22, before whom the earth would in itself be an abode of the bliss. Its capital was to be at Jerusalem (25). Those who attained it would enjoy lives like the patriarchs (25), or everlasting lives (5), though 'ever lasting' is elsewhere defined as five hundred years (108). (For later conceptions of the Messianic kingdom as an abode of the bliss on earth, see MESEIIAH and KINGDOM OF GOD.) When the Messianic kingdom would come, however, was uncertain, and this writer accordingly conceived of another earthly abode for the bliss until the resurrection should occur. In ch. 22 he gives an extended description of the under world. This he pictures as divided into four parts. One of these is for the very wicked, another for the less wicked, another for good, and the last for the righteous or good. There are thus thought to be two subterranean abodes of the bliss in Sheol. All these dead, except the very wicked, are to be raised. Sheol is but a temporary abode for all except the most distant, and they do not win any degree upon their delights, and the wicked are tormented. Although this elaborate
BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Slavonic).—The ideas of the pagan Slavs concerning the state of the dead are known to us only from indirect testimony and, even then, only by means of folk-belief. While some mediavial chroniclers deny that the Slavs had any conception of a future life (which is unlikely), others freely assert it, and there is no reason to doubt the existence of definite beliefs on the subject (see Schafarik, Slav. Alterthümer, Leipzig, 1844, i. 583; AncesTor-Worship [Slavonic]). Three existing words denote the abode of the dead—Nya, Raj, and Peklo. The two last now denote heaven and hell respectively, but Raj evidently denoted originally a pagan paradise, as is shown by the reading of one chronicler, who says that 'Krok went into the Nya,' while the god of the dead, or Pluto, is called Nya by the Polish chronicler Długosz, who says that the people ask him to carry them after death. But in modern folk-belief it is generally supposed that the dead are sent to one of these places, which are often compared to the paradise of the ancient Egyptians, New York, 1905, pp. 115-137; Jensen, Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur, i, Strassburg, 1896 Breasted, History of Egypt, 1899, pp. 3-5.

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BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Teutonic)—

1. Introduction.—The hints supplied by myth, folk-belief, and occasional passages of existing texts, suggest that, in earlier times and probably for a long time, the idea of the state of the dead was not definitely formulated in Teutonic belief. The funeral mobilier as well as statements in the texts regarding burial shows that life after death continued the life on earth. The dead may have been supposed to ascend to the sky either in a body to ascend in the air or to frequent the grave, while souls of warriors continued to fight in the air. Conceptions of a more permanent sort may, however, have arisen quite early and ultimately gained ground. When the dead were committed to the waves, this suggests that, their abode was over sea, and the passage in Procopius (de Bello Goth. iv. 20) about fishermen, subject to the Franks, rowing souls over by night to Brititia, may be a reminiscence of such a belief. But we find also a more general belief in the dead living in their barrows or burial-mounds, or in hills—they 'die into the hills.' There they feast in happiness, and occupy themselves with the good of their surviving kindred, and their presence in these huts, or hills, is a source of joy either to the neighborhood (Rehb. and Powell, Corp. Poet. Babulœ [=CPP], Oxford, 1883, i. 415 ff.). Nor is it unlikely that some of the gods, e.g. Odin, had also their abode at first, several mountains being sacred to Odin (Grimm, i. 132). Odin was especially the god of dead warriors, and their abode may at first have been with him in hills, since later tradition represents great heroes as slumbering in hills, sometimes, as in the case of King Charles, in the Odenberg, with Odin (Grimm, iii. 953 f.). These heroes may represent the dead warrior, the pagan belief, or the gods themselves considered as mountain-dwellers. Again, the souls of dead warriors are seen issuing from and returning to a mountain (ib. 954). Thus the warrior host in the mountain may be an earlier form of the warrior host in the heavenly Valhalla (Simrock, Handb. 189).

In the Elder and Younger Eddas the conceptions of Hel, the under world of the dead, and Valhalla, the warriors' heavenly abode, are met with. Both may have been developed from the belief that the dead lived in a subterranean cave below the earth, or in hills. Hel, 'the hollow place,' would be an extension of the hollow hill or barrier, and a similar development of the under world from the grave is met with in Celtic belief (see Celts), while the idea of the fierce, fierce warriors of Hel as warriors to a sky-Valhalla would easily be made, the sky being frequently supposed to rest on hills. Vigfusson and Powell consider that the idea of Hel as the abode of the dead cannot be clearly reconciled with the early belief in the dead living in their barrows (CFF 1. 420). Byberg (Teut. Mythol., London, 1889, p. 505) recognizes the two views by showing that, in Teutonic belief, man did not consist simply of body and soul, but of 'a combination of factors, in which death could be separated,' so that the dead could at the same time descend to Hel and inhabit the grave-mound. This is in accordance with primitive and even Egyptian ideas of man's personality as consisting of regions or slices of his being after death. At the same time, the ideas of the barrier and of Hel seem rather to represent different strata of belief.

The subterranean region of Hel may at first have been considered as the abode of all the dead, not excluding warriors, even Balder going there when he was slain, and, as late as Wulfgang of Corybel, the idea of Hel as a place for all the dead was current. Indeed, Hel was supposed to be a 'Hel so great as to contain such a multitude of the slain!' (Grimm, ii. 801). But side by side with this we find the idea, whether of later Viking origin or not, that warriors have a separate abode. They are, therefore, supposed to have not been conceived as dwelling with Odin in the hill, or, as in the Edda, in the heavenly Valhalla.

2. Was Hel an abode of the blest?—Hel is usually

sacred city hidden beneath deep waters, reached by 'Pity's road,' and inhabited by the Holy Elders (the dead), is spoken of.

But there must also have existed ideas of a magnificent abode for the dead, or a heavenly paradise reached by a mountain of glass or iron, difficult to climb. The nail-clippings of the dead man, or bear's claws, were buried with him to enable him to climb it. Among the Poles exists the belief that lost souls must climb it as a punishment; when they have reached the summit, they slip down again (Grimm, ii. 836). According to some forms of this myth, the glass mountain crownéd with a golden palace stands in the midst of a great orchard in the paradise of souls, and they ascend it by means of the bear's claws (Mainland and Gerl. Mythen, Berlin, 1858, p. 380). The moun

tain recurs in Slavonic and other European folk-tales, in which the hero rescues a princess, or gains the hand of a fair being from its summit (CF, P. 412).

Certain folk-tales, peculiar to the Slavs, speak of a mysterious land above the sky, wherein dwell beings or animals of supernatural character and magic power, while in this land are great wealth, many magical objects, and abundance of food. This country is described as a mountain which gives out pie, cake, and a pot of stewed grain; another, a hut with walls of panelakes, benches of white bread, and a stove of buttered cards. In another the stove is garnished with sucking pigs, geese, and pies, and everything which the soul can desire. This sky-land is visited by mortals who climb up a magical bean-or pea-stalk, or a great oak, as in our Jack and the Bean-stalk tales, and generally the visit is presented (Rust. Russ. Folk Tales, London, 1873, p. 291 f.; CF, p. 435). This upper world of riches and plenty is not said to be an abode of the dead, but the tales may have been derived from pagan conceptions of an Elysium in the sky, where the gods and the blessed dwell. This is also suggested by the belief, still current, that the soul must make a journey after death, across the sea, on foot, or by the rainbow or the Milky Way, to the region of the dead. The two last are obvious survivals from pagan beliefs regarding a journey to the sky.

Rites in honour of the dead, still in use, include chants of a purely pagan character, in which the souls, having eaten and drunk, are begged to return to heaven. In pagan times the burial rites were all-important, as, until they were completed, the soul could not start on its long journey. Existing funeral songs and tales show that the beliefs regarding the state of the dead were of different character, or were perhaps held simultaneously. The dead continue to dwell in the grave (an idea which passes over into the vampire belief [see VAMPIRE]), or wander round their old home, or exist in a separate region. But, whatever beliefs were held, the state of the dead was apparently of a sensible character. Married people continued to dwell together, and to a dead bachelor a maiden was allotted to be his wife in the other world. In such a case she was formerly put to death (cf. Schrader, Totenhochzeit, Jena, 1904, and see above, p. 22 f.).

The belief in a happy eastern region of perpetual warmth and light, to which the sun, the light of the day, went on his journey, was widely current among the Slavs. Such a belief is still found; and this region is sometimes thought to be tenanted by the Rakhmane, who abstained from flesh, and led a holy life. The Rakhmane are obviously the Brahmins, and the traditions may be derived from the religious writings.

regarded as a dismal and gloomy abode; but it is only in the Younger Edda that this is definitely stated, and it is not improbable that the influence of Christian beliefs may have been traced here. The references in this Edda are three in number, and they vary each from the other. All Father has given to man a soul which will live and never perish, nor will it die, but rather ascend to Valhalla (Gylf.); wicked men fare to Hel, and thence into Niflhel which is beneath in the ninth world (Gylfaginning, § 3). Gylf: is later described as the fair hall of goddesses, and it may be synonymous with Valhalla. The third is that the abode of wickedness is an ethical one, and Niflhel rather than Hel is the abode of the wicked. This corresponds, on the whole, with the description of the fate of men after the final catastrophe:

‘Many abodes are there then good, and many bad: best is it to be in Ginnung in heaven with Surtr; and great store of good drink is there for them who drink with joy in the hall called Brjot; it stands also in heaven. That also is a good hall which stands on Nifl-fells wrought of red gold; it is called Sindr; in this hall shall abide good men and well-minded.’ The wicked—wicked mountain-dwellers—wars and perjurers—suffer fearful torments in Niflheim (Gylf. § 53).

This description is borrowed from the Völuspa, where it is not clear whether it refers to a state of existence after death, or to some metaphysical vision which is a form of the mysterious beings alone survive. The sibyl sings:

‘I see a hall, brighter than the sun, shinging with gold, standing on Ginnung. Their hall shall dwell in heaven and their hall shall dwell on earth toward on Nifl-fells of gold for Sindr’s people. On Ocean stands another called Brjot, the golden hall of Brjot. The wise and learned man, who has shaved his head, is here also the abode of the wicked (CPB § 201; cf. ii. 267).

The third reference describes the goddess Hel as cast into Niflheim, with power over the nine worlds, and sharing those abodes of gloom and hunger with those who die of sickness or old age. For them, on the one hand, go to the blissful Valhalla (Gylf. § 34, 36 ff.). Here there is no ethical distinction.

The eschatological system set forth in Völuspa depends for its value as a source on the pre-Christian belief that the world is the product of the struggle between the forces of light and darkness, each represented by a god, the good being represented by Odin, who by his wisdom, the bad by Loki, who brings the destruction. The question is decided by a battle at Ragnarok, in which the good will triumph. The result of this is the destruction of the world, and the re-creation of it. The world is then divided into two parts, one good and one evil. These two parts are divided again into two, and so on, until the world is divided into an infinite number of parts, each represented by a god. The world is then divided into two parts, one good and one evil. These two parts are divided again into two, and so on, until the world is divided into an infinite number of parts, each represented by a god.
peaceful arts of life, women and children, all who had pleased the gods, all who had been true to the creed, all who had kept themselves free from those gross sins—must have been awarded the bliss of the underworld. All such could, 'with a good will and without fear, await death,' knowing that their course of life would 'do them good with their reward' (Sonnleitner, CPB i. 260; cf. i. 42, 279, ii. 628; Gjøf, [Lokke] § 52). To them were allotted the blissful regions of the underworld—the 'green realms of the gods' (Hakonamal, CPB i. 264; cf. Rydberg, 319), with their hidden grove, their holy fountains, their 'paths of bliss.' Peace and quiet reigned. Though they might make them forget sorrows and gave them strength, composed of the liquids of those fountains, and drunk from the horn whence Minir qualified the mead of his well (Gjøf i. 197; cf. the mead which awaits Balder, and the 'costly draught' which the dead Helgi drinks, i. 143). The mysteriously engraved horn from which Grimbild makes Gudrun drink and forget her wrongs, may be a late reminiscence of this draught of oblivion. The draught was composed from Urí's strength, ice-cold sea water from the spring, and oil from the Sun. The horns are engraved unreaped corn ears from 'the land of Hadding,' the underworld (CPB i. 34). See, for this section, Rydberg, 218 ff.

3. Valhalla. Though Valhalla may be 'simply a metaphorical expression for the highest achievements of men,' and opposed to the strong family affection of the Northern heathen (CPB i. Intro. ci. 421), yet it is also noted in old Teutonic belief, in the conception of dead warriors dwelling in Odin's mountain. Valhalla was one of the dwellings of Asgard, the heaven of the gods, situated in Grimbheim where 'the gold-bright Valhalla towers' (Grimnís, CPB i. 70). To it all brave warriors hoped to go, though later tradition suggests that warriors who had committed 'nothing actions or lived wickedly were excluded (Rydberg, 340). They were conducted thither by the Valkyries, who also waited upon them there. Valhalla was entirely a warrior's paradise; its boating was not that of peace, but of war. There the dead warriors dwelt with Odin, who welcomed them, offering the benefits that were to be gained already, the goblets of mead and the wine brought by the Valkyries (Eyríks-mal, CPB i. 260). Descriptions of Valhalla are found in Grimnís-mal and in the Younger Edda. It is furnished with spears, it is decked with shields, its benches with 'golden' loaves. A white gull flies before the western door, an eagle hovers over it. The goats Heifrir bites at the branches of the tree Leardr (perhaps Yggdrasil), and from her tests runs meat which fills a vat every day, enough to satisfy all the warriors. The hart Eikþornsbit bites at the branches, and from her horns full drops which form the rivers on earth. So great was Valhalla that it possessed five hundred and forty doors. Every day the warriors, fully armed, issued from the gates to arm themselves in combat with each other, to prove their strength and courage. The black heavy mead from the cups presented to them by the Valkyries. They ate the flesh of the boar Sleipnir, which was sodden every day and became whole again at even. Beside Valhalla stood Vin-gafi, the Hall of Friends, the abode of the goddesses. Grimn (ii. 520) points out that Vin-gafi is, in one poem, used synonymously with Valhalla, while it is also the name given in the Younger Edda (Gjøf § 3) to the place where the good and right-minded shall dwell after death. With Odin is associated Freya, whose dwelling is called Folkvangar, which who chooses one half of the slain, Odin the other. Elsewhere, however, it is dead women who expect to join Freyja (Egils saga, ch. 78). With the god Gejof, who resembles Freyja, dwelt all who died virgins (Gjøf, § 33; for Valhalla, cf. § 36, 38 ff.; Grimnís-mal, Eyríks-mal, and Hakuorn-mal, CPB i. 364 ff.).

4. Elysium in folk-belief and saga.—The Glæserg, or glass mountain, of Mírchen and poetry, which in Slavonic belief represents an earlier conception of a mountain paradise, may be derived from Slavonic sources, or may be a misunderstanding of earlier beliefs. Later, however, it is true Teutonic belief, since the Norse gleðishúmn, 'glass heaven,' is a paradise to which heroes ride (Grimn, ii. 820), and the mountain abode of the dead has already been met with. Beautiful subterranean meadows, which are bright with flowers, is the place where Freya Holde dwells, also occur in Mírchen, and may be associated mainly with elves and kindred beings. Popular belief describes souls of the dying fluttering as butterflies or birds in these meadows (Grimn, ii. 820). These are doubtless reminiscences of the hereafter, as with them may be compared the Rosengarten of mediaval poetry, now churchyards, now a kind of paradise. A series of more elaborate tales, analyzed by Rydberg, are certainly reminiscent of earlier sagas. The latter, in which the heroes die in the garden of the under world already met with. In these travelers set out to seek Óðinsaksur or Jord Irfanda manna, the Land of Living Men, situated in one tale in the east, but more usually in the north, and certain more transparently Christian.

These tales in their present form belong to the period between the 12th and 14th cent., and are mainly found in Saxo and in the sagas. Gudmund is ruler of the Glittering Plains, situated in the north or Jótunheim; he and his men are heathen, and of a land dwelt in Glittering Plains but shiped by his people as a god. Óðinsaksur is situated in his land, and is 'so healthy that sickness and age depart, and no one ever dies there' (Hereærar saga, Rydberg, 219–21).

(a) In the Fágrim's look (14th cent.) Helge Thorsen is described as journeying to the north, where, lost in a forest, he met twelve maidens, one of them being Gudmund's daughter, Ingeborg. With them he waited three days, and one evening was given gifts of gold and silver. Next Yule night he was carried from his home by two men, re-appearing a year later with them. The strangers gave king Olaf two golden horns as a gift from Gudmund. They were filled with wine and given to the strangers to drink, the wine having been prepared, and the wine messengers cast the horns away, and disappeared with Helge amidst great confusion. One year later Helge reappeared with eyes swollen with weeping. He had spoken with Gudmund's daughter in Gudmund's realm, but king Olaf's prayers had made it impossible for Gudmund and Ingeborg to keep him. The latter pinched his eyes out, and he was put on the ship with the maidens (Saxo Grammaticus, Danish History, London, 1894, Intro. xliii; Rydberg, 340 ff.).

(b) Saxo relates that king Gorm set out to seek a mysterious treasure land in the north ruled by king Geirrod in the under world. After passing through many dangers, they were met by Geirrod's brother Gudmund, who led them along a river till they reached a golden bridge. This he warned them not to cross, as the region beyond was not exempt from mortals. Continuing up the river, they reached Gudmund's hall, where, warned by their pilot Thorbjorn, they refused to touch food or drink lest their memory should be lost, and they should have to remain with Gudmund's people for ever. Gorm also refused Gudmund's daughter in marriage. But fear of his men fell victims to the charms of the women of this land, and became imbeciles. Gorm also refused the delicious fruits of Gudmund's garden. The party were received across the river and reached Geirrod's realm, a foul and evil place, full of miserable folk, some of them punished to Thor. Finally, they reached a place where they saw fountains of water, a vast decorated horn, and other treasures. Some of the party seized these treasures, which changed to records and tools, and the rest exchanged them for other treasures, including a rich mantle, were seen. Thorkill himself seized the mantle, when the place rang with shrieks, and the party was driven out. The party was entertained at the court of their host, returned to the river and to Gudmund, who vainly tempted them to remain with him. They finally returned home in safety (Saxo, 344 ff.; Rydberg, 340 ff.).

(c) Saxo has also preserved the story of king Hadding. One winter's day he set out with his people to get their herbs in her lap. Hadding desired to know where such plants could grow in winter. Wrapping him in mantle, she drew him underneath across a region of fog and darkness, till they reached a river where spears and weapons were tossed about. On one side of it they met some noble beings clad in rich robes. 

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Passing them, they reached a sunny region (the Glittering Plains), where the woman had obtained the flowers. On the other side of the river, which was covered with a beautiful flowery plain, the men saw, by the light of the sun, a great fire burning in a mysterious place, surrounded by an impassable wall. This was the home of the dead, where deaths are being prepared for battle. Finally, they came to a mysterious place, surrounded by an impassable wall. This was the place where the dead were being prepared for battle. They threw it over the wall, when it was at once restored to life (Gazo, 37; Rydberg, 316).

(a) A saga in Flatey-book tells of king Erík, who with a large company set out to seek Oddinksar in the far east. They finally reached a valley, with a bridge guarded by a dragon. Erík and one of his men ran toward the dragon, and were seized by it. But they found themselves in a beautiful flowery plain, with rivers of honey, and full of sunlight. They travelled through, finding no inhabitants, and reached a tower suspended in the air, with a ladder leading up to it. They entered the tower, and found it in a room full of jewels, a mazz of gold, and gold and silver dishes, and two beds. Convinced that they had reached Oddinksar, they ate and drank and slept. During his dream this guardian angel appeared to him, and told him he was Oddinksar, or Jörólf Íñanda. This region lay near the Christian paradise which was so glorious that, compared with it, Oddinsakr seemed a desert. Here they were permitted to remain six days, and then they returned home.

Late as these stories are, they are yet so near to the pagan age of the north that, in spite of possible classical literary and Christian influences, they preserve a unique color. Oddinsakr is clearly differentiated from the Christian paradise, while Gudmund and his people are pagan. The river with its golden bridge has already been met with in the pagan descriptions of the under world, and in these tales its further side seems to be connected with the soul of the dead, while in the Haddo story the dead warriors fighting suggest a reminiscence of Valhalla. The evil region in the story of Gorm may reflect the terrors of Nifhelf, where the place with its cisterns of meal, the richly decorated horn, and the treasures, are reminiscent of the Edda descriptions of the blissful under world. Rydberg (228 ff.) also identifies Gudmund with Mimir, and shows reasons for believing that Oddi- naskr, within the Glittering Plains, the mysterious walled place in the Haddö story, and the tower in the Erík saga with its two beds, are the equivalents of Mimir’s grove, where Lif and Lifthasir, progenitors of the new race of men, are preserved. To them would appropriately belong the title ‘living men,’ and to their hidden grove that of Jörólf Íñanda mann, ‘In Gudmund’s domain there is a splendid grove, an enclosed place, from which weaknesses, age, and death are banished—a Paradise of the peculiar kind that is not intended for the souls of the dead, but for certain Íñanda menn, yet not for all of them. In one of the variants of the Myth concerning Mimir we also find such a grove’ (Rydberg, 231). Thus, while this Elysian land of Gudmund’s, with its deathless Oddinsakr, is one of beauty and joy, to which daring mortals may penetrate and receive a welcome, it is closely connected with the realms of the dead—Hel, Valhalla, and Nifhelf,—unlike the Celtic Elysium. Unlike the latter, too, it is not a land of the gods, but of a giant race, and is associated with Jótunheim; it is not an island Elysium, but a northern and sub-terranean world, as Elycian in the sense of the word of the Elycian and Elycian language, 1883, ch. 35-37; Simrock, Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie, Bonn, 1887; K. Müllenhoff, Deutsche Altertumsstudien, Berlin, vol. v. (1883, 1884), ch. xvi. A. R. Anderson, London, 1889; de la Saussaye, Religion of the Ancient Teutons, Boston, 1903. J. A. MacCuUoch.

BLINDNESS. — 1. Definitions. — ‘Blindness’ signifies inability to see, or absence of the sense of sight; hence, figuratively, want of discernment, or defective intellectual, moral, or spiritual sight. ‘Word-blindness’ is an acquired condition, in which a person loses the power of reading written or printed words, although he can see objects; thus the letters on a printed page can be seen but are not recognized. ‘Mind-blindness’ is an acquired condition in which objects can be seen, but fail to be recognized by the sense of sight. ‘Half-blindness’ is a condition in which there is loss of one-half of the field of vision of one eye, or more commonly of both eyes.

2. Causes of blindness. Blindness may be due to lesions of the optic nerve, of the retina, or of the brain, or to the retina, or of the brain itself.

(1) The eyes. — Blindness may result from a loss of transparency of the cornea (nebula, leukoma), of the lens (catactarum), of the vitreous humour; from effusion of blood or pus into the anterior or posterior chamber; from inflammatory (acute and chronic) processes, from various affections of the choroid and retina; from changes following increased intra-ocular tension (glaucoma). Destructive inflammation of one eye, such as often follows injury, is apt to be followed by a similar inflammation of the other eye (sympathetic inflammation). Ophthalmia neonatorum, an infectious inflammation contracted during birth, is the chief cause of blindness in early childhood.

(2) The conducting paths. — Inflammation of the optic nerve (optic neuritis) is an important cause of blindness. It commonly ends in atrophy (white atrophy) of the optic disc or beginning of the nerve within the eye. ‘Grey atrophy of the disc, also a cause of blindness, is a primary degenerative condition, not resulting from inflammation.

The optic nerves pass back from the eyes and meet at the optic chiasma, at the base of the brain, where a re-arrangement of their fibres takes place, such as a very large part of the outer half of each retina pass into the optic tract of the same side, while the fibres from the inner half of each retina pass into the optic tract of the opposite side. In this way, that while a lesion destroying the continuity of one optic nerve causes total blindness of the corresponding eye, a lesion of one optic tract results in destruction of the outer half of each retina. Thus destruction of the right optic tract causes blindness of the outer (right) half of the right retina, and of the inner (right) half of the left retina. Blindness of the right half of each retina results in blindness of the left half of the field of vision, and this condition is called left-sided half-blindness or hemianopia.

(3) The brain. — The fibres of the optic tract pass into the occipital lobe of the brain, and destruction of the visual centre in either occipital lobe produces hemianopia just as in the case of the optic tract. Destruction of both visual centres would cause double hemianopia, that is, say, complete blindness. Lesions of the left occipital lobe, but not of the right, may also be attended, according to their extent, by ‘word-blindness,’ or ‘mind-blindness’—conditions which have already been defined. This difference between the effect of lesions of the left and of the right side of the brain is simply an example of the general fact that all the speech functions (speaking, reading, writing) are in their special centres on the left side of the brain only. Apart from affections of the special centres for vision, gross lesions in any part of the brain may cause blindness by setting up optic neuritis.

3. Statistics of blindness. — The proportion of blind among the general population is much greater in tropical than in temperate regions. In temper-
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ate regions generally the proportion is about 1 in 1960. In civilized countries the proportion of blind shown by the statistics is very small. Thomas Jefferson, the United Kingdom in 1851, 1 person was blind in every 979. The proportion has now fallen to 1 in 1255. Owing to occupation there are more males than females afflicted with blindness.

The following statistics are taken from the census tables of 1901, and refer to England and Wales:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>22,507,543</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>11,917,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10,650,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>23,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1851)</td>
<td>13,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>4,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1891)</td>
<td>2,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind and Deaf</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind and Deaf</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Psychology of the blind.—In comparing the blind with normal individuals, it must be remembered that the great majority of the blind lost their sight in adult life. In such persons we are not likely to find any special mental peculiarities, beyond their personal reactions to their misfortune. It is quite different when sight is lost in early childhood. The natural development must be profoundly modified in cases where the acquisition of knowledge, the training of the intellect, and the formation of tastes and habits must proceed without the faculty of vision playing any part in the process. One of the earliest peculiarities to be noticed in blind children is a tendency to bodily inaction. The blind child is often content to sit quite still for considerable periods of time, at an age when a normal child would not be still for an instant. The games of blind children are often lacking in animation. Of course there are many individual exceptions to this statement, but a tendency to inaction is general, and seems to be most marked in those whose blindness is total, so that the sense even of light is lacking. This sluggishness of body is usually ascribed to the absence of the stimulating effect of light. There is no doubt that light is a very powerful stimulus to the nervous system, and children who spend much time in imperfectly-lighted rooms are usually languid and feeble. Another factor in the case, however, may be the natural tendency of the guardians of a blind child to restrict its movements and anticipate its wants in case of meeting with some injury if left to itself.

The mental condition of a blind person reacts upon the mental state. As an anonymous writer on this subject expresses it, the blind, as a class, are "seldom characterized by that rapidity and intensity of mental action, that keenness of penetration, which pieces at once to the very heart of a matter,—that priva vis animi which is the characteristic of the highest genius. Their intellects are in general cautions, calm, deliberative, slow, distinguished rather by soundness than by brilliancy..." The fact that their attachments are not based on a calm and equable kind, for, being more on judgment and "right reason" rather than upon those inexplicable attractions which so often bind others together; the infrequency with which they seem to give way to strong impulses of affection, and a certain want of gaiety and expansiveness which has often been noted in them,—may also, no doubt, in fact be attributed to the same cause." (National Review, 1860, p. 92).

The blind depend upon the sense of touch to a large extent for their knowledge of the outer world, that tactile sensibility being developed by constant practice to a very high degree of acuteness, and many astonishing things are related of the discriminative ability of some blind folks. Blind people have been able to play cards by means of small marks upon the cards which they were able to distinguish, but which escaped the notice of the persons who were playing with them. The sense of touch is greatly improved by practice, and blind people often take special care to keep the epidermis of the finger tips soft in order that their delicate susceptibility may be preserved. The lips and tip of the tongue, naturally more sensitive than the other parts of the body, are often made sensitive in persons in cases where the fingers are unable to perceive sufficiently clearly. The skin of the face often becomes very sensitive to the proximity of solid bodies, and the tympanic membranes are credited with the power of rendering perceptible vibrations of the atmosphere too slight to be recognized as sound.

Mr. W. Hanks Levy, a blind writer, gives an interesting account of his own power of recognizing neighbouring objects. "Whether within a house or in the open air, he says, "whether walking or standing still, I can tell, although quite blind, whether I am opposite an object, and can perceive whether it be tall or short, slender or bulky. I can also detect whether it be a solitary object or a continuous fence; whether it be a close fence or composed of open rails; and often whether it be a wooden fence, a brick or stone wall, or a quick-set hedge. I cannot name a single object if much lower than my shoulder, but sometimes very low objects can be picked out of the air; and part of my body possessing this power is my face; this I have often tested in my unaided experiments, by introducing my own nose into the narrow circle which I can see, or by closing my nose with a thick veil destroys it altogether" (Blindness and the Blind, London, 1875).

Some writers on the blind make the curious assertion that they have no sense of space, that they live only in time, that their little world is circumscribed by the narrow circle which they can span with their own arms. This assertion, however, seems to be altogether preposterous, and is sufficiently refuted by the facts quoted above from Mr. Levy. The delightful blind people often take in travelling, especially with a companion who can describe the scenery passed by, is also opposed to the idea. Blind men may even enjoy mountaineering, and a blind man who had been to the top of Mont Blanc wrote to the "Blind" that no one could have enjoyed the view more than he had done. There is no doubt, of course, that a blind man's conception of space must differ greatly from our own, but a conception of space derived from touch, from movement, and from sound, he certainly cannot lack in the case.

Sounds, also, cannot fail to play an important part in giving to the blind a sense of the beyond; and where we think of an object getting smaller as it recedes in the distance, a blind man would think of the sound proportionate to the sound. When a blind man is out walking, the variations and mutations of familiar sounds constitute a source of interest and pleasure. The distance of objects can often be gauged with wonderful accuracy, and a case is quoted of a blind gentleman who could practise archery with considerable expertness, his aim being directed by a bell placed behind the target.

Conversation is naturally a source of great pleasure to the blind, and, indeed, it means even more to them than to normal people. For, having developed their auditory impressions to furnish that commentary upon the speaker's words which we find in the play of expression, it is a curious trait in the blind that they seem to take a special pleasure in descriptions of the visual appearance of things. In their conversations they make much use of visual imagery, and always speak of going to see places and things. No doubt the impressions from which they are necessarily for ever shut out have for that very reason, a special value in the eyes of the blind. As is well known to many of the blind tells the writer that there is no subject in which his pupils manifest greater interest than the study of optics.

The general characteristic of the mind of the blind is rather curiously described as syntactical
The blind man's construction of real space differs from that of the seeing man most obviously in the larger part which systems play in the relative absolute of spatial relations. The seeing baby's eyes take in the whole room at once, and distinct arise in him at once of the various objects which are visually discerned. The blind child, on the contrary, must assimilate his mental image of the room by the addition, piece by piece, of what falls within his knowledge of what it is quite certain to know somewhere in the universe.

On the other hand, M. Dufau tells of the mind of the blind as characterized analytically. If we compare the manner in which systems arise to the blind that he acquires by analyzing a piece of solid object, for example, a plant, we find that the former 'casts a glance upon it, envelops it with a look, and his task is done; he has considered it, so much is clear which he gathers himself, because it is sufficient to enable him to recognize and to name the object. On the contrary, the blind man, on the contrary, can only examine, to touch with the utmost care, the stalks, the branches, the leaves; to acquire, in short, a complete and definite conception which will enable him to distinguish it from others. Thus it is necessary that makes analysis a habit to him, which retains his acquisition of knowledge, but at the same time renders it more positive and more certain' (Dufau, Des Aveugles, 1850, p. 42).

Although these two descriptions at first appear somewhat opposed to each other, it is obvious enough on consideration that both are true so far as they go. Taking up his concepts of the world about him, the blind man must analyze, and, having analyzed, he must put together. The two processes are carried out by him much more carefully and systematically than by the seeing, and the results are carefully compared and contrasted. If we recognize this natural tendency to analysis and re-construction that the blind owe their wonderful power of observation, and to the same tendency we may trace the fact that science seems to attract the education of much more strongly than imaginative literature ever did.

Cases of blind persons recovering their sight in adult life are not numerous, and such as are known have naturally attracted a good deal of interest. This interest has to a great extent centred around what is known as Molyneux' problem. This was as follows:

'Suppose a man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his touch to distinguish between a cube and a sphere, ... so as to tell, when he felt one and the other, which is the cube, which the sphere. Suppose then the cube and sphere placed on a table, and the blind man be made to see; query, whether by his sight, he might agree with his touch in distinguishing between the cube and the globe which is the globe, which the cube?' (see Locke, Essay, II. x. 9).

To this query Molyneux himself answered in the negative, and Locke in the affirmative. Contrary opinions were expressed by Dr. Franz and Sir W. Hamilton, and the former had an opportunity of testing the soundness of his views. His patient when operated on was seventeen years of age, and he was familiar with geometrical figures. When some of the early lessons before the operation had been given, he showed a vertical and a horizontal line, and those he was able to name correctly; but on being asked to point out which was the horizontal line, he indicated the wrong one, afterwards correcting himself. This error evidently means that no association had yet been found between the senses of sight and touch. He was next shown an outline of a square, 6 inches in diameter, within which was a circle, and within this a triangle. He was asked to describe these figures, and after careful examination, he succeeded in doing so correctly.

A recent case of the same kind has been described by Dr. A. Maitland Ramsay of Glasgow. This was a young man of thirty, totally blind from birth, but able to distinguish day from night by the sense of touch. After the operation performed, the patient appeared quite dazed, and could not realize that he was seeing. The size of everything in the ward seemed very much increased, and on that account he had great difficulty in interpreting what he saw. When asked to distinguish between a ball and a brick, he looked at them attentively, and could not answer correctly. His mind worked naturally, as if he were trying to translate what he saw, by comparing it with an imaginary tactile impression, and then he named both correctly. He explained that he was so much in the habit of handling objects that he had come to have a feeling of form which he was not conscious of, although his whole education for the blind was founded, the Hospice des Quinze Vingts, wherein St. Louis IX., provided for the needs of three hundred knights who had lost their sight in the Crusades.

The first idea of educating the blind by means of the sense of touch appears to have originated with Franz Valentin Haidy, a native of Picardy, about the year 1753. Haidy's first pupil was a blind beggar, whom he paid to receive instruction. The practicability of teaching the blind to read from raised characters having been proved, public interest was aroused, and a young man was able in 1758 to found the first 'School for the Young Blind.' Haidy afterwards visited St. Petersburg, at the invitation of the Government, to superintend the establishment in that city of a similar institution. The Liverpool School for the Blind was founded in 1791, and was followed two years later by the Edinburgh Blind Asylum, which became one of the most successful schools of the kind in the world. The success of these schools has led to the multiplication of such institutions all over the civilized world. The introduction of special education for the blind, the pupils being taught to read from raised characters, and receiving lessons in the usual school subjects, while their future is kept in view, and instruction is provided in different trades, whereby they may maintain themselves in after life, has given rise to a more special kind, such as the Normal College and Academy for Music.

The method of teaching the blind to read has had an interesting evolution. Haidy originally made use of the script form of the Roman letter. Subsequently quite a number of forms of embossed type were introduced. The first of these was brought forward by James Gall, of Edinburgh, in 1827. He made use of the Roman letter, but for ease of recognition, all the curves were changed to angles. In this type there was published in 1834 the Gospel of St. John. The first Gospel was printed in raised type for the blind. Other modifications of the Roman letter were introduced by Howe, Alston, and Fry. Various stereographic and phonetic systems were also brought forward, but were discarded on the ground that they did not teach correct spelling.

To get over the difficulty sometimes experienced in passing from one line to the next, Frere introduced his ingenious return line. The finger travels from right to left, and is returned by an embossed curve to the line below, which is read from right to left. On this lower line the characters are printed in the reverse way, in order that the finger, moving in the reverse direction, may meet them in the same order as when reading from left to right.

Moon's type, which became very popular, is a modification of the Roman character, but arbitrary signs are also made use of. Frere's return line is not adopted, but the characters are not reversed in the return lines. Moon's type is still made use of to some extent, and the Gospel which blind men may be seen reading in the streets is commonly printed in it. It has, however, two great drawbacks. Books printed in this type are very expensive. A single volume, for example, fills a large volume.

This multiplicity of types was naturally attended by many inconveniences. A blind man who learned to read one type could not read books printed in another, and books printed in one type the embossed types could obtain a circulation only among the blind who were acquainted with that type. Accordingly, a number of gentlemen founded the British and Foreign Blind Association, and set themselves the task of finding and adopting some one type best adapted to the needs of the blind. This
they found in none of the varieties to which we have referred. Their researches resulted in the introduction into England in 1868 of a type which has been invented by a blind Frenchman forty years before. This type, which is now in general use, is called the Braille, after Louis Braille, its inventor. The advantages claimed for it are: that the letters are easily recognized; that they can be written by the blind themselves in such a way as to be legible to themselves or other people who know the characters; that books can be printed in much smaller bulk and at a much smaller cost than in the case of other types for the blind.

The principle of the Braille system is very simple. The letters are formed of raised dots of which the maximum number is six, arranged in three pairs placed one above another—•. Any of these dots may be omitted, the letters of the alphabet, punctuation marks, and a number of other signs being formed by one, two, three, or more of the dots variously arranged, as may be seen in the alphabet printed below. It will be noticed that neither of

The Braille Alphabet and some Contractions.
(The large dots represent the raised points of the Braille letters).

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The two dots constituting the lowest pair is present in any of the characters of the upper line; each of the characters of the second line resembles the character immediately above it, plus one of the lowest dots; while the characters of the third line differ from those above only in the presence of both dots of the lowest pair. This arrangement obviously greatly reduces the difficulty of learning the symbols. The Braille characters have also been adopted for the printing of music, so that a blind musician can learn a new piece of music by following the score with one hand while he plays the keys with the other.

A large number of standard works have now been published in the Braille type, and are sold at a moderate price. At the Edinburgh School for the Blind, a monthly magazine, *Hera Jacunda*, has been published since 1893. It was started and edited by Mr. W. H. Illingworth, a former head-master of the school. Each number contains sixty large pages of interesting and amusing matter, and a piece of music; and the price is one shilling. The British and Foreign Blind Association also publishes magazines in Braille.

Mr. J. W. McLaren, of Edinburgh, recently invented a method whereby the printing of books in Braille type is greatly simplified, and the cost vastly reduced. The Braille Printing and Publishing Co., St. Giles Street, Edinburgh, was founded to print books by this new method, and for some time a magazine for the blind, the *Braille Weekly*, was published every Saturday at the price of one penny. Dr. John Brown's famous story, *Ruby and His Friends*, printed by the new method, was issued at the price of sixpence. The story occupies fifty-two quarterly pages. As books of this class naturally depend upon a very limited public for circulation, it would be a good thing if some central publishing company could not only stock all the books printed by this method, but control the class of books to be published, and prevent overlapping and the same book being printed by different people.

Writing in Braille characters is carried out by means of a writing frame. The paper is covered with a piece of brass containing a double row of oblong perforations. By means of a stylus, each letter is impressed upon the paper through one of the perforations. To read the writing the paper must be reversed, when the depressions produced by the stylus will be felt by the finger as raised dots.

When the blind wish to write so as to be read by the seeing, they may use a pencil and a guiding frame. Some blind persons who lost their sight in adult life have become very expert at this kind of writing, but for those who have been blind from childhood there is no doubt that the best plan is to use a typewriter. Here the expense may be an objection, but this has been got over by Mr. Illingworth, who recommends for the purpose a cheap form of typewriter which costs only a few shillings. In this instrument the rubber type projects from the under surface of a revolving disc, and, by pressing on the upper surface above each letter the corresponding character in Braille, the blind pupil can easily find the letter he needs, bring it into place, and print it on the paper. It will be noticed that, by using a typewriter, the blind scribe actually writes in a character with which he may not be acquainted, and is thus saved the trouble of learning two totally distinct alphabets. It is curious to recall the fact that the Braille type was violently opposed on the ground that the letters were entirely arbitrary symbols, as if the characters of the Roman or Greek alphabets were anything else. Obviously, it is no more confusing for the blind to call a couple of dots the letter *b* than it is for the French to call a cabbage a *chou*.

Arithmetic is taught to the blind by means of a
tablet containing rows of octagonal holes. A peg can be placed in any of those holes, in eight possible positions representing the numbers 1 to 8; to obtain 9 and 0, the peg is inverted and placed in positions 1 and 2. The two ends of the peg, of course, differ so as to be readily recognizable by touch.

The device is made use of for teaching algebra. Raised maps are used for geography, and models and natural objects are freely used for class purposes.

6. The care of young blind children.—When sight is lost in early childhood, a good deal can be done for the child before it is sent to a school. When the child is old enough to go to school, teachers of the blind complain that, when children come to them, they do not know how to use their tools; that they are lacking in confidence, and can do nothing for themselves; that their muscles are soft and weak; and that, in short, a great deal of time has to be given to exercises and gymnastics intended to train the muscles and the sense of touch before education, in the school sense, can be started. These faults depend very largely on the fact that the child’s relatives, teachers, and nurses have done everything for him. They have dressed him, washed him, and fed him. They have led him from place to place. They have perhaps never thought of giving him tools to play with. They have helped him from going about by himself, for fear of accidents. In some cases they have even kept the child in bed for years, or taken him about only in a perambulator, in case he might hurt himself. Such treatment, although kindly meant, is really cruel to the child. The proper course of procedure is quite the opposite. The proper method of dealing with a young child who is blind may be expressed in a sentence: Treat him exactly as if he could see. The child should have tools to play with as soon as he can grasp. When he can creep about, he should be allowed to do so. He should be expected and encouraged to walk as soon as other infants. As soon as he can move about, he should be allowed to explore the room for himself, and discover the properties of the furniture it contains. While care should, of course, be taken to prevent any serious accidents (dangerous places such as stairs or fires being guarded), obstacles should not be taken out of the child’s way, nor should he be warned if he is going to walk against something. No doubt, it is very difficult for a user of the perambulator to see a blind child in the act of walking in the street, although it is not difficult for him to quickly stopping him or snatching the chair out of his way; but if the child is ever to gain confidence, and to be able to walk about freely without fear of running into walls and lamp-posts, he must learn by hard experience in his nursery days. So also, as the child gets older, he should be encouraged to feed himself; to undress, and later to dress himself; to fold his clothes, and put them away; to put his toys away when he has finished playing with them, and not to leave the room until they wants him. He should be taught to use his hands in every possible way. Many of the kindergarten occupations are useful for this purpose, and the sorting and threading of beads is valuable as affording a training in sensibility to the finger tips. The handling of small beads is a useful preparation for the later study of Braille.

7. Advice to those likely to lose their sight.—When blindness occurs from disease in later years, the loss of sight is usually gradual, and, after it is known that blindness is impending, months or even years, may elapse during which some sight remains. Persons so affected should be advised to set about training their other senses, and especially the sense of touch, without delay. The Braille alphabet can soon be learned, and, in practicing reading, the sight which remains will be of great assistance. Braile writing should also be systematically practised. Various everyday tasks, such as dressing and undressing, should be practised with the eyes closed. When any real difficulty presents itself, of course, the eyes may be opened for a moment, but, as far as possible, the sufferer should try to perform himself by degrees the work he will have to perform for a long time, so that, when the day of total darkness does come, it will not find him wholly unprepared.


W. B. DRUMMOND.

BLISS.—See Blessedness and Blest (Abode).

BLOOD.—1. Physiological and Psychological.—Blood consists of a fluid portion, known as plasma, and corpuscles (‘the red corpuscles’, the ‘white corpuscles’, and ‘the platelets’), the latter forming its nutritive element. ‘Average blood may be regarded as consisting of 9% plasma and 9% corpuscles’ (Huxley, Physiology, p. 105). The inner function of the blood has been compared by Harvey to that of a ‘vat in the outer function of the air and food supply. ‘It is absolutely essential to the life of every part of the body that it should be in such relation with a current of blood that matters can pass freely from the blood to it, and from it to the blood, by transudation through the walls of the vessel in which the blood is contained’ (ib. p. 116). Thus, the blood is literally the vehicle of life throughout the organism, and this function is discharged by means of its constant circulation from the left lower cavity of the heart through the arteries, and backwards through the veins to its right upper cavity. The nourishment of the blood itself is derived by absorption from the food which enters the intestines; the venous blood is changed into arterial blood by absorption of oxygen through the lungs, the oxygen then being maintained from the right lower cavity of the heart to its left upper cavity. It is evident that the true function of the blood could not be understood until its circulation was demonstrated, as was done by Harvey in his Exercitatio, published in 1628 (Foster, History of Physiology, 1901, p. 42). Of this circulation the ancient world was ignorant, and consequently of the precise ministry of the blood to life. Aristotle (B.C. 384-322) ‘knew only of its direct passage from the heart to the extremities, and back again. ‘The next man then to demonstrate that the liver converts food into crude blood, giving it the ‘natural spirits.’ In the heart, some of this blood is mixed with air drawn from the lungs, and by the innate heat of the heart is laden with ‘vital spirit’ (Foster, op. cit. p. 122 f.). This was the accepted doctrine for thirteen centuries, until the dawn of modern physiology. The pulmonary circulation was described by Servetus in 1546, and, probably in dependence on him, by Readius Columbus in 1559 (ib. p. 313); whilst Celsesalpinus, a little later, ‘recognized that the
flow of blood to the tissues took place by the arteries and by the arteries alone, and that the return of the blood from the tissues took place by the veins and not by the arteries (ib. p. 35). Fabricius described the valves of the veins in 1574 (ib. p. 163). Harvey, with Professor C. S. Symons, was 'the first to demonstrate the circulation of the blood. . . . The essential feature of Harvey's new view was that the blood through the body was the same blood, coursing again and again through the body, passing from arteries to veins in the tissues, and from veins to arteries through the lungs, heart, suffering changes in the substance and pores of the tissues, changes in the substance and pores of the lungs' (ib. p. 47). Thus, the long-established doctrine of 'spirits' was discarded, and the study of physiology separated from that of pseudo-psychology.

But primitive man did not need to wait for Harvey in order to be taught the significance of blood in relation to life. However ignorant he might be of the precise relation, common observation showed the dependence of life on the blood within the body of man or animal. Loss of blood meant loss of strength, and a man's life seemed to drain away with the blood from a mortal wound. Thus Homer can speak either of the soul (psykh, II., 7. 692, 'and the soul, which in that passage was caused to drain away through the inflicted wound (cf. Robinsonson, Psychol. of the Naturewolker, p. 18; Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch. p. 728)?) the identity is affirmed explicitly, e.g., amongst the Hebrews, in the phrase 'the blood is the life' ('Dt 12.2, where 'life' is literally 'soul'); and even a thinker like Empedocles could regard blood as the seat of thought or perception (Holde, Psykh, 1802, ii. 176; Burnet, Early Bkock Philosophy, 1908, p. 288). For us, however, to repeat 'the blood is the life' means something so far removed from any meaningful and the difference is of fundamental importance for the subject before us. By such a phrase we should imply that blood is essential to the living activity of the organism, and that life is not possible without blood. But primitive thought meant to assert that the life is the blood, and vice versa: when the blood left the body, it carried the life with it. Thus, in the Qur'an, xvii. 2, God is said to have created man from a clotted blood; in Burns this is kept and eaten as a special occasion (Hughes, History of Ideas of Blood, p. 122). Numerous, too, is the explanation of the numerous customs that illustrate the perils and powers of blood for the ancient mind. This is the key to many important institutions. To the modern mind, blood which has left its organism is no more than any other fluid, except for a certain amount of sentiment, which may be itself an inheritance from the past; but for the ancient mind, blood, even when shed, was still perilous and potent, full of latent life, and capable of working on persons or things in contact with it. The illustration of these ideas belongs to the following sections; here it remains to show, by instances selected from a very large material, the nature of the idea of a blood-soul. The Arabs used the word for 'soul,' nefis, cognate with the Heb. nephesh, in the sense of blood. 'When a man dies a natural death, his life departs through the nostrils . . . but when he is slain in battle his life flows on the spear point' (Robertson Smith, Rel. Semit., p. 40 n.). Belief in the blood-soul is encountered in connection with the heroine, and of burying the Muslim 'martyrs' in their blood, according to Muhammad's commands at Uhud (Wellhausen, Reste ar.v. Heidentumus. p. 178, n. 3). Robinsonson quotes a remarkable story of an Arab newly-married man attacked, whose blood was raised by the husband. He thereupon killed her, smeared himself with her blood, and fought till he fell, by this means uniting her soul with his own (op. cit. p. 25). Similarly, we may read of the Australian initiation custom, after circumcision: 'The boy was lifted up, and standing above the two Thangallum men, allowed one of them to touch his body, and thus establishing a special friendly relationship between himself and them' (Spencer - Gillen, p. 572; further examples collected by Frazer, GB. 1. 356). Or we find that the Caribs 'sprinkle a male infant with a finger of blood to give him his father's courage' (II. Spencer, Soc. Stud., i. 343). We even find that amongst the West African natives the skeletons of Ashanti kings are washed with the blood of human victims (Ellis, The Teli-speaking Peoples, p. 108)—doubtless to impart soul-life to the dead. Another group of examples shows us the use of blood as a substitute for life (Tylor, ii. 403), and the wide-spread avoidance of blood as food is by some peoples explicitly traced to the identity of the soul and the blood (examples collected in Frazer, op. cit. 1. 355). So natural, indeed, is it among primitive people for death to come by blood-shedding that 'it is always held uncanny in Africa if a person dies without shedding blood' (Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, p. 324); in other words, the blood is the normal and visible sign of life as life passes away, and the splitting of this blood-soul to other ideas of soul, such as its identification with breath or shadow, is probably left quite indeterminate in most cases. Skoet cites a curious Malay belief which connects the blood-soul with the shadow-soul through a small snail. 'Among the grass in the shadow of a grazing animal these creatures are to be discovered, and if one of them is crushed, it will be found to be full of blood, which has been drawn in a mysterious way from the veins of the animal through its shadow.'

2. The perils of blood are a natural result of that idea of the blood-soul which has just been indicated—the almost universal belief that blood is a fluid in which inheres mysterious potency, no loss dangerous when misused than efficacious when properly employed' (Moore, Edi, art. 'Sacrifice.' § 43). It is with the former aspect that we are first concerned, and its most obvious example is that tabu on blood as food with which the OT tabu makes us familiar. (I. 18, p. 112.) However, it is the explanation of the numerous customs that illustrate the perils and powers of blood for the ancient mind: this is the key to many important institutions. To the modern mind, blood which has left its organism is no more than any other fluid, except for a certain amount of sentiment, which may be itself an inheritance from the past; but for the ancient mind, blood, even when shed, was still perilous and potent, full of latent life, and capable of working on persons or things in contact with it. The illustration of these ideas belongs to the following sections; here it remains to show, by instances selected from a very large material, the nature of the idea of a blood-soul. The Arabs used the word for 'soul,' nefis, cognate with the Heb. nephesh, in the sense of blood. 'When a man dies a natural death, his life departs through the nostrils . . . but when he is slain in battle his life flows on the spear point' (Robertson Smith, Rel. Semit., p. 40 n.). Belief in the blood-soul is encountered in connection with the heroine, and of burying the Muslim 'martyrs' in their blood, according to Muhammad's commands at Uhud (Wellhausen, Reste arav. Heidentumus. p. 178, n. 3). Robinsonson quotes a remarkable story of an Arab newly-married man attacked, whose blood was raised by the husband. He thereupon killed her, smeared himself with her
with the result that cattle are stoned to death or suffocated. Where blood is actually shed, various means are used to drain the charge of the shell, so to speak. This was explained in the precepts indicated above in the practice of putting the blood on a sacred stone or altar, and reference will be made to it again when the place of blood in sacrifice is considered (p. 719). Another plan is to cover the blood with earth or dust; Doughty met with an example of this, interesting because the blood was the man's own: 'Thärhî, cupped in the head, neck, and back, felt lightened; he covered the blood with a little heap of dust, and one who came in asking, 'What is this heap?' he answered, 'It is blood!' 'Why? to fall on that of the Devil' (Dee's Journal, i. 492). Or the blood may be sucked, or else deposited in some special place; both are illustrated by one of the Australian rites of sub-incision, in which the boy is made to suck the blood on the knife, whilst the blood from the wound falls on a piece of paper bark. 'The blood was taken in the paper bark to the boy's mother, who buried it in the bank of a water pool so as never more to ensure the growth of the fìles' (Spencer-Gillen5, p. 365). In other circumstances, the blood that has been shed may require expiation (cf. De Selincourt, p. 195). The blood is cleansed away, or at least purified, by the use of other blood (Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, i. 275). Finally, the perils of blood, already seen in the prohibition of blood as food, and in avoidance of or precautions in blood-shedding, find a third group of illustrations in the elaborate rules affecting the blood of menstruation and childbirth. The fear of women's blood in these cases, no doubt because regarded as specially mysterious and potent, is wide-spread amongst primitive peoples (see also the evidence from a native of the Vanikoro Islands). Women are the main depositaries of this sacred blood, with two exceptions. The blood of the first menstruation (Spencer-Gillen5, p. 490). Crawley (The Mystic Rose, p. 212), whilst admitting that the obvious vehicle of contagion in such cases is blood, questions the truth of making this central in the tabu of women; and it is frequently true that various ideas operate and concentrate in one primitive custom. But none can doubt that the perils of blood are illustrated by the wide-spread tabus that attach to women in many societies.

3. The powers of blood have been implied already in its perils. But the same ideas which make men ordinarily shrink from contact with blood may evidently cause them to resort to it on extraordinary occasions, as a specially potent medicine or magical vehicle. In general, the risk of the blood is the risk for the sake of the end in view. Only a few representative cases can be given here: further illustrations may be found in the chief works on anthropology, or in Strack's Das Blut, which gives many examples and copious references. One of the most obvious ways in which the psychical energy of blood can be assimilated is by drinking it. 'Blood may be given by young men to old men of any degree of relationship and at any time with a view to strengthening the latter' (Spencer-Gillen3, p. 461). Amongst the same Australian peoples, blood may be given also to the members of an avenging expedition; to secure unity of purpose and to exclude treachery, it may even be forcibly administered to an outsider (p. 402); special meetings of blood-ritual may be called for the object of blood-drinking (ib.). Many primitive peoples drink the blood of enemies in order to secure their strength (Crawley, The Mystic Rose, p. 102; Robertson Smith, Kinship, p. 284 [ed. S. A. Cook, p. 290]; Trumbull, The Blood Covenant, pp. 139-142). Sometimes the special power of blood-drinking is religious inspiration (Trumbull, op. cit. pp. 139-142), especially in connexion with a sacrifice, when the fresh blood of the victim is drunk (Frazer, op. cit. i. 133 f.). The result is frequently seen in the usual phenomena of possession. The religious idea underlying this practice will be discussed when blood-covenants are dealt with (§ 4) in connexion with the tabus enumerated: here it is sufficient to name this wide-spread practice in illustration of the powers of blood. Another way of imparting these powers is by external application of the blood. It is a very common thing for a young man to open a vein in his arm and allow the blood to sprinkle over the body of an older man, the idea being to strengthen the latter' (Spencer-Gillen6, p. 598). Among some primitive peoples, the blood of relatives is allowed to fall on or be applied to the body, to preserve or reviving it or imparting life to it (cf. Howitt, p. 451). From such use of blood to promote physical or psychical strength, it is an easy transition to the use of blood as medicine. For example, amongst the people just named, 'it is a very common practice to give both men and women blood to drink when they are ill' (Spencer-Gillen3, p. 599). From the time of the Romans down to our own time, there has been a wide-spread belief that epilepsy could be cured by drinking the blood (Robinson, Primitive Religion, p. 379). There can be no question of cure for leprosy, from ancient Egypt down into the Middle Ages, was the blood-lath (Trumbull, The Blood Covenant, p. 116 f.). Many curious examples are collected by Strack (pp. 27 f. and 38-40) of these and similar customs. The patient may even be given his own blood to drink (op. cit. pp. 40-43). We find also cases approximating to the use of charms, like the Chinese custom, in times of pestilence, of writing sentences in human blood to be fastened on the door-posts for protection against disease (Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, p. 71). Not only human but also animal blood occurs frequently in the primitive pharmacopeia (Strack, pp. 55-57). It is, of course, difficult to separate ancient medicine from ancient magic. In regard to the magical uses of blood, some belong to it in common with hair, nail-parings, etc., as having been in close connexion with the body: thus 'ancient Peruvian sorcerers destroyed their victims by acting on blood taken from them' (H. Spencer, Sociology, i. 264). The use of blood is equally curious in various societies. Australia is midway between the magical and religious uses. But special mention must be made of the use made of the blood of menstruation for both medicinal and magical purposes (Strack, pp. 28-32)—a use we might expect in view of the power of the powers of blood are illustrated throughout this article, in regard both to human and to superhuman relationships, and underlie innumerable blood-rites and blood-sacrifices. One of the most striking of these is the blood-baptism of Mithras (q.v.). Here it remains only to point out the extension of the powers of blood to many blood-like things. The tabu on blood extends to many blood-coloured objects (Devons, p. 67: 'The savage believes that the same taboos, consequences—whatever they may be—which ensue on contact with blood, do actually and really follow on contact with things which by their colour . . . remind him thereof'). So, amongst West African natives, 'every spot where the earth is of a red colour is believed to be, or to underlie, the abode of a Saska Martinu; and the red colour is supposed to be caused by the blood of the victims destroyed by him' (Ellis, op. cit. p. 35; cf. Taylor, i. 406). We may trace the same range of thought in the idea of attaching to the red object the red breast, and in the practice of smearing the body with red earth (Spencer-Gillen3, p. 464). This last is probably a substitute for blood. For other
customs, especially the natural and frequent use of wine as the blood of the grape, cf. Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, p. 191 f.; Frazer, i. 359.

4. Blood-covenants.—The previous sections illustrate that primitive conception of blood on which is essentially the union of one life with another by actual exchange of blood, the exchange being made either by drinking or by transfusion. Many instances of this practice are collected by Trumbull in his elaborate monograph, *The Blood Covenant*; he draws examples from Africa, Asia, America, Europe, and Oceania, and claims that it is fundamental in all primitive life (p. 96). Certainly the practice is a natural development of the idea that blood is life. On its physical side, the practice is still retained in civilized communities in the medical operation of transfusion: 'men or dogs, bleed to apparent death, may be at once and effectually revived by filling their veins with blood taken from another man or dog' (Huxley, *Physiol.* p. 117). The difference is that the transfusion does not lead to a new individual, even for physical only, but also for psychological ends, which he does not separate from the former. 'The inter-commingling of the blood of two organisms is, therefore, according to this view, equivalent to the inter-commingling of the lives, of the personalities, of the natures, thus brought together' (Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 33). Both the primitive practice and the primitive idea may be modified in various directions. On the one hand, some substitute for blood, such as wine, may be introduced; on the other, it appears that they appear in the weaker form of union in a particular oath or pledge (cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 41: 'Sheikhly persons at Aneza have told me that "el-Kahtân in el-Yemen do confirm their solemn swearing together by drinking human gore"'). For a collection of such blood-oaths, cf. Strack, *Das Blut*, pp. 21-25. See, further, BROTHERHOOD (artificial).

5. Kinship.—It has seemed to many that the idea of union by blood through the blood-covenant is the fundamental idea of kinship by blood as underlying kinship in general, the only difference being the substitution of artificial means for natural. Jevons, referring to the fact that Muslim women do not veil themselves in the presence of their brother, but of the idea of 'kinship' any more than before other blood-relations, remarks: 'it faithfully preserves the primitive view that the blood-brotherhood thus established is not a relationship personal to the two parties alone, but extends to the whole of each clan: my brother, or becomes, the brother of all my brethren; the blood which flows in the Veins of either party to the blood-covenant flows in the veins of all his kin' (*op. cit.* p. 99; cf., however, p. 170). Benzerger, also referring to Semitic races, which so richly illustrate the ideas of blood, remarks: 'Relationship is participation in the common blood which flows with equal fulness in the veins of every member of that circle; on this idea rest all the rights and obligations between the individual and his clansmen' (*EBI*, ed. 2572). Such an identity of kinship is not to myself identical; it is the terms are convertible, for the life of the father and the life of the mother are combined in the child born from their physical union. But it is by no means so certain as is frequently assumed that the fundamental idea of blood-brotherhood is to itself identical which makes the whole range of birth ideas amongst primitive peoples often differs widely from our own. By various Australian tribes we find the idea firmly held that the child is not the direct result of intercourse, that it may come without this, which merely, as it were, prepares the mother for the perception of the spirit. Thus among one tribe a spirit child inhabits one of the local totem centres' (Spencer-Gillen*, p. 265). In another part of the same country, a different view is held: 'The child comes from the man, and the woman only takes care of it' (Howitt, p. 258). Amongst the Assiniboin, Western East Indian tribe, say that the lower jaw is the only part of the body which a child derives from its mother, all the rest being derived from the ancestral **lawn** (the Tahí base). The father furnishes nothing' (Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 131 n.). Westernmarck (*Hum. Mar.* p. 106) cites from Camer the case of a North American tribe who ascribed the soul to the father and the body to the mother. These ideas, in their many varieties, at least remind us that the idea of blood-relationship has far less physiological support in the primitive mind than in our own. Further, we may ask whether the analysis of the idea of kinship into one of identity of blood is itself natural to the primitive mind, and does not belong to a later development, rather for physical only, but also for psychological ends, which he does not separate from the former. 'The inter-commingling of the blood of two organisms is, therefore, according to this view, equivalent to the inter-commingling of the lives, of the personalities, of the natures, thus brought together' (Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 33). Both the primitive practice and the primitive idea may be modified in various directions. On the one hand, some substitute for blood, such as wine, may be introduced; on the other, it appears that they appear in the weaker form of union in a particular oath or pledge (cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 41: 'Sheikhly persons at Aneza have told me that "el-Kahtân in el-Yemen do confirm their solemn swearing together by drinking human gore"'). For a collection of such blood-oaths, cf. Strack, *Das Blut*, pp. 21-25. See, further, BROTHERHOOD (artificial).

6. Blood-revenge.—At first sight it may seem difficult to explain the universal practice of blood-revenge, except from the standpoint of a primitive sense of the blood-tie underlying kinship. When the blood of a kinsman has been shed, it seems most natural to assume that the tie of blood impels his nearest relative to slay the slayer. But, in the light of what has been said, we may regard the motive which animates the avenger of blood as complex. There is, first, the fact that presents itself from the powers and perils of blood. Blood has been shed, perilous power has been liberated, and something has to be done if those in the vicinity are to escape the consequences. 'The principle that blood must be avenged for by blood has inspired the idea of the advent of the avenger of blood, and the avenger of blood becomes the avenger of a murdered kinsman' (Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, iii. 1; he collects many examples in pp. 2-36). There are, further, the natural obligations and feelings of those whose lives have been closely linked, and which make them desire to take revenge. The avenger of these two
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motives, the psychical and the personal, as they may be called, issues in the familiar features of blood-responsibility, as presented in early forms of blood-feud. For example, among the West African tribes, 'revenge, especially for bloodshed, is everywhere practised. It is a duty belonging first to the "jâwe" (blood-relative), next to the "ikaka" (family), next to the "etomba" (tribe). . . . Formerly it was indifferent who was killed in revenge, provided it was some member of the murderer's tribe. Naturally that tribe sought to retaliate, and the feud was carried back and forth, and would be finally settled only when an equal number had been killed on each side. . . . At first to promote bloodshed, whoever was formerly no money would have been accepted as a sufficient penalty' (Nassau, Fetishism in West Africa, pp. 19, 20). This example may be taken as the normal type. In course of time various modifications arose, tending to take vengeance out of the hands of the individual, and to put it in charge of the whole community, whilst various plans were adopted, such as the well-known 'cities of refuge' among the Hebrews, to differentiate the cases of wilful and accidental manslaughter (cf. Dt 19).

The theory of distinction between the two is significant of the attitude of the primitive mind to the whole matter; it is the actual shedding of blood that is in question, not the modern idea of abstract justice. The blood they suck from the palms signifies the significance in the ideas held about blood-shedding in the case of animals. 'The primitive hunter who slays an animal believes himself exposed to the vengeance either of its disembodied spirit, or of all the other animals of the same species, whom he considers as knit together, like men, by the ties of kin and the obligations of the blood feud' (Frazer, ii. 389, where examples are given). Finally, we may see the whole principle which underlies blood-revenge well illustrated in some modern survivals. The following account is given by Curtiss from native information (Primitive Semitic Religion To-day, p. 191): 'In the neighbourhood of Nablius it is customary, when a reconciliation has been made between the murderer and the avenger of blood, for the murderer to kill a goat or a sheep in the open place, and deliver it to the avenger of blood, with a red handkerchief tied about his neck. Some of the blood of the animal slain is put on the palms of his hands. The avenger draws his sword and intimates that he could take his life from the murderer, if he gives it back to him.'

See also BLOOD-FEUD.

7. Blood and the spirit-world.—In tracing the developments of the ideas of the powers and perils attaching to blood, as they are seen in blood-covenants, blood-relation, and blood-revenge, we have considered those ideas as affecting the relation between man and man only. But it is evident, from the fact that the spirit-world is generally conceived on anthropomorphic lines, that this important group of ideas would be applied to the unseen world, and that blood would come to occupy an important place in religious as well as in social life. The remainder of this article is therefore concerned with the place of blood in religion. The natural starting-point is afforded by the thirst of departed souls for blood, of which the visit of Odysseus to Hades supplies the classical example (Od. xi. 34 f.):

'But when I had besought the tribes of the dead with vows and prayers, I took the sheep and cut their throats over the trench, and the dark blood flowed forth; and they were not satisfied with the blood. In the end the departed gathered them from out of Erebus. . . . I drew the sharp sword from my thigh and sat there, suffering not the strengthless heads of the dead to draw nigh the blood, ere I had word of Teiresias' (Butcher-Lang's tr., p. 173). This eagerness of the dead to revive their strength by drinking that blood which is life is the best explanation of the frequent practice of drinking blood or tomb or by means of a tube or funnel (examples in Jeffons, p. 51 f.), or of the various forms of blood-offering to the dead (p. 52 f.), which may take the form of more or less serious mutilations on the part of the mourner (p. 191). But other spirits than those of departed men are represented on similar grounds. So we meet with belief in the vampire. 'Inasmuch as certain patients are seen becoming day by day, without apparent cause, thin, weak, and bloodless, savage animism is called (without satisfactory elucidation) by the name of vampire. This does so in the doctrine that there exist certain demons which eat out the souls or hearts or suck the blood of their victims' (Tylor, i. 191; he cites various examples, pp. 191-194; for some modern cases, cf. Strack, Das Blut, p. 65). A particular example may be mentioned the Malay vampire known as the Penanggulan, 'which is believed to resemble a trunkless human head with the sac of the stomach attached to it, and which flies about seeking for an opportunity of sucking the blood of the dead man' (Tylor, ii. 196) (cf. p. 328). But other temporarily or permanently disembodied spirits have the same tastes and powers. So the West African natives believe that witches live almost entirely upon the blood which they draw from their victims' (Tylor, ii. 196) (cf. p. 490). It need hardly be said that the difficulty we feel in connecting an immortal spirit with material blood does not exist for the primitive mind, which knows no such antithesis; indeed, spirits are sometimes thought to yield blood (Robinsohn, esp. p. 116).

From such general beliefs we may pass to the various practices by which the spirit-world is approached through blood. Perhaps the best and simplest example of contact with the spirit-world made by blood is afforded by its use in Australian totemistic ceremonies. In connexion with the Unjiamo-flower-totem, the blood of one of the young men is sprinkled freely on a stone, which is supposed to represent a mass of Unjiamo flowers, after chants have been sung, 'the burden of which is a reiterated invocation for the power of the Unjiamo tree to flower much, and to the blossoms to be full of honey' (Spencer-Gillen, p. 184). In connexion with the Okira or kangaroo-totem, a similar ceremony is performed to increase the number of kangaroos, and the blood which is thrown out is used to hunt them (ib. p. 201). In this case, the stone 'represents the spot where a celebrated kangaroo of the AlcherInga (q.v.) went down into the earth, its spirit part remaining in the stone which arose to mark the place' (ib., p. 409). These blood ceremonies are specially instructive, because they show the potency of blood in making a vital connexion with the 'supernatural' world, quite apart from any of the theories of sacrifice developed at a later stage of religious thought. It is of importance to emphasize this, lest we misread primitive forms of 'sacrifice' such as that offered to the Yoruba god, Ogun, when a human victim is slain; 'the entrails are exposed before the image, and the body suspended from a tree. The victim is slain by having his head struck off upon the stool of Ogun, upon which the blood is made to gush' (Ellis, Yoruba-speaking Peoples, p. 68). The relation of the blood to the god may be regarded as an extension of its relation to the departed spirit. A man; it is supplied up in the address to one of the gods in the Egyptian pantheon: 'Hail, thou who dost consume blood' (Book of the Dead, cxxv. 13). In other cases, however, we meet with a less direct presentation of the blood to the deity. Thus Ellis
writes: 'In 1811 a slight earthquake shock threw down a portion of the wall of the king's residence in Coomassie. The king, Mensah, consulted the priests as to whether the evil had been done by the land. The latter declared that the damage was the act of Sasa-bosum, and that the ruined portion must be rebuilt of mud (swish) moistened with the blood of virgins. Fifty young girls were accordingly slaughtered, and blood poured over their bodies, with assurances that blood would be the chief form of sacrifice was the slaughtered animal (Wellhausen, op. cit. p. 114); and the genuine Arab ritual consists in pouring out the blood, or else smearing it on the sacred stone (p. 116). This special appropriation of the blood to the deity can be paralleled in the many peoples of the Nile. The natives of Africa eat the meat of the sacrifice, that having nothing to do with the sacrifice to the spirits, which is the blood, for the blood is the life' (Kinglsey, Travels, p. 451). 'In an expected great evil the gateway is sometimes sprinkled with the blood of a sacrificed goat or sheep. The flesh is not wasted; it is eaten by the villagers' (Nassan, op. cit. p. 93). The reason for this appropriation has been suggested in the previous sections of this article; it springs from the powers and perils of blood. On the one hand, we have already seen that blood is used as a vital link between man and the spirit-world—a usage with which various views of its precise potency might be connected; on the other hand, the very perils of blood, which so often cause its rejection and spurning, suggest that the cub, sacred to the deity, that is to say, the sacred stone will serve as a lightning-conductor does, by drawing off the latent peril. This view is practically that held by Moore in the article referred to: 'The common root of these offerings and sacrifices is most evident in the universal belief that blood is a fluid in which inheres mysterious potency, no less dangerous when misused than efficacious when properly employed. In the outpouring of the blood at the sacrificial stone we may perhaps recognize the feeling that this is the safest disposition of it, as well as the belief of a somewhat more developed theology, that it belongs to the deity of right' (EBs, col. 4218). Such disposal of the blood, starting from a genuine and deep-rooted primitive motive, would form a nucleus round which the later usages and ideas would easily cluster. Ancient psychology draws no hard and fast line between the blood-soul of the animal and that of the man; totemistic ideas confirmed the identity of the man with the animal he offered, and the communion with the deity obtained by the blood which was the life would be a very real thing to the primitive worshippers. The later ideas of substitution depend on a deepening ethical experience; and they, too, equally with the idea of homage, can find a basis in the primitive usages. Without new developments, interpreting the primitive rite anew to the needs of each age; nor do the perils and powers of blood become imperative on human thought till men learn that the only perfect communion with God belongs to the perfectly obedient will, and that they who would worship the Father must worship in spirit and in truth. See, further, art. ANTI-SEMITISM, BLOOD-FEUD, BROTHERHOOD (artificial), EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT, SACRIFICE, SACRIFICE, SACRIFICE.


BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD.—See BROTHERHOOD (artificial).

BLOOD-COVENANT.—See BLOOD, p. 717.
BLOOD-FEUD (Primitive).—One of the most wide-spread phenomena of primitive, and even of comparatively advanced, jurisprudence is the blood-feud, which, while subject to the most manifold gradations, may be defined, in its typical aspect, as that principle of ethnological jurisprudence whereby an entire family (more rarely clans or tribes) is made liable to retaliation and reprisals in kind by another family (or clan or tribe) against which a member of the former family (or clan or tribe) has committed a deadly offence (generally murder, less commonly rape or abduction). It is, in other words, the lex talionis exercised between families (more rarely clans or tribes), often including those connected with them by any form of blood-covenant; it is communal vengeance, as distinguished from individual revenge. Its ultimate foundation is, indeed, personal retaliation; but, in proportion as the family develops, the principle of the blood-feud grows in importance, until it reaches its full development in such a clan or tribe that an entire government is bound to require punishment for injury done to one of its citizens by another nation or by a member or members thereof. On the other hand, just as in the latter case concessions or pecuniary compensation normally take the place of demanding life for life, so in relatively primitive jurisprudence, murder, rape, and other grave offences may frequently be commuted in various ways; the blood-feud is replaced by the werigel (see below).

The essentially communal nature of the blood-feud carries with it the corollary that, among many peoples, one unprotected by ties of family, clan, or tribe may be injured in person or possessions without risk of blood-vengeance, unless he has received artificial kinship by some form of blood-covenant or enjoys the status of guest, which in itself constitutes in great measure a temporary quasi-adoption into the family (very rarely into the clan or tribe) of his host. This explains the fact that many peoples rob or kill strangers with impunity and without any sense of wrong-doing, although they would have the highest regard for the possessions and lives of their fellows, as among the Polynesians, where the property of strangers was held to belong to the gods of the land, so that it could be seized and the owners killed with impunity by those among whom the strangers in question had come (Mariner, Tonga Islands, London, 1818, i. 308; Mathias G., Lettres sur les îles Marquises, Paris, 1843, p. 106).

The blood-feud is, among many peoples, a sacred obligation, to which the kinsmen of the murdered man are in duty bound, as among the African Bakawiri (Leuschner, in Steinmetz, Rechtshervt h i s e von eingeborenen Vöndern in Afrika und Ozeanien, Berlin, 1903, p. 23). To such a degree is this concept carried that it is believed that the soul of the murdered man finds no rest until blood-vengeance has been exacted, as among the Australians and Papuans (Kohler, in ZfWvii. 365, 376), and the African Bakana, Bapuka, Diakite Sarrakolese, and Washamhals (Steinmetz, op. cit., ii. 55; in Steinmetz, op. cit. p. 132; Lang, 16, p. 257). He who does not perform blood-vengeance when he should is despoiled, not as a coward, but as a recreant to the demands of religion and duty, as among the Negro Akka (Monrad, Gemälde von der Küste von Guinea, Weimar, 1824, p. 90.) and Pelups (Park, Reise in das Innere von Afrika, Hamburg, 1779, p. 29), the South American Arakwás (Schomburgk, Reise in Britisch Guiana, Leipzig, 1847, i. 137), in Australia and New Guinea (Kohler, in ZfWvii. 384, 376; Grey, Journal of Two Expeditions in North-West and West Australia, London, 1841, ii. 240), and in the Indonesian Islands of Leti, Mos, and Laker (Riesel, Die slauk- en broedkampen tussen Selebes en Papua, The Hague, 1886, p. 370). In at least some cases the object of the blood-feud appears to have been sacrifice of the murderer or his kin to the names of the victim, thus explaining the rule that all kinmen of the offender that killed relatives of the murdered man should strangle the slayer on the very spot of his crime (Featherman, Social History of the Races of Mankind, London, 1887-90, iii. pt. 2, p. 340). This usage finds its antithetical parallel in the North American Indian adoption of the murderer in his victim's stead (see below, p. 722). The women are often described as especially assiduous in demanding the inauguration of the blood-feud, as among the Iroquois, Florida Indians, Caribs, and Brazilians (Lalita, Moeurs des sauvages américains, 10mo ed., Paris, 1724, iii. 149-151).

The degree of kinship involved in the duty of satisfying blood-vengeance varies widely. In its greatest extent any member of the family, clan, or tribe to which the murdered man belonged may kill any member of the family, clan, or tribe of the murderer, as in New Guinea, where the murderer himself is not killed (von Hasselt, in ZE viii. 193; cf. the Australian Dieri custom of killing the eldest brother of the offender rather than the offender himself [Howitt, p. 227]), and among the African Somali and Bakawiri (Haggenmaeder, in Petermann's Mittheilungen, Erg. x. No. 47, p. 31; Leuschner, in Steinmetz, op. cit. p. 23). Elsewhere the feud may be restricted to totem-families, as among some Aboriginals and the South American Mosquitoes (Kohler, in ZfWvii. 364, 382). In its extremest form the blood-feud prevailed generally in Polynesia, especially in New Zealand (Angas, Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand, London, 1847, ii. 171; Thompson, The Story of New Zealand, London, 1850, i. 98). In Polynesia, if the offender escaped, his whole family paid the penalty in his stead (Wakefield, Adventure in New Zealand, London, 1845, ii. 108); in Tonga and Samoa, where werigel was accepted only rarely, all kinsmen of the offender killed if they could be found (Shortland, Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders, London, 1854, p. 224); and in New Zealand the kinsmen of a murdered man often killed in revenge the first man on whom they chanced, whether friend or foe (Diefenbach, Travels in New Zealand, London, 1843, ii. 127).

The blood-feud may, however, be restricted to certain members of the households of the murderer and the murderer—a system widely prevalent in Africa. Where the matriarchate is in force, only those related on the mother's side are involved, and where the patriarchal system has been developed, only those on the father's side. Accordingly, among the African Barea and Kunama the son...
The avenger of a death of a mother or uterine sister, the nephew his maternal uncle or aunt, and the maternal uncle or aunt his nephew, does not avenge his father, or the father his son. Among the Lepus, on the other hand, as in Akkra, on the Gold Coast, the eldest son is the avenger of his father (Post, *African Jurisprudence*, Oldenburg, 1858, p. 275), and among the Bambara, on the same principle.*

If, however, the natriarchal and patriarchal systems are confused, these differentiations no longer hold, as among certain Brazilian tribes (Post, *Anthropologie und Ethnologie*, p. 182). An interesting sidelight on the primitive legal status of the wife is afforded by some of the laws of the blood-feud, which show whether she is regarded as having become the property of her husband or is held still to belong to her original family (cf. the twofold theory of the status of the individual in more highly developed polity, p. 723). From the latter point of view she is avenged, by the Bakawiri and Washamlamba, by her own blood-kin only, not by her husband's (Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 237), this being the reversal of Banaka, Bapuku, and pagan Bambara practice (ib. pp. 49, 89); while among the Dinkate Sarrakolese of the French Sudan the husband may avenge his wife when duly authorized by the family. However, this privilege is enjoyed by the woman's family, not by her husband's (ib. p. 132). In West Africa the blood-feud is a duty belonging, first, to the "jäve" (blood-relative), next to the "ikaka" (family), next to the "etomba" (tribe). The murdered man's own family takes the lead—in case of a wife, her husband and his family, and the wife's family; sometimes the whole "ikaka"; finally, the "etomba" (Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, New York, 1904, p. 19). In the African Sansanding States the right of blood-revenge belongs to the agnates of the murdered man in the order of their inheritance (Fama Mademba, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 89). Among the African Washamlamba, the blood-feud, which they exact only for murder, is directed against the offender and his wife, while his children are enslaved and his property is plundered (ib. pp. 256 f.); and among the American Shawnee, in case when was refused and the murderer could not be seized, his nearest kinsman was slain in his stead by the kinsmen of the murderer (cf. *ibid.*, cit. iii. pt. i. p. 183), this being a quasi-analogue to the Dieri practice of substitution, to which attention has already been drawn (for the very different principle of substituting the murderer for the victim, see ibid., p. 729).

An interesting example of what may be called a ceremonial blood-feud is afforded by the Australian *pimpua* (the attaining of the Central Australians), a sort of *pose commumart*, which may hunt down the murderer or (as already noted) his eldest brother. In lieu of actually killing a victim, however, the *pimpua* may subject the murderer to a milder penalty. Thus, among the African Sardinia blood-feud, an appointing spot near at hand where the expiatory encounter should take place was authorized, until at length the offender was brought by a spear the combat should cease. Then the offenders stood out, armed with shields, and received the spears thrown at them by the dead man's kin's kindred, until at length one of them was wounded. The Headman of the Garchukus then threw a lighted piece of bark, which he held into the air, and the *keldi*, which it had been contrived that would cause a general fight between the two tribes (Howitt, p. 335). This practice is widespread in Australia (Howitt, p. 335 f.).

Artificial kinship, as noted above (p. 720), is also frequently found in blood-feud (ib. p. 245; eb. *op. cit.*, p. 406; this is also noted in the blood-feud. Thus, among the Polynesians, brothers artificially created by blood-covenant were bound to require blood-revenge if one was killed, even though he fell in battle, which normally abrogates the necessity of such vengeance (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 2, London, 1832, i. 290); and similar principles were observed among the Araucanian Indians of Chile (Kohler, *Zur Lehre des Rechts*, Oldenburg, 1834, p. 69). The relation between host and guest often carries similar obligations with it, as among the African Barea and Kunama (Munzinger, *Ostafri. Studien*, Schaff., 1903, p. 383), among the Tchop, and client, as among the Baroa and Bogo (Munzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 234, and *Studien und das* Recht der Dogon, Winterthur, 1859, p. 43); so that among the African Takue is readily accepted for a murdered kinman, but blood-revenge is exacted for the killing of a guest or client (Munzinger, *Ostafri. Stud.,* p. 298).

Certain limits are, however, normally observed in the blood-feud. Men in full vigour are usually alone concerned. Women are, for the most part, exempt, as are children and aged men, among the Indians of Brazil (*Post, Anfang*, p. 175), although some peoples, as the Sudanese, spare children only until they are old enough to bear arms (Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des blauen und weissen Nil*, 1912, p. 183); the practice prevailing among the New Islanders of the Bismarck Archipelago (Sorge, *in Steinmetz, op. cit.*, p. 418) and the Marshall Islanders (Senft, *ibid.*, p. 449). Other tribes, as the Nufores of New Guinea and the African Banaka and Bapuku, render even women and children (ibid.). In a Japanese *sasa no* (cf. *ibid.*), the Garchukus (ibid.), and among the Zurbed (cf. *ibid.*, vii. 376; Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 49). In like fashion the Caribs mercilessly slaughtered children (Labad, *Voyage aux isles d'Amérique*, The Hague, 1724, ii. 109), and the South American Tupinambas even extended the blood-feud to the child begotten by a prisoner of war, who, before being killed, was made to consort for this very purpose with a woman of his captors' tribe, the offspring being brought up expressly for slaughter (Schmidt, in *ZVRW* xiii. 297, 317). Some peoples, as the Makassars, forbid blood-feud between those of different rank, the inferior being entitled only to blood-money (Wilken, *Hct strafrecht bij de volken van het maleishe ras*, The Hague, 1883, p. 7); while in the Sansanding States one superior in rank is not liable to blood-feud for the murder of his inferior, unless robbery was the motive for the offence (Fama Mademba, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 88 f.).

Within the family the blood-feud has no existence, punishment being meted out by the authority of the father and the man's nearest kinsman (cf. *ibid.*, p. 183), this being also observed in the clan and tribe; although, as the sense of blood-kinship descends in the two last divisions, it naturally becomes increasingly difficult for an interclanal or intertribal blood-feud to arise.

The blood-feud is most generally begun, as has been noted, by murder, which may be entirely unintentional, as among the Australians, the Marshall Islanders, and in the Egyptian Sudan (Kohler, in *ZVRW* vii. 303, xiv. 445 f.; Marno, *op. cit.*, p. 200), or committed in self-defence, as among the Redus in Belawon (Kohler, in *ZVRW* viii. 254), or committed even by a person irresponsible for his acts, as among the African Ondonga and the Nigerian Islanders of the Bismarck Archipelago (Rautanen, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 941; Sorge, *ibid.*, p. 416). The widespread belief in magic as the cause of death frequently leads to inquiry of the sorcerer as to the identity of the murderer and the consequent object of the blood-feud, as in Africa (*Post, Afr. Jur.*, i. 146 ff.), among the Nigerian Islanders (Sorge, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 416), in New Guinea (Howitt, p. 336), and in Central Australia generally (Spencer-Gillen* p. 499). The Bagobo of South Mindanao even made the medicine-man liable to the blood-feud on the ground that he had failed to avail death from the murdered man.
BLOOD-FEUD (Primitive)

(Schadenberg, in ZE xvi. 12). But, as the feeling of blood-kinship diminishes, a distinction is drawn between murder and manslaughter, the former still requiring revenge, but the latter makes the slightest punishment to be made for the latter by a lesser penalty, or the offence may be commuted by wergeld, as in the Sanssung States and among the Dikiate Sarrakolese of the French Sudan, the Washambala (Fama Mademba, in Steinmetz, op. cit. p. 89; Nicol, ib. p. 187; Lang, ib. 257), the Kunurivert of South-East Australia (Howitt, p. 341), and the Papuans (Kohler, in ZVRW xvi. 380 f.). In case of offences other than murder, primitive jurisprudence varies extremely. Among the African Barea and Kurnama, for instance, the murderer is permitted to ransom himself, and the offender liable to the blood-feud (Munzing, Ostafri. Stud. p. 502; Monrad, op. cit. p. 98), as it does, for instance, in Montenegro (Wesnitsch, in ZVRW ix. 54; Miklosich, Edelschatz bei den Slaven, Vienna, 1887, p. 21), while the African Bogo regard such injury as shedding half the blood of the injured part, so that half the price of blood-revenge is required (Munzing, Bogos, p. 81). Sexual offences, as infringing property rights (see art. ADULTERY), are sometimes subject to the blood-feud. The Bantu (Walter, in Steinmetz, op. cit. 391), among the Bagobo (Schadenberg, in ZE xvi. 28), the Manyumea and Balegga (Post, Afr. Jnr. i. 84; cf. Anfangse, p. 175f., Geschlechtsgenossenschaft der Urzeit, Oldenburg, 1875, pp. 199 ff.), and the Malagasy islands of Nossi-Be and Mayotte (Walter, in Steinmetz, op. cit. 391). A war of fourteen years' duration was waged between the North American Indian Passamaquoddiës and Micmacs because, while the two tribes were visiting each other, the son of the Passamaquoddië chief became engaged with the daughter of the Micmac chief, and refused to come to blows, but the war broke out in consequence, the Micmacs being among the Bagobo (Schadenberg, in ZE xvi. 28), the Manyumea and Balegga (Post, Afr. Jnr. i. 84; cf. Anfangse, p. 175f., Geschlechtsgenossenschaft der Urzeit, Oldenburg, 1875, pp. 199 ff.), and the Malagasy islands of Nossi-Be and Mayotte (Walter, in Steinmetz, op. cit. 391). Sometimes, however, as among the Australians, a blood-feud may be continued although the murderer be merely wounded (cf. above, p. 721; Howitt, pp. 336, 342; Kohler, in ZVRW vii. 365).

For a typical example of the termination of the blood-feud the ceremonies of the African Barea and Kurnama may be cited (Post, Afr. Jnr. i. 67, his account being based on Munzing, Ostafri. Stud. p. 801 ff.). When a day has been fixed for the settlement of the feud, the murderer chooses a protector in the hostile village, to whom he sends durra to make be. On the day appointed, all the villagers, except the family of the murdered man, go out to meet the murderer, whose safety is safeguarded in various ways. As soon as he appears, the victim enters the house and slaughters a deer which he has brought for the occasion, and the women of the family of the murderer join in the sacrifice, the number being equal to the number of those who refused every offer of reconciliation, even the life of the boy murderer (Leland and Prince, Kulskop the Master, New York, 1902, p. 231 f.). Sometimes, however, as among the Australians, a blood-feud may be continued although the murderer be merely wounded (cf. above, p. 721; Howitt, pp. 336, 342; Kohler, in ZVRW vii. 365).

Typically, the blood-feud in its primitive form excludes all possibility of commutation by money or its equivalent. This extreme form is, however, comparatively rare, even the African Ondonga, who kill man for man, woman for woman, and child for child, having a fully developed system of wergeld (L. and Baultan, in Steinmetz, op. cit. 257). But the Toda of South India, where the decline of the sense of blood-kinship and the concomitant decay of early family law, commutation of blood-revenge becomes increasingly easy. Many peoples, like the Ondonga just mentioned, decree that murder, or of a person's alliance, by feud or by wergeld, at the option of the injured party, as among the Haidah of the Pacific coast (NA i. 168), the Papuans and Marshall Islanders (Kohler, in ZVRW vii. 376, xiv. 446), the Malays (Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1851, ii. 15), hold the, or 'long house'' exercised jurisdiction over their own members, so that, if one killed another belonging to the same 'long house,' the village assumed that the deed had been done for good and sufficient reasons, and the avenger was to leave off further pursuing his business. If, on the other hand, the murder was committed by a man who had been exalted to the rank of a chief, or into whose clan as a result of marriage, or who had been connected with the slain man united to 're-make the spirit' (refaire l'esprit (Long leur expressions) for the deceased,); while at the same time every effort was exerted to save the murderer's life and to protect his kin against the vengeance of the kin of the murdered man. One of the chief duties of the avenger was the fixing of the custom recorded in 1686 by Lejeune (Jesuit Relation and Allied Documents, Cincinnati, 1858, cit. 892-849), 'the feast of which,' according to Lejeune, 'must be of the value of a new beaver robe.') The first nine of these, which were for the immediate kin of the deceased, were the most costly, each often being 1000 beads of wampum; and the remainder, which were displayed on a pole, represented all the feud goods which had been bought by the murderer and murdered proffer wergeld was executed before this wergeld had been proffered, it was theavengers who were bound to offer these presents, while the kin- man of the murderer were released from all liability. At an earlier time the Huron had not only exacted the giving of presents, but had also required the murderer to come to witresses the putting away of his corpse (which was elevated on poles) as long as the kinsmen of the murdered man desired. If the presents were not forthcoming, the body was exhumed, and the murderer was given such additional to the wergeld, to the kinsmen of his victim, whose place he was to take. Although he was occasionally rejected, he usually came to be regarded as the master of the children of the slain man. Lalou additionally, though without vouching for the statement, that further sacrifices were made and that the avenger adopted the children of the slain man, thus clearly showing the substitution-motive in lieu of the sacrifice-motive (cf. p. 7259) in the blood-revenge-motive of the Micmacs (compare Steinmetz, op. cit. iii. p. 1, p. 96). Sometimes a murderer was even adopted as a son by the mother of his victim (Tanner, Mémoirs, Paris, 1853, ii. 267). Where the parties concerned have their own option as to whether the blood-feud shall be terminated by wergeld or some other means, outside authorities may not interfere, as among the
Araucanians and Greenland Eskimos (Post, An- 
fringe, p. 174); and the African Negroes, Baren- 
his, and the Mende (Munzinger, Bogos, p. 79, 
Osteof, Stud. pp. 499, 242), and Malasala (Desoignies, in 
seinmetz, op. cit. p. 280); but, if reconciliation 
proves impossible, the blood-feud remains in force.

The offender often flees, a certain amount of start 
flight being imposed upon him, this being 21 days 
among the Dedawin (Post, Studien, p. 125; Kohler, 
in ZWRV viii. 233). It must then remain in 
exile, either until reconciliation has been effected, 
as among the Baren, Kuniana, and Tesla (Mun- 
zinger, Osteof, Stud. p. 550). Naghara Nahara 
Sahana, Berlin, 1879-89, i. 448), or until his offence 
has been outlawed by the lapse of a definite period 
of time, this being 5 years among the Felpus 
(Berenger-Peiaud, Les Peuples de la Stoegمجم, 
Paris, 1879, p. 255) and 1 year among the Cali-
ifornian Nishinam (Kohler, in ZWRV xii. 400).

Here the blood-feud comes into immediate con-
nection with the jurisprudence governing the right 
of asylum (p.v.), but among some peoples, as many 
American Indian tribes, murder was the one and 
only offense for which a man was outlawed; (Lothar 
Grusch, der Mission der evangel. Bruder unter den 
Indianern in Nord-Amerika, Barby, 1759, p. 20; 
Morse, Report to the Secretary of War on Indian 
Affairs, New Haven, 1822, appendix, p. 99;
Featherman, op. cit, ii. pt. 1, p. 440), so that the 
Chief Justice always pronounced the method and 
outlawing of all offences except murder (Kohler, 
in ZWRV xii. 400).

By degrees the acceptance of proferred wergeld 
becomes compulsory, but if the offending party be 
unable to pay this, the blood-feud may, as primitive 
kinship-feeling decays, still be commenced in a 
variety of ways. Thus the offender may become 
the slave of the family, clan, or tribe that he has 
injured, as in Makassar, Sarangdao, and Gorong 
(Wilken, op. cit. p. 24); Riedel, op. cit. p. 156, 
and among the African Digirra (Hequard, Reise 
an der Kiiste und in das Innere von Westafrika, 
Leipzig, 1854, p. 104); or he may become the slave 
of the chief of the tribe in question, as among the 
Malays of Menangkaba (Wilken, op. cit. p. 22); 
or of him who paid the blood-money, as in West 
Timor (Riedel, in Deutsche geograph. Blätter, 
x. 234). This form of punishment is also the 
penalty for many other offences (see SLAVRY).

In Akkra, on the other hand, he who could not pay 
the woolly blood-money was subjected to a long 
series of the consequences of the blood-feud (Bosom, Vingag in 
Guinea, Venice, 1752, ii. 91; Müller, Die off. auf 
der Goldküste gelegene Landschaft Futa, Hamburg, 
1760, p. 116).

As soon as no mode of reconciliation or com-
munication becomes permissible between a murderer 
and the family, clan, or tribe of his victim, the 
decay of the blood-feud begins. It has already 
been seen that the commonest method of such 
reconciliation is by the payment of certain sums 
to the kinsfolk of the murdered man. Pointing 
this, it was the custom in some places to 
soever as diminishing the scope and fre-
quence of the blood-feud, other factors are still 
more powerful. With increasing civilization 
the predominance of the family and clan becomes 
less and less, while that of the tribe (and ultimately 
of the nation and State) becomes greater and greater.

The blood-feud, which is at first absolutely essential 
if family is to be prevented from encroaching on 
family, is seen to be detrimental to the larger 
development of the embryo State, and measures 
of encouragement are therefore adopted to 
check the suppression of the blood-feud, until at last it wholly 
disappears as a recognized institution. The struggle 
is, however, long and stubborn. The primitive 
State may hand the offender over to the kinship 
of his victim, that they may either execute blood-
revenge or obtain recompense in any way they 
choose, as among the Iroquois, Batak, Malays 
of Menangkaba, Chagga, Laps (Post, Studien, 
Bornu, Wadai, and Unyoro (Post, Studien, p. 128, 
Anfringe, p. 184); or the nearest kin of the murder-
ner may be appointed the official executioner 
of the murderer, as among the Galia (Cecchi, op. 
cit. p. 79). In Madagascar (Post, op. cit. p. 89) 
the place of the primitive avenger of blood is al-
or taken by a regular State executioner, as among 
the Malays of Nias (Wilken, op. cit. p. 22). Even 
in ancient Greece the State took cognizance of 
murder only when duly qualified kinsmen of the 
murdered man had lodged a formal complaint 
against the murderer.

Often there is a double system of punishment 
for murder and other grave offences—execution 
by officers of the State or blood-feud, as among the 
Arabs of the Red Sea coast (Klenm, Kultur-
geschichte, Leipzig, 1843-52, iv. 149); while, in 
Makassar, if a murderer succeeded in reaching 
the judge, he was safe from blood-feud, and had 
only to pay the wergild (Wilken, op. cit. p. 6). Else-
where, as in Johor, the avenger of blood must 
not only make formal recompense of the 
judge (Post, Baustetxe, i. 150). An especially 
potent restriction on the blood-feud is found, as 
already noted, in the system of asylum; and finally, 
with the more perfect development of the State, 
aided by a higher concept of religion (though, as 
matter of fact, Christianity alone has contributed 
to this end), the blood-feud itself becomes murder 
and a crime, instead of a sacred and praiseworthy 
duty, and is suppressed and disappears, surviving 
only in such stagnant phases of civilization as are 
still revealed from time to time by Siarnan red 
dettas or the feuds of the 'mountain whites' of 
Kentucky and Tennessee.

LITERATURE.—Fragenstäd, Blutrede und Tötungsges. 
Leipizg, 1891; Wernicke, Zur Lehre von den Blutraehe, Wurzburg, 
1893; Steinmetz, Ethnol, Studien zu der Entwicklung der 
Srafe, Leyden, 1894, i. 361-466; and Recktenwalde von 
ingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Oceanien, Berlin, 1893; 
Post, Geschlechtsrechmssenschaft der Grecen, Oldenburg, 1875, 
157 ff.; Wernicke, Untersuchungen zur Geschlechtsredeniusschaft 
Anfange des Staats-und Rechtslebens, Oldenburg, 1875, 
727 ff.; Baustetxe für eine allgemeine Rechtsrechmsschaft auf 
Grund ihrer historischen und naturwiss. Einzelforschungen, Oldenburg, 
1897; Jurisprudenz, Oldenburg, 1887, i. 57 f., Studien zur Entwick-
le78erforsschung, des Familienrechts, Oldenburg, 1898, pp. 233 ff., und 
Rechtsverhältnisse von einigen Völkern in Afrika und Oceanien, Berlin, 
1901, p. 246 ff. On the last-named work the present article is largely based.

A large amount of material is taken from the 
"Blutraehe," and such, as Kohler's sum- 
mmary of the North American Indian blood-feud, 
"B. 405-411, and Schmidt's summary for 
South America, xiii. 310-315. Much
BLOOD-FEUD (Aryan).—Introduction.—The institution of the blood-feud may still be traced among all Aryan peoples: first, as it exists up to the present day among the Greeks and the Albanians, in Corsica and Sardinia, and among the Southern Slavs; secondly, at least in the older traditions, clearly preserved among the Greeks, Teutons, Celts, and the Western and Eastern Slavs; thirdly, with only scanty traces, among the Indians of the Veda, the Iranians of the Avesta, and the Romans. Its primitive Aryan significance is evident from the synonymous conception of Av. kava-, 'punishment,' 'revenge;' (New Pers. khat, 'enmity,' 'hate,' 'anger') = Gr. σκοτει, 'blood-revenge' and 'wergeld.' Probably it may also be connected with Ir. cáin (from 'co-m'-) = 'emenda,' i.e. 'damni reparatio,' 'satisfactio de iure lesos vel de iniuria illata.' The verb which may be taken to be a substantivia is Skr. chrī, chayate, 'punish,' 'avenge;' Av. čt; Gr. ῥίπος, ῥίπων, 'obtain compensation,' 'punish,' 'give compensation.' Compare also rīsu, 'estimate a value,' 'honor.' The following characteristic features of the primitive Aryan period may be established from the identity of customs among individual tribes.

1. The obligation of blood-revenge is always attached to definite circles of relationship, which may be designated family or clan. Within this circle the blood-feud descends first of all from father to son.


In Homer the sons and grandsons, father, brothers, and brothers' sons (애코ς and the έιας) are mentioned as avengers and blood-renders; last-named is an impersonal failing which probably belongs to the pronoun stem έιας, έιαν, and so means much the same as the Latin viāri. Once we find in place of έιαν the word δικαιοποιεσθαι, in II. 198, 402 'δικαιοποιεσθαι' (= as διάκρισι, 'bedelllow') which is perhaps connected with στε-στον, but is also capable of another derivation (cf. Walde, Lat. Vocabullarv, p. 539).

2. As a result of this obligation to blood-revenge, we find a state of feeling between two families or clans which among West Teutons is technically called in Old High German fēhida, Anglo-Sax. fehida, Mid. Lat. fætida (O.H.G. fēch, Anglo-Sax. fēð), Old Norw. fæthi (O.Norw. fæth, 'love'); in the Slavonic languages, Old Slav. vřážida (Old Slav. vřáži, 'enemy,' Old Pruss. vέrgis, 'bad'). The opposite conception to this in the Germanic languages is O.H.G. frīdu, Anglo-Sax. frīdu, Old Norw. vrj, 'pryj, 'love'; in the Slavonic, Russ. mirū, 'peace' (Skr. mi-trā, 'friend,' Lith. mū-liamas, 'beloved,' Russ. mi-liyj, 'dear'). Fundamentally, therefore, peace and friendship (i.e. on the old vēþ) are the relations that prevailed in the Indian and German words or borrowed from the latter (cf. L. von Schröder, 'Indogerman, Wergeld,' Festg. der AsO., p. 49). The most probable supposition is that the Skr. vērī, Anglo-Sax. wergeld, Old Fris. frīdu, were originally compounded of various stages of change of the radical vowel of the original Aryan term for 'wergeld.' Moreover, the above cited equation, Av. ξινά = Gr. σκοτει, no doubt indicates that in the primitive period, as more often stated, the root existed of buying off blood-revenge by payment of wergeld. Similarly, we find in Slavonic languages the above-mentioned vřážida, 'hostility,' 'revenge,' used also to mean the compensation by which homicide was expiated. Cf. also Cynr. gałamas.
originally 'hostility' (paxh, 'foes'), and then 'wergeld;' and the Mid. Gr. φόρος, properly 'murder,' Lat. paena, 'compensation,' and then 'punishment,' probably exhibits a borrowing from the Gr. νομός.

At an early date prices or rates of wergeld, more or less fixed, had been evolved. So in Old Indian sources (cf. Schrader, Reeltex. p. 102) we find a hundred caws mentioned as the rate of compensation for a man (vātram); and Tacitus also, in the passage already cited, says: 'Huitur hominidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero.' From the rates stated, the general underlying principle emerges that the wergeld of bondsman, freeman, and noble were in the following proportion of 1:1:2: that is, 75—150—300 shillings or oxen (Millenhofer, Deutsche Alltsuertskandale, iv. 327). For the rates among the Slavs see below, p. 734. What was demanded for the murdered, wounded, or insulted man by the clan, or by himself, constituted his 'value' or 'price,' and the recovery of this price by his friends and the recognition of the same by his foes constituted his 'honour.' This evolution of custom is clearly stamped upon the languages that concern us. The Gr. νομός, derived from νομα mentioned above, signifies primarily 'revenge' (ποινή, 'punishment, Homer. Od. iv. 107, 117); the Lat. nocem, the Goth. nahtur, the Corn. nahe, all like νομαθα, denotes a person who may be slain without need for compensation; then 'honour.' Precisely similar is the development in the meaning of éthe, a word common to the Slavonic languages. The word corresponds exactly to the Gr. νομίμος ('govern'), and thus signifies in the first instance 'revenge' and 'wergeld.' Then it takes over the meaning of 'price' and 'honour' (Old Slav. чешит exactly answers to the Gr. νομαθα; so Schrader's Reeltex. p. 885 f., and now Berneker, Slav. Etym. Tafeln, p. 128). In his connexion we find also the explanation of the hitherto unintelligible Gothic word gwætír, 'peace,' mentioned above. The word has nothing to do with watirpan (Germ. werden), but is connected with wætír, 'value,' 'worth.' Consequently its proper meaning is 'general agreement about the worth or value of a person,' the union and the resulting state of peace between two clans. It is noteworthy also that the first instance of the word paestæs, which underlies the Lat. paxe, 'peace,' occurs in the 11th century (viii. 391), which is the clearest survival in Roman tradition of the system of blood-revenge which once prevailed in that quarter as well: 'Si membrum rupit, ni cum ex pacat (agree about the value), talior esto.'

Thus we see that two of the most important conceptions of civilization—peace and honour—are at least in part rooted in the ideas that centre in blood-revenge and its buying off by the wergeld.

5. Among most Aryan peoples we find it customary for his bloody deed, to flee from the country for a longer or shorter period, presumably in order that in the interval the anger of the hostile clan might abate and the terms of reconciliation become easier. It still remains uncertain whether this custom is to be assumed as existing even in primitive times, when renunciation of tribal connexion was almost a matter of life and death (cf. Schrader's Reeltex. p. 885).

6. The fighting out or the avengeable settlement of a blood-feud, at any rate, began the beginning exclusively the affair of the two hostile clans. Notwithstanding, perhaps the realization of the danger incurred by the whole clan owing to feuds of long duration (cf. above, Tacitus, Germ. cap. 21: 'periculoseos sunt inimiciitae iuxta libertatem') may have at an early period encouraged efforts upon the part of the race, in their assemblies under the direction of the king (Skr. rāj = Lat. rex, Ir. rí), towards the amicable settlement of clan feuds. A settlement of this description would naturally, even in primitive times, be accompanied by a long succession of solemn ceremonials. But we have ample information on this point as regards the ceremonial of the Slavonians as well (see below, p. 734 f.). Everywhere in Europe two factors tended towards the restriction and ultimate eradication of the blood-feud: first, the State, that is, the absorption of the old clan and race-constitutions into the political compositions of the State based on the principle of territory and no longer of consanguinity; and, secondly, the Christian Church, which offered sanctuary even to murderers. See art. ASYLUM.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the article.

O. SCHRADER.

BLOOD-FEUD (Celtic).—I. Terminology.—The usual word in Old Irish is fisch ('feud,' 'fight'), foinmh ('I fight'), cognate with Lat. vincere, etc. In the Acclilion na Senórach (Windsch, Ir. Texte, Leipzig, 1880—1905, iv. p. i. p. 47, 75) we find, at the feast of Tara, which lasted six weeks, nech fidh ná frithfóla do thabhairt ('neither feud nor cross-feud to be given'). The Irish fóla is for fóla, gen. of fóil ('blood'), perhaps connected with High German füllen, Low German fillen, Danish fiill, etc. 'The Irish variation of the custom is probably for *ér-icca (for *ér-icca) (full payment, full performance)' (d'Arbois de Jubainville, Études sur le droit celtique = Cours de litt. coll. vii., Paris, 1895, p. 88). Finally, the Irish dír ('duty', in corp-dír, is the same as the Welsh dirw, diuir ('mulcta'), dir ('necessary'), Irish dir ('just,' 'due,' etc.) (Stokes, Urbelt. Sprache, 1893, E. 630). For 'vengeance,' 'revenge,' we have the Irish digal, Welsh dial ('vindicta,' 'ultio'), Cornish dial. The Irish ér (composition) is probably for *er-icca (for *ér-icca) (full payment, full performance)

II. History of the blood-feud among the Celts.—That the institution of the blood-feud was in existence among the early Celts is obvious from the numerous references to it in ancient Irish literature. One of the best known instances is found in the Fotha Catha Cucna ('Cause of the Battle of Cucna').

Cunnali, the royal warrior of Ireland, carried off Murci, daughter of Ailill, because he was refused permission to marry her. Tadg complains to Cond, supreme king of Ireland, who, according to the Annales of Ireland by the Four Masters (P. 729, 1221), reigned from 122 to 157 a.D. Cond, furious at the insulting words of Tadg, sends soldiers to take possession of the girl. Cunnali refuses to give her back to Murci, and in attempting to avenge Cunnali, Luchet succeeds only in wounding Goll in the eye. Goll kills Luchet and gives as his quotation for the Irish, is deinn robh fisc asa as i mna maca Morna ona fionn, 'It is from that, then, that there was an hereditary feud between the sons of Morna (descendants of Goll) and Find (the son of Cunnali).'

Furthermore, after the death of Cunnali, Tadg not only refuses to receive his daughter Murci, but orders her to be burned because she is pregnant. Accordingly she invokes the protection of Cond, and gives birth to a son, Find. When this son arrives at a suitable age, he offers to his grandfather, Tadg, the following condition: that 'a battle or a duel or full eric for the murder of the father' should be given to him at the last, and is obliged to give the castle and grounds in Aluin to Find (Kell. li. 86, etc.).

Again, in the Lament μac u-μragna, Conchobar, the great king of the first epic cycle—i.e., about the beginning of the Christian era (Hyde, Lyt. Hist. of Ireland, London, 1896, p. 245)—has the three sons of Cuchulain, who was beheaded on a tree, grasped a weapon and invoked the protection of Conchobar. The three heroes, Fergus, Dubthach, and Cormac, met him to give him a weapon and threatened to avenge his murder. First they murdered four of the immediate relatives of Conchobar, and, later, when attacked by him, killed three hundred men. If from this time the royal palace at Emuin. With 3000 men they sought refuge at the court of Ailill and Medb, king and queen of Connaught, and continued their feud against Conchobar for sixteen years (Windsch, op. cit. I. 57—72). Cleath na Aratcan, who died in 975 ("Annales of Oxford") had, 'Kells (p. 145), a complete account of this story, which stated that Conchobar, in retaliation for the murder of his relatives, killed Gergen, the son of Illad (Windsch, op. cit. B. 3, p. 119). Numerous other
examples could be cited, such as Addled Conron, in which the murder of Conron is avenged by his sons (d’Arbois, Époque Celtique in Ireland=Conours de litt. celt. v., Paris, 1892, p. 321); the Aughrin Massacre (1869), in which a landlord avenged (O’Corry, Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, Dublin, 1878, p. 631 f.); The Voyage of Gilpin, in which a hero is taunted not avenging his father’s death (Stokes, RCel. ix. 459, etc., etc.).

In the Ancient Laws of Ireland, some of which, such as the Senchus Mor, date as early as the 7th century (Hyde, op. cit. p. 589), we find murder classed under two heads—necessary murder (morbad déthdíre), and unnecessary murder (morbad in déthdíre). Necessary murder is unexampled by, or, if premeditated, is accomplished through duty of vengeance. Unnecessary murder is for motives of gain (Anc. Laws, iii. 68, ll. 12–14; iv. 248, ll. 25–26). In the case of the first, no composition, or éric, was required if the murderer was in the result of vengeance. According to the Ancient Laws (iv. 232–4), ‘when the murderer of a member of the derbheine (i.e. of any relative of the goifhine or derbheine) is to be avenged by the death of the murderer, the family of the murdered has a right to the corpiacht (i.e. the death of the murderer) and the éric (or honour-price’); if, however, it has received this éric before exercising vengeance, it must, after taking vengeance, make full restitution of this price. The duty of vengeance was imposed upon the nearest relative of the murderer. The axe, goifhine and derbheine (d’Arbois, Droit Celtique, p. 180). To understand these terms, we must remember that the Irish family was divided into four groups, consisting of seventeen persons in all: goifhine, derbheine, iarfarne, and indanne (Anc. Laws, i. 262, ii. 23, 27; p. 272, l. 23). To the goifhine belonged the father, son, grandson, and brother of the murdered; while to the derbheine, besides the above five, were added the grandfather, paternal uncle, nephew (son of the brother), and consin-german (i.e. a brother’s fourth degree of consanguinity). In addition to the above eight persons, three others could take vengeance on the murderer. These three were the foster-father, whose dálta, or pupil, was murdered; the adoptive father, whose mac faosna, or adopted son, was killed; and the (maternal) uncle, when the son of his sister (nicenna) was the victim of the murderer (Anc. Laws, iv. 214, ll. 20–22). So, in ancient Ireland, the blood-feud was fostered by the duty of vengeance. We have indications of its existence as late as the 16th century in the Deirdre of the Sorrows. The chief, Manus O’Donell and his son, between the Earl of Thomond and his uncle, etc. (Moore, Hist. of Ire- land, London, 1855–60, ii. 367). As in Scotland, the most usual causes and consequences of the later feuds were the destruction of crops and the driving-away or hounding of cattle belonging to persons occupying lands to which others alleged a claim. One of the most celebrated cattle-raids in Irish literature is the Táin Bo Cúailnge, or the Cattle-Raid of Cooley (ed. Windisch, Leipzig, 1903). Sir Walter Scott has in his usual ingenuity given us a similar expedition undertaken by twelve Highlanders.

In Wales, where, as the testimony of Giralduus of Cambray and Walter Map show (see above, p. 724), the blood-feud once flourished, the Roman conquest brought about the suppression of both the duty of vengeance and the payment of éric for murder. The Lex Cornelia de ecirorâ of Sulla (n.c. 81) and the laws of Caesar and Augustus (Lex Julia de vi publica and de vi private) imposed severe penalties upon those who incurred the wrong by bearing arms with the intention to kill (Richter, Deutach und Römer, Leipzig, 1844, pp. 409–14, 752, etc.). On this account, no doubt, the Welsh diriu or dirny changed its meaning from éric (‘composition’) to maluda (‘fine paid to the State’). After the departure of the Romans, while the éric was re-established, the duty of vengeance failed to assume its former force. This was in part due to the fact that the cenedd, or clan, was already to some extent disintegrated as early as the 10th century. (Rhyys and Brymner-Jones, The Welsh People, London, 1900, p. 196). The feuds between the clans were largely superseded by the warfare between the petty kings. But the duty of vengeance was not looked upon unfavourably is manifest from several statements in the Dimetian Code, which was probably redacted under Howel in the 10th century. (Rhyys, op. cit. p. 181).

According to Raftell there is in a cenedd an ecclesiastical or an idiot, he is neither to pay nor to receive any part of the galanas (‘body-price’); and ‘no vengeance is to be exercised against any one if he has killed a person for galanas, that is to avenge a relation that is killed.’ Furthermore, if a cenedd commences paying the galanas of a person killed, and the whole be not paid, and if on that account one of such kindred (stock) be murdered, the galanas for that individual is not to be paid; neither is anything to be restored of what had been paid on account of the first. Finally, if ‘an innocent person is accused of murder and neglects to seek justice, and if he be killed then running, not including those in the Highlands and Islands. Even ministers of the gospel were sometimes so swayed by their passions that they took part in these ferocities. One of the most noted of these was the murder of the Colquhouns and the Macgregors, which culminated in the battle of Glenfinn in 1692. According to Birrell’s diary (2nd Oct., 1692), a party of Colquhoun women and girls were hanged in front of the castle of Lochinver. From the time of this battle, the clans of the Macgregors were driven out of the Lowlands, and many of them went to the Highlands. They sapped the crop, hanged the cattle, and drag the women about by their hair, killing all who might resist (Lang, loc. cit.). Such cases were most frequent. In fact, the volume of the Privy Council Register for 1613 contains no fewer than 42 feuds then running, not including those in the Highlands and Islands. Even ministers of the gospel were sometimes so swayed by their passions that they took part in these ferocities. One of the most noted of these was the murder of the Colquhouns and the Macgregors, which culminated in the battle of Glenfinn in 1692. According to Birrell’s diary (2nd Oct., 1692), a party of Colquhoun women and girls were hanged in front of the castle of Lochinver. From the time of this battle, the clans of the Macgregors were driven out of the Lowlands, and many of them went to the Highlands. They sapped the crop, hanged the cattle, and drag the women about by their hair, killing all who might resist (Lang, loc. cit.). Such cases were most frequent. In fact, the volume of the Privy Council Register for 1613 contains no fewer than 42 feuds then running, not including those in the Highlands and Islands. Even ministers of the gospel were sometimes so swayed by their passions that they took part in these ferocities. One of the most noted of these was the murder of the Colquhouns and the Macgregors, which culminated in the battle of Glenfinn in 1692. According to Birrell’s diary (2nd Oct., 1692), a party of Colquhoun women and girls were hanged in front of the castle of Lochinver. From the time of this battle, the clans of the Macgregors were driven out of the Lowlands, and many of them went to the Highlands. They sapped the crop, hanged the cattle, and drag the women about by their hair, killing all who might resist (Lang, loc. cit.). Such cases were most frequent. In fact, the volume of the Privy Council Register for 1613 contains no fewer than 42 feuds then running, not including those in the Highlands and Islands. Even ministers of the gospel were sometimes so swayed by their passions that they took part in these ferocities. One of the most noted of these was the murder of the Colquhouns and the Macgregors, which culminated in the battle of Glenfinn in 1692. According to Birrell’s diary (2nd Oct., 1692), a party of Colquhoun women and girls were hanged in front of the castle of Lochinver. From the time of this battle, the clans of the Macgregors were driven out of the Lowlands, and many of them went to the Highlands. They sapped the crop, hanged the cattle, and drag the women about by their hair, killing all who might resist (Lang, loc. cit.). Such cases were most frequent. In fact, the volume of the Privy Council Register for 1613 contains no fewer than 42 feuds then running, not including those in the Highlands and Islands. Even ministers of the
cent. decided that, in default of the family, the king himself might be held responsible for the payment of the eric (Wasserschleben, Jr., *Kanonen
erwerbsverwaltung*), Leipzig, 1855, p. 170).

In Ireland, it was divided into two classes: the *coirp-dire*, or *body-price*, and the *enche-lann*, or *honour-price* (or *log-enench*, lit. *face-price*, Breton, *eneu-uir*; cf. Ernault, *Gloss. moyen-bret.*, Paris, 1893, p. 794). The *coirp-dire* was exacted in the case of unnecessary murder, or in necessary murder when not promptly by way of vengeance. The *enche-lann* was exacted in the case of bodily injury, insult, etc., and would, therefore, be necessarily included in the *coirp-dire*. In regard to the latter, the family had the choice of surrendering the criminal as *restitution* (cf. *foraill* to the family of the murdered, or of giving land for his crime (*Anc.
Laws of Ireland*, iv. 246, ii. 25-26). But, continue the *Ancient Laws*, *each one dies for his premeditated crimes when he has not found the eric* (iv. 256, ii. 16-17). Thus, in the case of unnecessary murder the criminal was the sole debtor. But in necessary murder the criminal and his *geisfive* were held responsible for the payment of the *eric*. In default of the *geisfive*, the other three groups of the family found themselves in

**4. Duel.**—The duel was often the means of obtaining release from the *coirp-dire*, and along the lines of the collection referred to above attributes to St. Patrick two decisions prohibiting the debtor from resorting to arms to prevent a creditor from levying a distress (d’Arbois, *Droit celtique*, p. 451.). But true individuals did engage in a duel only with the knowledge and consent of his family. If he fought without their consent and was killed, the victor would be obliged to pay full eric to his family, unless he could prove that the murdered man himself provoked him to fight (*Anc. Laws*, iii. 302, i. 1-8; p. 296, i. 19-21). So, on the Border of Scotland, trial by combat served often as a proof of guilt or innocence; and Sir Walter Scott notes a feud between Thomas Musgrave and Lancelor Carleton which was settled in this manner in 1603 (*Lay of Last Minstrel*, Note x.)

**LITERATURE.**—The literature has been given fully in the course of the article. JOHN LAWRENCE GIERG.

**BLOOD-FEUD (Greek).**—Blood-feud, or blood-revenge, is a widely diffused custom of primitive society, of which some instances still survive, as in the Corsican vendetta, and of which numerous traces are to be found in history and literature. It arises, as a rule, through a violation of rights practised by a member of one family against a member of another (A. II. *Post, Familienrecht*, p. 134). The breach of rights may take widely different forms, but its normal instance is that of murder, or at any rate homicide, and to this attention is confined in the present article. The parties professedly responsible for such a feud are, on the one hand, the nearest kinsman of the slain man, and, on the other, the slayer; but the responsibility extends beyond these to the circle sometimes of their families, in a wider or narrower sense, sometimes of their entire respective clans (cf. e.g. *Ebi, s.v.*, ‘Goel,’ col. 1745). In many cases revenge can be satisfied only with the death of the slayer, or of one of his kin, but in others reconciliation is effected on the basis of compensation in monetary kind. In either case it was felt as a sacred duty. Its aim is largely, no doubt, to maintain the honour and integrity of the family or clan, and so far it has an ethical rather than a religious significance. But it is probable that blood-revenge has in every case, at least in its earliest original form, been naturalised towards the spirit of the slain, and, as the tendance of the dead implies the recognition of spiritual beings and readily passes into worship, the blood-feud has to this extent a religious basis. By the Greeks certainly, in historic no less than in pre-historic times, vengeance on the murderer was regarded as a duty to the slain, and one of a religious kind. And probably the chief interest of the subject before us is the clear light which it sheds upon a whole world of thought and feeling which is in marked contrast with generally current conceptions about Greek religion.

**1. Homer.**—In Homer there are abundant traces of the custom. We read of Orestes avenging his father (Od. iii. 306), though this is less usual case of blood-feud within the family, and of understood right and duty of any man to avenge a brother or a son (II. ix. 632; Od. xxiv. 434). In one instance (Od. xv. 273) the responsibility for vengeance falls also on the slain man’s own, who are usually understood to be the descendants by the facts that *tae* are distinguished from cousins (c*airsol*) in II. ix. 464, and that in Attic law the duty of prosecuting a 44 cows and 213 pence; while the earle or wilte was valued at 16 cows (Robertson, *Hist. of Scotland*, 3 vols., London, 1831, App. ii.; Lang, *op. cit.* i. 81; Skene, *op. cit.* iii. 218, etc.).
muderer passed in case of need to any member of the murdered man's plutry (Rohde, Psychoe, p. 260-261 n.). When an act of homicide has been committed, under whatever circumstances,—for these do not seem to have affected the issue in the society which Homer depicts,—its author is something represented as fleeing into a house, where he seeks the protection of a man of influence. So Patroclus finds refuge in the house of Peleus, and Lycophron in that of Ajax (II. xxiii. 85, xv. 431). In other cases the feud is ended by murder as a recompense, or ποιήσα, murder, is brought on by the two parties. That this often happened is shown by the passage (II. ix. 632 ff.) where Ajax, after trying in vain to disarm the resentment of Achilles against Agamemnon, continues, 'Why, even from the murderer of a brother, or for his own dead son, a man accepts, it may be, a ransom, and so he (the murderer) stays in his own town, after paying a large fine' (Paley's tr.). Of what took place on such occasions we have a vivid picture in Il. xviii. 488 ff. There, in a scene upon Achilles' shield, the two parties to a feud first engage in a wrangle as to whether the amount agreed on has actually been paid, and afterwards bring their quarrel before a council of elders, while in the midst are placed two golden talents, which, at least on one interpretation, represent the ποιήσα, murder, of one party.

Among all these references to the blood-feud in Homer, nothing, it will be seen, is said about the spirit of the slain man, while the settlement by means of a fine is obviously treated as a matter in which the living only are concerned. And this is in harmony with the general view, which the Homeric poems present to us, of the state of the dead. Where the blood-feud is animated by a desire to appease the dead man's spirit, the latter is conceived as a powerful being bent on revenge, as in the cases of the vengeful spirit dwelling on the kinsman who neglects his interests. But the faith described in Homer is of a different order. Its dead are strengthless beings, ineffectual shadows of the living. There is, however, good reason to believe that this was not the oldest Greek faith. Even in Homer we meet once an again with, what seem to be outcrops from an earlier stratum of belief. Thus at the funeral of Patroclus (Il. xxiii. 138 ff.), the hair which Achilles lays in his dead friend's hand, the jars of honey and oil, the分享en (οφθαλμοί) for the eyes, and all sorts of these together with the corpse, the night-long pouring of wine upon the earth, and the oft-repeated call to Patroclus, together with many other features of the story, all point to a vivid belief in the reality and nearness of the departed spirit which contrasts sharply with the usual Homeric representation; while, as Rohde observes (Psychoe, p. 17), the whole series of offerings belongs entirely to the class which we may regard as oldest, and which meets us later in numerous instances, where the Greek shows a high regard for under-world powers. The offerings which, in Od. xi. 49 ff. (the 'Nekuia'), Odysseus promises to the departed spirits point in the same direction. But, if such was the earliest Greek conception, the deepest motive of the blood-feud, in the Homeric age weakened or lost sight of, may well have been the slain man's demand for vengeance. And that this was actually the case is indirectly proved by the fact that in Homer the consequences seem to be an absolute demand for vengeance. The one motive of homicide. The equalization of these two, says J. H. Lipsius (Das attische Recht und Rechtswesen, Introduction, p. 7), affords clear proof that the fundamental aim of the blood-feud was not punitive justice, but satisfaction to the slain.

2. Classic age.—-When now we turn to the classic age, this aspect of the blood-feud occupies the forefront of the picture. Vengeance on the homicide is primarily reparation offered to the dead, and as such it is a religious act.

(1) Poetry.—In Eschylus' Eumenides, Orestes is pursued by no earthly avenger of blood, but by the Erinyes, who are represented as coming at once to the abode of the dead and of the old religious order. At first, in all probability, they were nothing but offended ghosts, the angry spirits of the slain, and hints of this original character are to be found in Eschylus (cf. J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 223 ff.). In the main, however, as seen in his pages, they are rather the personified curses that attend the shedding of kindred blood. The personality of the slain is merged in that of the malignant demons who act as the ministers of his revenge. The same natural shifting of ideas, and the same fundamental conception of the slain man's eminence, are seen in the use of the word ποιήσαμεν, which in the sense of an avenging power is applied by the orator Antiphon at one time to the dead man's spirit, at another to his ghostly champion, as in the phrase ἐν ποιήσαμεν τοῦ ἀπολαμβανόντος (Trat. 3, β. 8). Sometimes, as in Sophocles (Trach. 1292) or Euripides (Iphig. in T. 778), the outraged spirit is described by the epithet δαιμόν, a dealer of curses.

(2) History.—In the first place, one is thinking chiefly with the fancies of poets. But the view of a slain man's eminence, and of his satisfaction as a religious act, is met with when we turn to the practice of the law courts and examine the developments of the blood-feud in historic times. When the clan develops into the State, the blood-feud inevitably passes under its control and is regulated in accordance with its interests. Greece was no exception to this rule, and we have evidence of laws relating to homicide in various Greek States. But while in other States their information is only fragmentary, the procedure at Athens, though obscure in some points, is illustrated by copious references, especially in Plato, Aristotle, and the Attic orators. To enter at all fully into the Attic process would carry us beyond the limits of this article. But it will be sufficient to note its salient points. In the first place, the legal process meant a mitigation of the unreasoning vengeance of the primitive blood-feud. We have seen that originally the circumstances which led to homicide were insuperably expressed in what the chorus in Eschylus (Choep. 310 ff.) characterize as 'a thrice hoary saying': 'Blood-stroke for blood-stroke must be paid. Doer of wrong must suffer.' But from time to time immemorial Athens had separate courts for the trial of willful murder, of accidental, and of justifiable homicide. The tribunal for the trial of murder in the strict sense was the Council of the Areopagus, which exercised that function right onwards from the time of Solon, or, according to Autolycus (e.g. C. Cret. Hist. 111), from the dawn of the Athenian constitution. Furthermore, a law of Draco (c. 620 B.C.) enacted that vengeance in certain cases, including adultery, should not be followed by a legal penalty (Panss. R. xxvi. 8). But it from one point of view the law mitigated, from another it restored, the rigour of the ancient blood-feud. It did so by forbidding the ποιήσα, or money settlement, of which we have seen examples in the laxer practice of the Homeric age (cf. e.g. Demosth. Ar. 100 ff.). This was not always the case when blood-revenge passes out of the hands of private persons (cf. e.g. Grote, Hist. of Greece, i. 484). It might, indeed, be thought that this strictness in the Attic law was due to the supposed interest of the State, but the true explanation is doubtless to be found in the view that...
advanced by Rohde, among others, that the State regulated the murder suits on the basis of the old family blood-feud, and that its chief object was the satisfaction, not of the State, but of the invisible powers. These positions we shall now proceed to illustrate.

That the State process grew out of the blood-feud is first of all indicated by the fact that it was the nearest relatives of the murdered man, and only in special cases more distant kinshcen, on whom devolved both the right and the obligation to prosecute. It was a duty for whose neglect in the case of wilful murder a man might be himself arraigned by a fellow-citizen (G. F. Schömann, Antiqu. of Greece, p. 471, Eng. tr.). And this notion proceeds from the fact that the duty to prosecute was regarded as also a duty to the dead, and thus as a religious duty, the neglect of which brought pollution upon the State and involved the risk of deaths and other calamities. For we in the next place to note that the thought of the murdered man’s vengeful spirit, and of other ghostly powers who jealously watched over his interest, was a living force in Athens even in historical times, shaping the course of justice, and moving the ordinary man to superstitious fear. For it is a fact, that the right of the dead spirit’s claim was a force to which the orator knew how to appeal in capital trials. So the relatives are said by Antiphon ψυχαί τέθρων, ‘to succour the dead’ (Or. i. 31; Tetr. 1, β., 13), and sentence on the murderer is described by him as ρυπαί τέθρων, ‘vengeance to the wronged’ (Or. v. 58, vi. 6). In one of his speeches, composed for a fictitious case, he makes his clients address the jury: ἀντί τοῦ παθόντος ἐπικεφαλήσαντον ἤμας, ‘we implore you on behalf of the dead!’ (Tetr. 1, v. 7). In the next place the sense of religious duty to the dead is apparent in the several steps of the judicial procedure. It is the archon-basilisks who presides at the trial for homicide, the magistrate who inherited the peculiarly religious duties of the kingship; again, at the outset of the process, both parties have to swear by the Erinyes and other under-world powers to the justice of their cause. And lastly, we may note the procedure enjoined by law in the case of one condemned to temporary exile for an act of violence. With some of the persons of his exile had elapsed, and when he had been formally reconciled to the relatives of the slain, he had still to undergo a ritual purification from the stain of bloodshed he could share in the worship either of the State or of the family, and he had to make expiatory offerings to the spirit of the dead.

It will be seen that the conceptions here regarded as underlying the blood-feud, which have been attributed to the earliest Greek age and which are clearly reflected in classic times, contrast sharply with the picture of the Homeriac age which lies between. The problem presented by this contrast can scarcely be ignored in dealing with the blood-feud, but it is one on which we can here only touch. It can probably be best explained by the composite racial elements that went to the making of the Greek nation. It is, of course, to be supposed that the feeler conception of the spirit-world reflected in Homer’s pages, and the more untroubled gladness in life, were an amalgamation of the sentiments that had been lived. But they were the characteristics of a conquering Achaean stock, and not of the earlier population. The latter, who had no great poets to express the spirit of their religion, still clung to their local cults, and were of other orders, able to bless or curse the living. Even Homer, as already seen, is not without trace of this earlier belief. A similar hint may be found in Hesiod, whose ‘daemons’ are the souls of the men who lived in the earliest or golden age (Works and Days, 121). And the orphic (de Abstin. 4. 22) records how Draco enjoined the Athenians on the honour of their gods to procure the death of their adversaries by bringing them into the spirit-world, according to the custom of their fathers. The old faith never died, and at last, owing especially to the teaching of the Delphic oracle, its gloomier views about the under world became, as we have seen, a dominant element in religion, and helped to shape judicial procedure.

There was, indeed, in Greek religion another and very different world from this, a realm of serene piety, radiant with images of the Olympian gods. But beneath it, in an opposition which paganism could not fully overcome, was a world of gloom and misgiving, haunted by the thought of evil, and of powers whose law was justice untempered with mercy. Of that world the study of the blood-feud, and of its reflection in the thought and practice of the classic age, affords us impressive examples.


**BLOOD-FEUD (Hindu).—** Indian legislation had early reached the stage in which the right of private war, and the obligations arising from the blood-tie everywhere recognized among the Teutonic tribes, had been superseded by the view that repression of murder and violence was a function of the State. The peace-preserving power of the king had become predominant, and we have to go back to Vedic literature if we would meet with any traces of the old blood-feud. The concept of retribution, once paid as a compensation for manslaughter to the relatives of the victim. It appears that a hundred cows were considered in Vedic times the ordinary amount of the wergeld to be paid for killing a man. The somewhat obscure hints in the Vedic literature may be augmented by more explicit statements contained in the Dharma-sūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, where the fines to be paid for manslaughter are declared to have the removal of hostility for their object. Cows and other cattle were, no doubt, the earliest kind of money in India, and the payment of a hundred cows for manslaughter corresponds to the bride-price, which likewise consists of a hundred cows. Gradually, as the priestly influence made itself more felt, the compensation to be paid by the family came to be converted into a money present to the Brāhmans. This is the standpoint of the more recent lawbooks of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and others. At the same time, the kings took cognizance of all crimes committed in their kingdoms. Punishments increasing in severity were inflicted both on men and creatures, formed of Brahmān’s glory (Manu, vi. 14), and that king only was said to attain to paradise in whose dominion there existed neither murderer nor thief nor other offender (Vṛṣṇi, v. 186). Nevertheless the avenging of wrongs and the revenge did not become entirely extinct, and various instances of it are recorded down to comparatively
The murderer, however, obtains the protection of his tribe or of an influential sheikh; and if the family of the victim, supported by their tribe, follow up their vengeance, they become involved in an everlasting war, made up of isolated murders and retaliations. It is not uncommon for the murderer to be left alone at the mercy of his enemies. Sometimes, however, a sheikh will refuse to protect a man whose repeated assassinations are an annoyance to the tribe, or who has committed a murder in dishonourable circumstances. In such cases, the sheikh makes proclamation to the whole tribe that he ‘shakes his mantle’ (infard 'abatih) against him. The outlaw may then be slain with impunity by any one, even by a member of his own tribe. Sometimes a Bedaw proclaims the infard 'abatih on himself. He makes a tour through the whole tribe with a stick in his hand and a white flag flying from the top of it. Determined to avenge himself for a personal injury by a murder, he is trying in this way to take measures beforehand to render the consequences of his action to his own head.

As a rule, the murderer, being protected by his tribe, escapes the immediate vengeance of the family of his victim; but he remains none the less under a constant dread of it, which disturbs the peace of his tribesmen. As his punishment, he is expelled from the tribe, and within a few weeks, he sends a representative to the victim's family to make proposals. These are rejected, because the family are in honour bound to get the blood that is to satisfy the dead. Some months pass, and the two tribes are stiffened into, or are at least restrained from, all social relations. An interview is arranged in the sheikh's tent, at which the representative (wakil) of the murderer appears in supplication before the principal family-chiefs. On his knees, he avows three times that he has the victim's blood he has avenged on himself for the death of his tribesman. He declares himself ready to make peace, but only on condition of receiving an enormous ransom (diya) of young girls, camels, mares, sheep, money, arms, etc. The wakil consents to everything, no matter how exaggerated and impossible of fulfilment the conditions enumerated by the avenger may be. Then the sheikh intervenes, and, calling on the names of various intercessors, asks for the reduction of the different elements of the diya in succession; the avenger consents to this modification of his demand. A few months later, perhaps a year after the murder, the sheikh sends a representative (wakil) to demand the payment of the diya. Faith being the bond of this diya (afu) is, so to speak, exchanged for the diya. In certain tribes the diya always includes two young girls of the murderer's family or tribe; the avenger keeps them to himself, or gets them married at a small price. In other tribes, two girls are given to each side, and a white flag is hoisted on a stick. Sometimes they proceed to a final ceremony of baring the blood. When the family of the murderer are unable to pay the diya, they go into voluntary exile.

The amount of the diya is not usually the object of discussion except between tribes who live in close relations of kinship, or, at least, neighbourhood; for others there is a fixed amount (muddah). In ancient Arabia, the diya of a single hundred camels, and that is the figure adopted by the sunna; the legal writs determine the lists of beasts to be chosen, in accordance with the ancient customs. For this muddah, which, in practice, can be applied only among nomads, has been substituted in 1200 drachmas, according to the country. Some people have preserved customary muddahs which do not agree with the price fixed by the sunna: one allows fifty sheep and fifty mafja'; others, a thousand piastres along with the murderer's weapon and some sheep, two, or three hundred mafja', forty camels, etc.

The prescriptions of the Qur'an (ii. 173), the

BLOOD-FEUD (Muslim).—Among the Arabs, as among the other Semitic races, the blood-feud (gaceal), retaliation (qisah), vengeance (tharr), is a general institution. Attested by pre-Islamic documents, confirmed by the Qur'an (ii. 173 and iv. 94), and codified by the jurists, it is a living custom among the Bedaw, and is practised in its primitive form. We get this information from the observations collected in Syria by several authors, especially Burckhardt and Jaussen; and it is clear that it is still practised by the tribes. In the written Muslim law the blood-feud is only a chapter of criminal law. A man is killed; he must be avenged. At first, it seems to be for religious reasons: a human being who has died without having accomplished, in peace or war, certain rites of confession, could never find peace in the grave; the dead man's blood cries, in the form of an owl which disturbs the repose of his family, and which cannot be appeased except by another's blood. Then it seems also for economic reasons; generous tribes, which are also powerful and influential, who are weakened in comparison with the family and tribe of the murderer; the injured social group demands compensation.

Sometimes vengeance is immediate: a murder is committed in a village, the men of the village are in the house when the murderer is; the men rush on his tents, kill everybody they meet, slaughter the animals, and burn or break everything belonging to the murderer. But these immediate reprisals are often impossible, and then, it appears, some rites which are not very definitely stated take place. The nearest relative of the victim dips his shirt-sleeve (reden) in the spilt blood and hoists it up at the top of a lance. During a space of three days the avenger has no communication with anybody. The pre-Islamic heroes used to subject themselves to various tabus at this time: Inira' Qais took an oath to drink no wine, to eat no food, neither to wash nor to anoint his head, and to have nothing to do with women, until the day when his vengeance would be avenged. The same act is still practised. It was this that was not altogether a voluntary tabus, because Duraid ibn-as-Sama' acted in the very same way.

Vengeance is taken, as a rule, by the nearest relative of the victim; but all the male members of his family to the fifth generation have the right of vengeance; the murderer and his relatives to the fifth generation.
meaning of which, however, is difficult to settle, sanctioned a scale of values in accordance with the social importance of the victims—freemen, slaves, or infidels. Is it possible that Imrûl Qâis, when claiming a hundred human lives for his father's blood to an old mudda Binding on chiefs? The mudda for a woman was fixed by the swarna at half of what was due for a man of the same social status. The Bedawi tribes of Syriu, on the contrary, fix the mudda for a woman at four times that for a man: eight girls or their dowry, or sixty camels. For a pregnant woman, they add to her own diya the diya of the child.

The governments and jurists have set themselves to give a character of public right to private vengeance. The penalties are pronounced by a magis- trate, according to written rules, in solemn forms of procedure in which the witnessing plays a preponderating part. Sentences are executed by public authority.

The modes of action are the same in the retaliation for wounds. This consists in inflicting a wound on the criminal identical with the wound he gave his victim. But here again the diya comes in; and the application by competent authority of the physical penalty or the money-fine is one of the most important matters of Arab criminal law.


GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES.

BLOOD-FEUD (Roman).—That blood-feud existed in primitive times in Italy as elsewhere is certain both from analogy and from actual traces, but the latter are scanty compared with those found amongst the Greeks. The reason lies in the comparative modern character of Roman civili- zation when it emerges into the light of history. Roman history is illustrated by no such authentic picture of a primitive age as is contained in Homer. And when we turn to the arrangements of Roman law, we find little or no such reflexion of primitive ideas relating to the blood-feud as in the laws courts of Athens. But both in law and tradition the traces, if not very abundant, are clear.

The legend recorded by Plutarch (Rom. 23, 24) about Titaus Tiatius and the envoy from Laurentum has probably a historical question and the friends and kinmen of Tiatius slew the envoy when on their way to the king; and, on his refusing to deliver up the culprits, he was himself killed by the relatives of the murdered men. Soon afterwards the gods punished both Rome and Tatius, and Tiatius was killed by his father's friends only when the murderers on both sides were surrendered and punished. The last statement suggests a public, indeed a legal execution, so that we may agree with the verdict of Mommsen (Rom. Hist. I. 158): 'This story looks very like a historical version of the abolition of blood-revenge.'

Another echo of the blood-feud comes to us in the tradition that Numa enjoined the offering of a ram (doubtless through the kinmen to the monnus of the slain) in cases of involuntary homicide. What Prof. Moirhead (EBR® xx. 656) calls 'a re-enactment in illustrative language' of the same law appears in the words which, according to Cicero, occurred in the XII. Tables, 'si telum manu fugit magis quam jecit, arietem subjicit.' In the modern code, excepting in cases of murder as part of a public execution, the original object of such a law, and that as late perhaps as the time of Numa, must have been to impose a limit on the blood-feud in the case of accidental homicide, while still in the latter sense going on to proceed unchecked (EBR® loc. cit.). But more direct re- miniscence of the blood-feud is to be found in the part which the kinsman of a slain man was expected to take in the prosecution of the murderer. So stringent was the obligation to institute the trial, that failure to do so disqualified a man from inheriting any of the property of the deceased. Thus in Plutarch (in Atthis), it reflects the family aspect of the original blood-feud.

On the other hand, the legal treatment of homicide showed how completely among the Romans the claim of the State superseded that of the family to execute justice on the criminal. For homicide was dealt with, and that even earlier than the XII. Tables, as a breach of what the jurists called the public law, which dealt with offences against the State, while the private law dealt with matters directly affecting the interest of individuals.

A word may be added as to the earliest meaning of the word poena. It corresponds to the Greek ποιε¹, and occurs in a similar sense in the XII. Tables in the sentence 'si inimium fuxit alteri, viginti quinque acria poenoa saevo.' Poena is here the equivalent in money of the revenge sought for, and it might be supposed to indicate the existence in earlier times of a manner of settling the blood-feud such as was customary in the Homeric age. That such a custom was also familiar to the Romans it is not probable, but is not supported by the use of the word poena, which is simply borrowed from the Greek in the general sense of compensation. Moreover, the passage in the XII. Tables refers to compensation for personal injury, and has therefore no connexion with the blood-feud (for an interesting account of the relation between poena and ποιε¹ see Karlova, Ṛom. Rechtsgeschichte, ii. 790).


I. F. BURNS.

BLOOD-FEUD (Semitic).—The feeling of kin- ship is the basis of the tribal system of primitive Semitic societies; kinsmen are really brothers through their participation in a common blood, and this social bond is enforced by the law of blood-revenge. Tribal blood has fallen to the earth with the killing of a member of the group. The necessity for revenge arises when any member of the tribe is killed by the enemy. The sanction of the blood has been invaded thereby. On the other hand, if one kinsman has slain another, it is not cause for blood-revenge; either he is outlawed, as Cain (Gen 4:15) from his kin (though here by Jahweh), or is put to death, as originally was the case. But the idea of the whole kin, that it may rid itself of an impious member.

The custom was doubtless of a religious char- acter. Its persistence may be taken to support this. The members are one kin with their god; they are of his blood. His rights are violated therefore by the murder of one of their number, and he requires of them that they seek vengeance, on pain of his displeasure and consequent withdrawal from communion with them, as signs of which this was manifest in any physical calamities that might befall them. It is a sacred duty a man may not renounce. The voice of blood, too, cries out from the ground for vengeance. There is a familiar idea in Arabic poetry that his spirit in the shape of a bird rises from the head of the unavenged and cries, 'Give me to drink' (viz. blood).

Only tribal life offers the necessary conditions for blood-revenge: (1) the solidarity of the tribe or family (a larger group than with us, which is explained later), in which each individual is answerable for the other; and (2) the autonomy of the tribe.

The religious motive is not always present, but
esprit de corps is so real that tribal honour is always alert in pursuit of vengeance. In many instances the slain man’s kin retaliated till a manifold vengeance was obtained. The Song of Lamech (Gen 4:21), that if Cain be avenged seven times Lamech shall be avenged seventy-seven times, is taken as a statement to confirm the custom that did not always stop at the person of the murdered. But the principle of blood-feud is ‘a life for a life.’

A person who has shed other than kin-blood is not so regarded as impious, for only the blood of kin is sacred. He has involved all his kinsmen in the consequences; but they, if possessed of true tribal instinct, will not yield him up to the avenger. Any member of the aggrieved group may retaliate upon any member of the other, and satisfaction be obtained. But such summary justice does not always conclude the matter, and retaliation may follow retaliation indefinitely.

1. Responsibility within a narrower circle.—

The family, not in the minor dimensions that obtaining with us, but embracing all the descendants of a great-great-grandfather, early began to enter as a unit into the reckoning, and family feeling, which eventually affected the structure of Semitic society, and gave it a set towards disintegration, assumed a first importance. Blood-revenge now became a matter for the family of the slain, while that the nearest relative is he who should undertake it: the goel, therefore, in Israel. Among the Arabs the brother and the son in almost equal measure were obliged to avenge. The tribe (hayya) usually, however, in its narrower sense of an aggregate of families that move en bloc from place to place and bear the same name, assumes the duty only when the family cannot from its weakness obtain vengeance. This intention of asserting the honour of the tribe may draw into the field of vengeance all its members, and that may demand a heavy toll of lives. The passive solidarity of the tribe also weakened before this narrower principle of relationship; the avenger preferred to retaliate upon some person within the fifth degree of consanguinity—a usage still in force among the Bedawin. Another consequence of this growth of the family-idea may be noted. Certain of these smaller social units, by reason of bravery or for other such cause, became a kind of aristocracy, and from this was chosen the chief of the tribe. Notwithstanding the position of this class; in early Arabia ‘a nobleman for a nobleman’ was the rule.

2. Modifications.—(1) Protection.—A man in fear of an avenger might flee for protection to a member or the chief of another tribe. Moses, e.g., found refuge with Jethro (Ex 2:18). In Arabia, by taking food or drink with a tribesman, or even by pitching his tent so that ‘tent-rope touches tent-rope,’ the fugitive secures for himself his protection, and, especially in earlier times in the desert, his ability to live. At times this relationship between protector and protected varied; it might be temporary or permanent and hereditary, or promise might be made to protect against a definite enemy, or all his enemies, or against death itself, i.e., if the stranger were slain while under his protection, the host would undertake to pay blood-money to the next-of-kin. The jar, or protégé, ceases to be under any obligation to his own tribe, and enjoys the same rights as any member of the tribe to which he is attached. It is the proud boast of a tribe that it is always able to defend its refugees; a weaker, however, under fear of attack from a stronger, may refuse to admit one to protection, or may refer him elsewhere. Sometimes the protector claimed the right to dismiss a jar at will.

(2) Asylum.—In Arabia a manslayer was unmolested by his pursuer within certain sacred areas, pre-eminently the haram of Mecca, within the tent, or if he pitched his tent over the grave of an ancestor. In ancient Israel the altar afforded shelter to any one who shed blood, but by the later time of the Judges the law of the sanctuary had not been disavowed, and the sanctuary was not only the unintentional homicide. Certain cities of refuge were provided for in the later law-codes, and these also are further distinguished from the asylums of the Arabs in that they secured from violence only, as a condition of justice. See ASYLUM.

(3) Holy Seasons.—During the four main blood-revenge and war were prohibited by the Arabs.

(4) Oracle.—The authority of the oracle, communicated through the lot, may originally have had considerable influence. That of Hubal in Mecca was famous; questions requiring ‘yes’ or ‘no’ might be settled, and it might also decide who was to undertake vengeance.

(5) Oath.—Through the qasima, or ‘oath of purgation,’ among the Arabs proof was supplied where otherwise none could be offered. Helpers, usually fifty in number, in the oath must swear to the innocence of one accused of murder, or to his blood-guiltiness. The helpers need not have been eye-witnesses. The proper application of the qasima, however, was to settle among equals the claim of one to another’s blood. The nearest community had to swear they were not the murderers. In Israel the nearest community professed its innocence through its elders, and made atonement for the blood which had been shed by laying the guilt upon an animal (Deut 21:5), for it was a fearful thought to the Hebrew that blood should go unavenged (Job 16:19).

(6) Blood-wit.—The principle of commuting the right of blood-revenge by a fine, which has been recognized by many peoples (Greek taphias, Saxon wergeld), has not been universal among the Semites. The acceptance of a surrogate was forbidden to the Hebrews (Nu 35:31)—a fact which is evidence of the increasing sense of personal worth under the growing social order. Arabs, with a fine instinct of tribal honour, reckoned it dishonourable to compromise in any degree the blood of a kinsman, but the consciousness of weakness might recommend such a course to a tribe. The material advantages to be gained by its acceptance also exercised some influence. Many tribes required the payment of a certain sum in the payment of this class; in early Arabia ‘a nobleman for a nobleman’ was the rule.

With the passage from nomadic to agricultural, settled life, local connexion begins to oast gene-
logical, the regional grouping gradually weakens the feeling of blood-community, and revenge for the injury suffered by a tribe is to a large extent put into private hands, the custom, becomes possible (Gen 27:2, 2 S 14:2). Laws of social justice arise, and imperial tribunals of State-life are instituted which remove the infliction of penalties out of the individual's hands, and dissolved desire, and murder is rendered illegal. In Babylonia, courts for the punishment of offences were early set up: the jua talionis, but not blood-revenge, was admitted. The code of Hammurabi makes exception in favour of unintentional homicide (§ 207 f.). In course of time, after their settlement in their tribal organization, and during their subsequent history the laws of vengeance passed beyond the primitive state of blood-feud and acquired an ethical character. Their law-codes represent an intermediate stage between the nomadic custom of direct vengeance and the criminal proceedings of developed State-life. All three make the distinction (not found in Homer, though made later when the community took into its hands the right of the avenger), between murder and homicide, and on the due punishment for the latter he who should fall a victim to the avenger's hasty passion; he is secure from the goel' at any altar of Jahweh (Ex 21:13), or at the Cities of Refuge (Dt 19:7, Nu 35:6). Ancient custom is preserved in that, in the cycle of the State, Jahweh is the initiative in protecting the interests of the aggrieved by bringing to the case before the elders (Deut.), or the congregation (P), and must carry out the death penalty. The Deuteronomic code indicates the growth of individual responsibility in stating that the criminal alone is responsible for his deeds (Dt 24:5). The goel' was known in Israel certainly down to the time of David (2 S 14:10). To Jahweh is due much of the credit for modifying this custom, though it did not abolish it. Jahweh came to be regarded as the goel' who had redeemed Israel from bondage, to whom blood cried out, and who avenged it through His representatives with the people, viz. elders, kings, and priests.

In Syria the Syro-Roman law—book of the 5th cent. A.D. (§ 74, Paris Manuscript) forbids the avenger to kill the manslayer, and requires that the accuser hand over the guilty person to the authorities.

Muhammad found the principles of blood-revenge too deeply rooted to be overthrown, and it gained recognition under his theocratic régime (Qur. xvi. 35). It is probable that the passive solidarity, being obliged to avenge one of its members slain and to protect a Muslim manslayer against the unbeliever. Further, he made the manslayer alone responsible for his deed, and distinguished between murder, fatal assault, and unintentional homicide. In the case of the first the talio was allowed, but blood-money could be accepted; in the others it must be accepted (Ibn Hisam, pp. 341-343, 821, ed. Wüstenfeld; al-Waqidi, 538, ed. Wellhausen). But the modern Bedawil have preserved innocence in the tribal system and the blood-feud from the transforming influence Islam has otherwise exercised.

With him the laws of vengeance for murder and homicide are the same. There is no need to regard the blood-feud as an altogether barbarous practice with nothing beneficent. Travellers in the peninsula claim that it is a salutary institution which has prevented tribes from exterminating each other, that it stays the plunderer's hand from shedding blood, and prevents the traveller to rob himself in the desert. It is likely to remain as long as nomad life is regulated by custom.


A. H. HARLEY.

Blood-feud (Slavonic).—Among Slavonic peoples the institution of the blood-feud may still be traced in good authorities, throughout all its history, alike when it was in full force and in the varying stages of its gradual decay.

I. Slavonic terminology.—The art. Blood-feud (Arv.) has extensive Slavonic expressions:

—Old Slav. vstriedit', only 'enmity,' 'blood-revenge,' but also 'compensation,' 'fine'; Old Russ. vira, 'wergeld,' then 'State-compensation'; and miril', 'peace.' Here should be added Old Slav. glavav, properly 'head,' and krun', properly 'blood'—words which are used in numerous Slavonic tongues to signify the manslaughter (deed of blood) which is to be avenged by the blood-feud. The Russian expression for 'revenge' is misti, msteti, mistiti, mistiti, which may be assigned to the same category as the Slavonic expressions (cf. in Sicilian Gr. oisir, 'retaliation'), or perhaps also may be compared with Gr. aires, 'hated' (murete, 'hate,' mitlete). An interesting designation of inter-tribal conflict is to be found in the Polish word wolveks (Czech volak, 'war,' White Rus. volak, 'struggle' or 'conflict') and the Latin lucecor, 'I avenge,' lietsholti unexplained, should be connected with it (cf. Walde, Lat. Etymol. Wörterbuch). Finally, mention should be made of the Servian ofora (Old Slav. vora, cf. Lat. vera), 'true,' probably the pledge given to the husband of the clan to undertake no hostile action against them during a specified period (Mid. Lat. treason).

2. Instances of the blood-feud among particular Slavonic peoples (principally based on Miloslav, loc. cit. infra).—The latest survival of the blood-feud in full vigour was among the Southern Slavs, where it persisted longest in Dolmatia and Montenegro. In the last named it was not till the year 1855 that it was rooted out by the stringent measures taken by Prince Danilo. Till that date the blood-feud was looked on as the sole means of preserving order and justice. Its characteristics may be described as follows: Blood-revenge is resorted to in cases of murder, wounding, and insult, and is considered a religious and sacred duty to the protect the murderer and allow the women who give the stimulus to vengeance. The mother lays the infant in the cradle to sleep upon the blood-stained shirt of the murdered father, and, as the boy grows up, she ever and anon presents this ghastly object to his view. Every male member of the clan is under the obligation to avenge (brotata, properly 'brotherhood,' cf. Gr. φιλαρχος, philarchos, philarchos, 'brother'); first the eldest son; if there are no sons, the brother. If the man to be hunted down by the blood-feud dies, his liability is inherited by his nearest relative, so that sometimes it is the sons and grandchildren who finally fight out the quarrels of their fathers and grandfathers. The chief object is to slay the murderer, or, if this is not possible, his next-of-kin—his brother, father, son, and so forth. Blood-feud also occurs inside the clan—a later and degenerate type of revenge. The woman, and, strangely enough, the man, who has been taken under protection by a woman, are inviolable. In the earliest times the man flees after the murder to another district, or at least avoids meeting the blood-feud in the church or elsewhere. The indication of war the clan-feud is allowed to rest; but, according to Rovinskij

* A star before a word signifies that the form does not occur, but is inferred.
BLOOD-FEUD (Slavonic)

(op. cit. infra, 63), it may happen that a clan living in deadly enmity with another clan forms an alliance with a national foe (the Turks or Asia Minor) and thereby comes to a bloody revenge (brotnstvo and rod ("relationship") in this instance are rated higher than nationality and religious faith. It is only by an exaction which includes the payment of the price of blood and a humiliating ceremonial on the part of the guilty man (see below) that the custom comes to a bloody revenge. The duty of revenge extends to the whole clan; it is only the clan and not individual members of it that can conclude peace. In the assemblies of the people (sbor, skupština) a question often discussed is the formulation of feuds, and the rest of the country, trusting in the opinion of the clergy, Vladimir attempted to proceed against the murderer by means of State penalties (kazna), but he soon returned to the customs of his ancestors. The later chronicer did not clearly the almost unmistakable meaning of this. Jaroslav I (a descendant of Vladimir) in his tardy sense of the price of wergeld, expressed the idea that was not actually in this passage of 50 or 40 gironen was exacted — no doubt to the advantage of the princely exchequer. The sons of Jaroslav completed their father's work by enacting that every deed of blood might be redeemed by this payment. The sense of the word is that it was not clear who received the skins — the Prince, the injured man, or both. If the murderer was unknown, the district (sveri, see above) in which the head of the murdered man was found was responsible for the vîrojite (formed from vira)—an arrangement similar to the Jewish law of liability of the whole clan with regard to the wergeld (see above). From the various rates of penalty mentioned in the above and other passages of the Russkoja Pravda, the calculation has been held to be justified (cf. L. von Schröder, Prasprany u Božům, p. 50) that the wergeld for the murder of a free Russian (oûščanin, 'householder') would come to about the value of a hundred cows, and that in this respect, too, the customs of ancient India (see above, pp. 725, 729) and of ancient Russia coincided. It must be admitted that the ground on which such a calculation is based is very insecure. (For the most ancient evidence for the existence of blood-revenge on Slavonic soil, see Mauricius, Strateg. x. 5; cf. ARYAN RELIGION, above, p. 51.)

3. Expiatory usages at the amicable settlement of a blood-feud.—When the hostility between two clans was to be terminated by payment of the wergeld, there was also a long series of solemn ceremonies of expiation, about which there have been ample information. It is quite especially the South Slavonic world (cf. Miklosich, op. cit. 176 ff.). The Archis f. slav. Philologie, xiv. 141 ff., contains a detailed account (not yet embodied in the work of Miklosich) of a ceremony of expiation among the South Dalmatian Slavs. Its characteristic features are as follows:

The two clans of the Bojković and Tužković in the extreme south of Dalmatia, where the blood-feud remains a living force down to the present day, have been on hostile terms for years, because in the year 1577 Ivor Bojković in a quarrel shot Rof, a member of the Zeci family (of the clan of the Tužković). The murderer has long since been dead, but there is no reason to doubt that Jojko Bojković and Jovo Zec, who now (in the year 1900) are sufficiently able to do business, wish to be placed in peace. It is, however, not possible to come to that pass. After long protracted negotiations the Bojković are induced to admit themselves to be in the wrong and to allow Jovo Zec the right of choosing twenty-four arbiters (Dominičci, 'good people'). These lay down the following conditions of peace: Jojko Bojković is to pay Jovo Zec and his brother Niko a little over a hundred gironen as the price of blood for the murdered man. Here we must observe that according to the custom of the district (politička običaj ‘custom of head' (sahotěta ubijenje za golovu; for the meaning of golovno see above), replacing it by permission to buy off the penalty to the tune of three hundred and offer him twelve 'sponsorships', i.e. send him twelve children, to whom Zec and his people are to stand as godfathers. Moreover, twenty and twelve small 'brotherhoods' (pobratimstvo, 'artificial relationship') are to be established
instances are furnished by the Norwegian-Icelandic sources. Not infrequently these feuds ended in an act of combined incendiarism and massacre.

The slayer, after the murder was consummated, took a night attack; his enemies surrounded the building with combustible materials, and set the whole on fire, so that he and his entire household perished in the flames. The extent to which the blood-feud extended in consequence of the murder between families is shown by the fact that sometimes the near relatives of the actual slayer was forced to fill the place of the latter as the object of retribution. As a rule, indeed, the policy of vengeance was more carefully planned, by the tribe as a whole. The slayer also chose the leader or champion of the feud, and this step was at once followed by the public proclamation of the vendetta. The blood-feud was at length superseded by the imposition of a fine upon the guilty party, and in a case of killing this was known as the wergeld, or 'man-money,' by which the slayer redeemed himself from the sentence of outlawry. The completion of this expiatory compact was followed by the reconciliation of the warring groups, and the proclamation of the oath of peace which ended the feud. Many of the Teutonic peoples, however, and especially the Norse and North German tribes, maintained the practice of the blood-feud for certain crimes even after the principle of compensation had been introduced into their laws in the early Christian Ages. This was particularly the case where the honour of a female of the tribe had been violated by adultery or rape. It was the introduction of the Roman penal code which in the end dislodged popular belief in the policy of the feud.

BLOOD-FEUD (Teutonic)—BOASTING.

Boasting is too extended and assertive a human failing to require defining. In quality it is simple, and appears even to require simplicity of character, of the type set forth in Proverbs, in which to flourish. Nevertheless, it has a history and a literature of its own; it is an interesting and instructive psychological phenomenon; it has grave moral aspects and extensive moral ramifications. It has a direct bearing on the question of the real or imaginary self of the individual human, self-esteem, and self-reverence often developed into family feuds, of which there are numerous

"The spirits of the dead may walk again" (Shakespeare, Winter's Tale, m. i. 164).
of scattering words at large seems to have produced the Lat. *jacto,* as well as our slang expression 'throwing the Customs.' The names of persons with special gifts in this or that art have been and are, as Gr. *δρακάρος,* a 'landlouper,' and Fr. *gascogneade.* Most of these words suggest that, at some period of their history, they have passed through the stage of being slang, and it is still slang which is bestowed. To this day, no language is richer than English, so that we have almost as many terms for a boaster as Arabic for a lion. 'Spread-eagle,' 'bounder,' 'cock-a-hoop,' and others equally forcible and picturesque, show that boasting still exists and flourishes, and still attracts attention.

Nor is language the only record of boasting. There may be few matters of our civilization in which it had no hand, but on *dress* in particular its influence is paramount. The motives of comfort and decency are still only secondarily impressed upon the primitive motive of display. That is only a visual boast—an assertion of our own superiority and the resources we can command, though, when the display was in war-paint, the bragging-doer was no less to be feared than is the cloaked and masked mantle which clothes itself in satin is more complex than that which wears only scalps, but at bottom it may be still the old naked assertion of power to subject other people, and it may be at the same sacrifice of better things. This more subtle combination of boasting with other elements constitutes its whole subsequent history.

A still greater triumph than dress boasting can claim. Without undue use of its own gifts, it may claim to have created literature. One of the most ancient jewels embedded in the OT is the Song of Lamech (Gn 4:25), which is nothing but sheer, blatant bragging. Lamech, by the skill of his son Tubal-cain, is the first of men equipped with a slaughtering tool. He brands his weapons and only he whom kind to attend to him—a fundamental and primitive element in self-gloration:

>'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; Ye wives, Lamech, hearken unto my speech; For I slay a man, wounding me, And a young man for bruising me; If I kill a man, vengeance shall be taken; Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.'

This is the beginning of songs, and it contains all the primitive elements of boasting—arming of the male, bluffing of one's foes, joy in seeing oneself reflected in the mirror of one's own praise. Then what are the Babylonian and Assyrian, and in scarcely a less degree the Egyptian, monuments, if not boasting? A devout ascription to the god does not hinder it from being very human bragging, even to the extent of developing into what much boasting has been since—namely, lies. When it is truth, it is carefully edited truth. The same primitive motives for boasting as appear in the war-paint of the savage and the Song of Lamech, undeniably and loudly proclaim themselves on the monuments. The refrain is always, 'I am an irresistible, death-dealing person, good to follow, terrible to oppose.'

Perhaps all conquest is simply a boast in this power to destroy. Hence the justification of Pascall's saying, that Alexander might be excused for swaggering about the world conquering, on account of his youth, but a middle-aged person like Caesar ought to have had more sense. In any case the ancient motives are still modern, for they never were stronger than in Napoleon, some of whose despatches have scarce more reserve than an Assyrian monument.

Yet in matters of modesty, the progress of time has effected some change. A speech by Cicero to-day would still not ignore the speaker, but its self-praise would not be quite so direct and open-hearted. Boasting is no longer what Montaigne calls 'an inconsiderate affection with which we flattering ourselves; the restraint upon it by ceremony of which he complains still prevails. 'We are nothing but ceremony: ceremony carries us away, and we leave the substance of things: we hold by the branches and quit the trunk.' The old things that are lawful and natural, and we obey it: reason forbids us to do things unlawful and ill, and nobody obeys it. I find myself here fettered by the laws of ceremony; for it neither permits a man to speak well of himself nor ill.' As he proposes to speak of himself, in spite of ceremony, he says, 'We will leave her here for this time. And with that view of the case many still agree, whenever they find it expedient to be their own trumpeter. Self-praise may be no honour, but it may be great profit, and 'the man that will not vent his notions is less worthy than a corpse,' according to Shandy that it is a very unpleasant thing to have to praise oneself, but it is better than doing a good deed and getting no praise for it at all. As the Assyrian added Ashshur to his name and then was wont to boast to the whole world of his exploits, so do the modern adds ' & Co.,' after which it is quite correct to proclaim his integrity, his possessions, his pre-eminence in his own department of things above all his fellow-mortals. And the same is sometimes true when, in partnership, he vends his wisdom or his religion. This boasting in company and boasting in the name of Ashshur are less different than might at first be supposed. Ashshur was the tribal god, and tribal boasting in every age has had special licence and esteem. The predatory instinct, or at least the instinct of self-defence, showing itself in the sense that, if other people brandish their weapons, we must do it still better, is manifest in both. With this may be taken the most extended and calamitous of all modern forms of boasting—social rivalry. It is the supreme attempt to gain the kingdom of heaven by common partnership, the usual result being, as Peabody expresses it, to supply 'the soil in which the malaria of domestic infidelity most easily spreads' (*Jesus Christ and the Social Question, 1901, p. 178 f.*).

2. Psychology of Boasting. —Bragging, braggarting and pleasuring of one's own worth, is a very simple outcome of vainglory. Nevertheless, the vainglory does not always work in the same way, and is by no means always the same psychological phenomenon. Shakill has put two finished braggarts into Henry IV.—Falstaff and Glendonver,—but, except in the mere fact that both boast loudly, they have no real kinship even in their boasting. Falstaff's boasts are 'like the father that begets them: gross as a mountain, open, palpable.' Partly his boasting is the habit of a loud, ungirt nature, disguising its consciousness of un- worthiness by inflated self-praise, and partly it is sheer love of the art of exaggeration and decoration. When he describes himself in the character of the ideal counsellor as 'a goodly portly man,' he is not greatly disturbed or perhaps astonished to have it turned into 'a devil haunts thee in the likeness of an old fat man,' Glendonver, on the other hand, takes himself with utter seriousness:

>'These elements are a fact, Mr. Falstaff,
And all the courses of my life do show
I am not in the roll of common men.'

Falstaff delights to blow his own trumpet, not out of any respect for himself, but because he is on the
easiest terms with himself. Glendower’s ego, on the other hand, lives in state, and suffers no familiarities even with himself. His boasting, therefore, is but a mere duty to himself. This difference in boasting shows that we are no more all on the same terms with ourselves than we are with other people, which separation of ourselves from ourselves, even in the very act of sounding our own praise, deserves more consideration than psychology has yet given.

Another psychological difference indicated by Falstaff and Glendower is that some men turn in upon themselves to boast, while others go as far afield as possible. Glendower illustrates the former type of boasting, for he exaggerates himself directly, and a thing is great simply because it is his. He is the sort of person who in modern life thinks that what he does not know is not knowledge. Falstaff, on the other hand, is ready to associate himself with anything with which he can invent the most shadowy association. While Glendower sheds his glory upon the outward world, Falstaff is ready to shed all the glory of the outward world upon himself. Here, then, are two amazing qualities in human nature—boasting, not only in relation to anything but ourselves but to boast about, and the other the power to drag everything into some relation to ourselves which will glorify us. Prof. James (Psychology, i. 329) puts vainglory in the middle of the manifestations of social self-estimation which belong to the empirical self. ‘That is to say, it has to do with the ‘fame which in broad humour lies,’ and with the self which has things and does things, and transacts its business in the eyes of men. The phenomenon of boasting reminds us of how this ego can withdraw itself or expand itself,—how it can be all the circumference or the mere centre. A man may scorn all worthy things, and boast in the rest simply because they are his; or he may, though the plainest citizen, feel himself embodied in the skill and daring of his general. The person who claimed an interest in Germany because his cousin played the German concertina is scarcely an exaggeration of what goes on in sober earnest every day. Both types of boasting are carictures of the genuine power of the ego, of that which might turn out to be the source of the German reverence.—It’s presence in all experience, its possession of all experience, its power to isolate itself from what does not interest it, its value to itself above all it possesses and knows. Boasting is only a misuse and perversion of the true greatness and range of the human ego’s consciousness. Let us begin by seeing that we when we study the ego. Hume complains that he never can catch himself without a perception (Treatise on Human Nature, ed. Green and Grose, vol. i. p. 534); he never, that is, can catch himself unoccupied and alone. Had he attended to the inflating of all experience in the might of the ego, he might have discovered the still more wonderful fact that he never could catch a perception without himself, and he might have been led to see, as Kant did, that it manifests itself to us by a more direct interest than if it allowed itself to be seen keeping house at home and quite solitary.

Finally, boasting is a phenomenon which sheds light on the relation of our personality to other personalities. It is a curiously mixed relationship. Everything that one may think him boast woke some response in the minds of other people. He will boast of anything if only he thinks some one will admire him for it. Moreover, it shows a curious trust that minds around him are like, or rather, that he is like, the possessor of the boasting thought others quite like himself, he would not expect them to be interested in him, but in themselves; yet, being possessed by himself, he is unable to allow for this change of perspec- tive. Thus boasting is curiously social and anti-social, curiously interested in one’s neighbour while ignoring him as a personality.

The relation of a man to his own mind and to his neighbour’s is still more curiously illustrated by a third type of boasting. Though the most vainglorious of all, its motive is not vainglory or any form of vanity, but simply fear. According to Prof. James’s classification of the self, it would belong, not to social self-estimation or even to personal vanity, but to another order of things altogether—to material self-seeking. No motive is simpler or more self-regarding than fear. Neverthe less, the Assyrian kings do not hesitate to exaggerate in a singular way the complex relations, both with a man’s own self and with his neighbour, which may accompany the simplest and most selfish motives. In relation to oneself it is a form of auto-suggestion, and nothing shows better what that form of legendary can and what it can not do. It is crowing to keep one’s courage up, and, so long as it can crow without feeling danger at its windpipe, it succeeds. After that it exaggerates the danger, not the courage. In relation to others it is a form of boasting. If the thesis it goes on is that other people are as easily terrified as the braggart himself. The hypothesis, when applied to the proper cases, works efficiently; but when, as frequently happens, it is applied to the wrong cases, boasting, like cursing, comes home to roost. All this Shakespeare has embodied in the ancient Pistol, in whom the very boy observes ‘a killing tongue and a quiet sword.’ When his courage is lowest his boast is loudest. If Fortune allows him to meet another coward, he brags a ransom into his pocket; but if he cheats him with the appearance of simplicity and he foolishly encounters a lion, boasting only brings cudgels on his back and raw leeks into his stomach.

3. Moral.—That boasting is a perversion of what is great in human nature becomes clearer when we estimate it in relation to moral values. By way of caricature, boasting is a sort of double of the moral personality. Boasting may, of course, be of mere prowess, as when the Assyrian king boasts of the number of his fellow-men he has impaled, or as when the German boasts of his reverence—his empty at least his glasses of beer. Even so, however, it proceeds in some way on the belief that worth lies in the will. Just because a due estimate of ourselves ought to be moral, and boasting can turn the attention from the use of the powers to the mere possession of them, some philosophers find no confusing the moral judgment. Nay, boasting may be a direct attempt to surprise and corrupt the moral judgment into a false verdict. Hence it has in all ages been one of the greatest defences of a debased and impudent conscience. Could the Assyrian kings have continued to be so cruel if they had never glorified it on stone? Would the Restoration have been so corrupt if licentiousness had never been a matter of boast of? Would the French Revolution have lost so readily its hope of peace and brotherhood had Napoleon possessed less genius for military swaggering?

No man who boasts much can well hearken to duty all. Words of boasting, above all other words, do ‘give too cold a breath to action.’ Why should one think him boast woke some response in the minds of other people. He will boast of anything if only he thinks some one will admire him for it. Moreover, it shows a curious trust that minds around him are like, or rather, that he is like, the possessor of the boasting thought others quite like himself, he would not expect them to be interested in him, but in themselves; yet, being possessed by himself, he is unable to allow for this change of perspec-
It has other things to admire besides itself. The moral law thus takes the place of the poet's imagination, and the ideal of man such high demands that he who contemplates it can see himself only as an unprofitable servant.

4. Religious.—Boasting, like other elements in human nature, may be studied in relation either to man's primitive struggle or to his ultimate goal. Seen from the latter point of view, it would appear to be simply a confusion of spiritual values, and, as such, an enemy of all true religion. Yet it is a foe which is often of religion's own household. It may be an attempt by auto-suggestion to create for us an image of ourselves which shall serve us in place of God. By that device it enables us to ignore the fundamental problems of religion—our utter feebleness and our utter dependence. Religion is also a self-valuation, but it is a valuation in face of the things which boasting is a device to ignore. Yet there is sufficient kinship between the two to have developed in all religions a self-satisfied Parrisim, which thinks its own self-esteem must be the measure of God's approval; and boasting would not be so irreligious, were it not for this kinship with the chief part in the man who is self-sufficient.

According to Ritschl, the very essence of religion is a transcendent estimate of spirit as measurable by no extent and no duration. Faith in God lives by the experience that a thing so weak as the human spirit can be made mighty against time and chance and every little man, and that there is something in the humblest religious man which corresponds to that estimate. Sainte-Beuve (Port Royal) says something like this:—There is a hope and a self-esteem in the humility of the Christian which makes pale the pride and ambition of Alexander. But the point is that they are held in humility, in remembrance of God, in the knowledge that we have nothing we have not received, that by the grace of God we are what we are. Thus, and thus only, can men say with the Apostle, "Where is boasting then? It is excluded" (Ro. 4:4). The task of all true religion is to effect this exclusion. If, however, it should fail, man turns God Himself into the long shadow of his own self-praise, and that is the culmination and acme of all boasting.

The strange element in genius which Goethe has called "the demon's" stands in a suggestive way between the trust of humility and the trust of vainglory. Take as examples: You carry Caesar and Cæsar turns you: "You carry the Cæsar of the world and the Cæsar of the world still turns for us." They are too self-reliant to be religious, too reliant upon destiny to be boastful. A change in the proportion, and they would be the sayings of braggarts or of saints. Yet Caesar's and Napoleon's confidence, in face of success and backed by armies, is a small thing compared with the confidence of the humblest of the prophets, faced by disaster and backed by nothing but the Unseen. "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up, and to break down, and to destroy, and to overthrow; to build, and to plant" (Jer 10:24). All that religion seeks is this change of proportion. Boasting is excluded, and yet the world still turns for us; for all things work together for good to them that love God (Ro 8:28); the tallest vessel carries us and our fortunes, for neither life, nor death, nor any created thing can separate us from the love of God; we can trust ourselves and be neither "mendicant nor ejacophantic," for he that is spiritual judgeth all things (1 Co 2:15). Above all, the end of Christianity is to transcend the vanity of ambition and the measure of all worth, and yet to save men from degrading merit into a boast, or giving it any place at all as merit between us and God.
LITERATURE.—In the OT boating is regarded as the fruit of ignorance, a necessary evil, and the bond of the ego, and is set forth. In James the OT way of treating the evil reappears, e.g., in the OT of Gen. 1-2, and influences the OT of Mt. and L. In Ps 46, 99 q. 67 (Ps 64.5 q. 271), Ps 101.5 q. 217 its folly, danger, and impurity are set forth. It is the OT way of treating the evil reappears, e.g., in the OT of Gen. 1-2, and influences the OT of Mt. and L. In Ps 46, 99 q. 67 (Ps 64.5 q. 271), Ps 101.5 q. 217

BOAT.—See SHIPS AND BOATS

BODHISATTVA (in Sanskrit literature).

Introduction.—(1) Etymology, (2) Little Vehicle.

I. Principal concepts relative to Boddhisattvas, naturally the essence of the vehicle, is set forth. The boater has therefore been left almost exclusively to the novelist, who has made free use of the picturesque braggart. Those who occur to the modern reader are Scott's Boddhisattvas, notably the ones who display their art on a background of rather hypocritical religion. All Psychologists attend to the phenomenon of self-assertion, but rather realize the need to display the creative urge in their theories. In Principles of Psychology, by William James (2 vols., London, 1890), self-satisfaction as a primitive emotion is discussed in a way that is more realistic. It is important to realize that there are many

in such sessions: i.e., 453, 660, xii, 227. Modern sessions tend to deal more with motives, but F. W. Robertson's Sermon (i. i) on 'The Tongue' is interesting, because it indicates the relation of boasting to slander and persecution. Cf. also C. S. Peirce's Sermons (1903), and F. W. Robertson's Sermon (ii. 4, a discussion of the modern equivalent of the Greek, hýbris); and suggestions in Newman's Parochial and Plain Sermons (1837). In this connection, and iv. 17: 'Vanity of Human Glory'.

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BODHISATTVA. See ships and boats.
he is born in the womb of Māyādevī, and lives, in human form, his last existence: under the Tree he attains to Bodhi; at Bodh Gayā he enters nirvāṇa.

We must not, however, overlook the important fact that the schools of the Little Vehicle, not only in Ceylon but also in India, have long since abandoned even the remembrance of the rise of the Great Vehicle, and naturally they have profited by the advance of speculation. The Abhidharmakokalayāgi (MS of the Asiatic Society, fol. 280) expressed itself as follows, concerning Arhats as compared with Bodhisattvas:

1. Having expelled self-love from the series of samsāras that comprise their personalities, they renounce both in the affairs of others, an interest born of compassion, and then destroy all pain. The ordinary man (māyāpāpa), i.e., the Pratyekabuddha, and the Bodhisattva (candidate for nirvāṇa) merely deliver, that is to say, an end of suffering, and not a complete extinction of the causes of suffering. Because this temporal happiness is an abode of suffering. The superior man (māyātīpa), i.e., the Bodhisattva, wishes, at the cost of personal sufferings, temporal happiness (abhāpadaṃśa) for others, and the definite end of suffering, which is supreme happiness (ābhāpadaṃśa) or he desires for others supreme and temporal happiness (abhāpadaṃśa-lokaṃśa) and for himself the definite end of suffering, i.e., Buddhahood, as a means of realizing this service of others.

Explanations or improvements introduced into the above doctrines either by different schools of the Little Vehicle or by the Great Vehicle are of several kinds. They may be grouped under four heads, the discussion of which will complete the present article: (1) accurate determination of the distinction between the Bodhisattva and the Arhat, conducive to Buddhahood (buddhakāraka dharma), (2) determination of the character of the Bodhisattva—is he a ‘hyperphysical’ being? can he trace his course?; (3) determination of the successive stages of the career of the future Buddha, and (4) the practical organization of the life of a disciple regarded as a candidate for Buddhahood.

I. PRINCIPLES CONducIVE TO BUDDHahOOD.—

The Bodhi, enlightenment, Perfect Knowledge, is not the exclusive possession of Buddhas: All beings who achieve deliverance, whether as Pratyekabuddhas or as Arhats, can accomplish their aim only if the ‘sight of the truth’ has destroyed in them the conception of the ego, the idea of existence and non-existence, the desire for existence and for non-existence, etc. But the bodhi of the Buddhas, or sambodhisattva, includes not only the possession of the truth indispensable to salvation, but also omniscience (sarvajñatva), universal knowledge (sarvajñātāvatsa), and consequently omnipotence. The Perfect Buddha owes this to the intellectual development or mental formations (which have given him insight into the principles of everything, with power to subject them to his will), and to his infinite merits of charity, patience, etc.

In ancient Buddhism, the Buddha seems to differ from the Arhats especially in that he has discovered the true way of salvation, while the Arhat learns it from his life, and from the Pratyekabuddhas in that he undertakes to teach this truth. The difference, however, is more fundamental, as will be known from the study of the lokottara doctrines (see below, p. 741). The ten virtues ascribed to the future Buddha, or perfect virtues, are: (1) non-self, (2) the dharmas, (3) wisdom or knowledge, (4) energy, (5) the right resolves (anaitikā), (6) renunciation (adhiññā), (7) charity or benevolence (metta), (8) in

• This on *on this decent and the miracles of the ultimate life, seeWindisch,BuddhaGeburt, p. 110.

• Authorizations, Mahāyānaśāstra, Bodhisttva-prajñāparamitā, Lokottaratattvavivāda, Lokuttarakāra, the 190 dharmakāyas, p. 3, by Kern, Gesell, i. 455; this will probably be thought less systematic than the arrangement in the texts cited above. It will be observed that there is a general confusion between the dharmakāyas and the jñānakāyas. The scholastic explanation of the problem would lead us too far. A summary of it will be found in Kern, Manvall, p. 62 and 63 for the dharmakāyas, and in 190 for the jñānakāyas. The 190 dharmakāyas exist within the Little Vehicle from the ancient sūtras to Buddhist literature.

• See Kern, Manuel, G. I, n. 4; Oldenberg, Buddha, 321. In the art. MAHĀYĀNA the question will be discussed whether it is the dharmakāyas, or sambodhisattvas, or mahāyānins, who, incidentally, whether all beings are destined to become Buddhas.

The Bodhisattva, or future Buddha, who would attain Bodhi, must therefore practice the six ‘transcendent’ virtues or pāramītās.† By this word it is to be understood, properly speaking, praṇāda, ‘knowledge’, and bimba. Pāramītā, taken as an adjective, means ‘arrived’ or ‘experienced’ stage of transmigration, i.e., at nirvāṇa. Knowledge alone, however, or insight into the truth, will not only the destruction of the germ of existence. The other pāramītās, or the virtues of charity (dāna), morality (śīla), and patience (medhi) deserve the name only as their merit is applied to the attainment of Buddhahood. They are called natural (lakotāra) when they are not illuminated by knowledge, for example, when the charitable man believes in the substantial reality of the mendicant, the alms, and the donor; they are said to be supernatural (lokottara) when knowledge becomes their guide, ‘just as a man possessed of sight leads a group of the blind to the place.’ It is essential, for instance, that charity be practised without any idea of the supernatural reality of the donor, of alms-giving (giver, alms, mendicant), or rather, without even admitting the momentary reality of these three elements (trikotiparītādūda maitri)...

The virtues of charity, morality, and patience constitute the equivalent of merit (puṇyasaṃbhāra) of the future Buddha. They are sustained by the virtue of meditation, and contemplation (dhyāna, samādhi), which has been said that it illuminates and guides the so-called virtues of merit (puṇya). On the other hand, it cannot exist without these virtues. In fact, not only does knowledge require a pure ‘field’ wherein to be born and develop, but it also requires practical exercise. The abstract theoretical view of the nothingness of the ego (pudgalā) and of the nothingness of things (dharmaṃ) cannot destroy the illusion which makes us believe in the ego and things, unless the growing exercise of charity teaches us to sacrifice our ‘worlds’, our ‘bodies’, and our lives. Science constitutes the equivalent of knowledge (jñāna-saṃbhāra), which is the real cause of what is called the ‘body of law of a Buddha’ (dharma-rūpa); see art. ADIBUDDHA, MAHĀYĀNA, that is to say, a series of perfectly pure principles (anāṃśikātva dharma-saṃcittanitāta), empī

† See Kern, Manual, p. 66: Chhibber, p. 335. Each of these ten virtues has three degrees: yonipāramītā, pāramītā, para- māthānapāramītā. The first is the practice of external goods, the second of internal goods, the third sacrifice of limbs, the life of one. One of the canonical books (Chitrāyudhika, not one of the oldest, containing the life of the Buddha, translated by Davids, Buddhist India, p. 176), gives examples showing how Sakyamuni practiced the three virtues of the sambodhisattvas.

• F. W. Thomas, JfES, 1906, p. 547; Mahāyāna-kāraka- tāra, p. 50; and Huston, 1927, p. 378. A cognate form is parāma.; and there is also a form parāmā, which is found to play upon words. On the system of the ten pāramītās in the Great Vehicle, see below, p. 748.
ness devoid of support' (nimāṇamādādīyanta), in other words, empty aimless thought, the quiescence of intelligence which is nirvāṇa.*

Each of the pāramitās bear fruits relative to the Bodhisattva and to creatures. Giving endows the Bodhisattva with a Buddha’s mouth; the latter’s ‘causing’ (prajñā) aviruddha dharma beings; morality causes him to escape evil destinies and concentrate on the good, freedom from all selfishness, all pride, and converts wicked creatures, etc. (Jal. 34 ff.).

The pāramitās, however, are often regarded as having for chief, may for only, aim to ‘mature the qualities of a Buddha’ in the Bodhisattva who practices them. But we must not overlook the ‘cause’ (pradhāna) that has escaped from the ‘fruit’ (phala) of Buddha not for himself but solely for the good of creatures. If he accumulates so much merit, knowledge, and sovereignty, it is in order to beget the fruits of benefiting (sabda mūlānirvāṇa) of Buddha, of one’s self (paripratīti pradeśa saṃsāra), of Buddha, of one’s self (paripratīti pradeśa saṃsāra). This charitable activity is so important that the Bodhisattva is worshiped by the name for the simple reason that he devotes himself to it.

From the preceding definitions there follows, as we shall see, the whole system of the career of the Bodhisattva (bodhisattvayuddhāra). The thought of illusion (mithyākāma), the thought of becoming Buddha for the salvation of creatures, is its primary cause and basis. This thought has, of course, antecedents: in the first place, the practice of good from selfish motives, either for the sake of temporal rewards (kāya) in celestial re-births, etc.) or with a view to nirvāṇa; and then, the desire of the good of others for their own sake, which already distinguishes the future Bodhisattva (however great his faults otherwise) from the future Arhat.

This thought is naturally born of compassion (karunā) and emptiness (śāntī). If there were no compassion, as in the Little Vehicle, we should have to do merely with an egoistic saint. If there were no recognition of emptiness, the compassion would be much more shallow and liable to change, for where belief in the ego exists, how can any one prefer his neighbour to himself? He may perhaps in a moment of exaltation, but not permanently. But the teaching of Buddha is there plain in our view with reach the ego (sabda mūlā), and there produce thoughts of compassion, however imperfect these may be. This teaching then purifies and enlarges the compassion in the Bodhisattva, viz. the awakening of the Bodhisattva and a support, viz. the recognition of emptiness and the explanation of the world which it implies.

The Bodhisattva cultivates, cultivates, acquires, ripens, takes hold of the highest ‘concentrations’ of Voidness, of Wisdom, but according to the teaching of Buddha, he should obtain nirvāṇa as a Śrāvaka or as a Pratyekabuddha (see Asadharṣasthira, ch. xx.).

II. CONTROVERSY OF THE LOKOTTAVARĀDA.—The controversy on the metaphysical character of the Bodhisattva certainly goes back to one of the most ancient periods of Buddhist speculation. We are acquainted with it only in so far as we are informed concerning this speculation itself at its beginning; that is to say, our knowledge is very incomplete. The most important schism (bheda, as the Buddhists call it) was connected, according to unanimous tradition, with the question whether the Buddha is lokottara, i.e. superior to the world, ‘supernatural’, ‘hyper-physical’.

* It is in this way that the Buddhists have endeavoured to assure the stability of their system, and to reconcile the serious antagonism existing within the bosom of the most religious sages (bheda, as the Buddhists call it), was connected, according to unanimous tradition, with the question whether the Buddha was lokottara, i.e. superior to the world, ‘supernatural’, ‘hyper-physical’.

The meaning of the word lokottara (Pāli lokottara) in this connection can be ascertained. As a rule, in the current language of theology, ‘superior to the world’ in contrast to caṇḍika, ‘worldly,’ would refer to what belongs to the Buddhist saints as such; it is a question of meditation, ecstasies, merit, etc. (The Bodhisattva is said to enter the lokottara state just as he decides to become Buddha for the salvation of beings. It is most probable that the word has a distinct signification here, and is not susceptible of any equivalence in the Christian language, not admitting of definite determination, but which would certainly mean, if, in harmony with certain views of the Great Vehicle, we were to understand the term as ‘sacred’ or ‘sacredness’, the suppression, the concurrence, of material beings without concurrence, of beings free from matter, ‘superior to the world of becoming,’ or ‘independent of the world,’ or ‘world beyond the world’). In the Buddha it is ‘superior to the world’ because, although of this world, he is not subject to its laws; and the schools which are heretical from the orthodox Pāli standpoint mean quite a different thing by lokottara, otherwise the question of its significance would never have been raised, and it would be incomprehensible that a school should be characterized, or should describe itself, as ‘affirming the Buddha’s superiority to the world’ (lokottaravāda).

We ought to be cautious not to introduce too much exactness into the ancient views of the Order, and, to say the least of it, not to outrun the development of Buddhist doctrine. We may say that the traditional data and the earliest views regarding Śakyamuni’s character are as yet not very distinct. When the Pāli were capable of being arranged, if not in two systems, yet on the lines of two opposing movements or tendencies. This is due to the fact that the Pāli divided into two systems to which we may call the Mahāsāṅghika and the Sarvāstivāda which manifests itself in the Vaibhavayāmin, Pāli or Sanskrit, etc., Śakyamuni, born after the manner of men, and became an Arhat, finally, an Akanva: this idea of his superiorly consists in this conquest exerted by his own power. Given the philosophical and theocratic successes of Buddhism, no metaphysical superiority over other beings could belong to the Buddha by virtue of his birth; only as being greater, more strenuous in his efforts, was it reserved to him to trace out that path wherein others have nothing to do but to follow. In a certain sense we may say that every disciple who is pressing on to holiness is also Buddha equally with his Master. ! In reality this standpoint is not strictly maintained by any sect, and the Pāli canon, which otherwise represents rationalist doctrines, is far from committing an idolatrous error. The comparison of features scattered throughout this canon as well as elsewhere in the Pāli texts, shows a decided preference against the tendency which we shall call mythological and theological.

One text says that the conception of Śakyamuni was not independent of the intercourse of his father and mother—a fact which contradicts a universally accepted doctrine.† There are set forth, as characteristic of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda School, the doctrines (1) of the Bodhisattva’s imminent intercession, (2) of certain wrongs that are not to be avenged (elephant), (2) of the miracles of the uterine life (the Bodhisattva does not pass through the ordinary forms of the embryo, etc.), (3) of the birth through his mother’s side: three doctrines which are admitted in the Theravāda School (without, however, being opposed by the latter). * Buddhists naturally maintain that the doctrine was originally one, and that the ‘heretical’ views arose much later in the course of the centuries. This opinion is supported by the fact that the conception from being altogether mistaken (see artt. Mahāsāṅghika, Sāṃśa [Bud.]). In the present case, we may reasonably hold that the conflicting doctrines are both very old, or, if we prefer, primitive. See the definition of lokottara, Atthaśāsini, pp. 213-4; and on the confusion of Bodhisattva and Bhagavat, see Oldenberg, Buddh., Stud., 183.

* See Oldenberg, Buddh., 183.

† The only clear-cut Pāli texts that treat, with any detail, of the conception, the uterine life, and the birth of the Bodhisattva, are, if the writer is not mistaken, Majjhima, iii, 115, and Digha, ii, 12; the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda School, in these texts are the only sects which adopt the extreme doctrine (the most extreme doctrine of which in the Mahāsāṅghika, Vinnāṇavasī). In all the texts the Bodhisattva is asapupaddha, that is to say, he becomes incarnate by his own wish, and without regard to the ordinary laws of conception (to deny the existence of such beings is a great heresy, Digha, i, 50). The only exceptions are (1) the Mahāsāṅghika-Asaṅgavasī, where the Bodhisattva seems to choose the moment of the love of Suddhodana and Mayādevī to study the country, the caste, and the woman in whom he is to be born. ‘We need not care for work, labour, suffer for our neighbour.’ It is certain, says a Mādhyamika philosopher, that our neighbour does not exist; but only the Bodhisattva (mohā) that he must become Buddha for the salvation of creatures; if not, the only way, yet it is the best way to destroy the falsely so-called world of beings (Mādhyamikas, Vaścīṣvāsīs).

* The word is borrowed from the Bodhisattavana; for variations in the wording and definitions, see Kern, Manual, p. 67, n. 6; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 405; Minaya, Recherches, p. 275, and below, p. 790.
Sākyamuni, then, was born as a man. It is, in fact, an ancient belief that every future Buddha, in his last existence (charanamabhavika bodhisattva) must assume human form, at one time as a Kṣat- riya, at another as a Brahmā.* He is, however, a very extraordinary man. And the question arises, To what extent has he resurrected the perfect Buddhas are superior to the world.'

To these negative evidences must be added the well-known biographical facts that the future Buddha left his home only under the pressure of external influences, that he gave himself up to the unprofitable enjoyment of sensual pleasures; to the other hand, he has expressed declarations of the Master, showing that he is superior to the world: ‘I am not a man, a god... Know, O Brahman, that I am a Buddha' and "Born in the world, brought up in the world, and destined to rise above the world.' Whence it follows that Sākyamuni, born as a man, has, by the conquest of the Bodhi, obtained a transformation of his nature; he is no longer a man, he is not an Arhat, he is a Buddha.

Neither of these texts—the second (Sahajvyottaha, iii, 140 and elsewhere) is quoted by the Vatsyakaras to support their doctrinal views (Kathāsthūla, viii, 1; see below, p. 745), the first (Arhat, viii, 1) is composed by Kern (p. 64)—is free, of course, altogether conclusive. Neither the author of the Kathā- stūla nor Prof. Oldenberg would admit the老太太 interpolation. Oldenberg says in so many words that Kern has misunderstood the meaning of the saying, 'I am not a man... I am a Buddha.' The present writer believes that, whatever may be its genuine meaning, it could lead to the conclusion that Buddha's humanity is apparent only. It is a dogma of the Little Vehicle that Sākyamuni, since he became a Buddha, possesses 'nirvāṇa-with-residue' (nirapādhiśeṣesvagge); he is pariñāmerita, that is, to say, altogether passionless, ātivarmin. But a Buddha is not only free from passion, he is free from the desire (vikāra), the craving (vimochana), the passionlessness' or 'non-consciousness' (pānāññapāramī). Therefore the visible frame, the audible words, the whole of the appearance that we call a Buddha, is only a show contrived by the compassionate resolution formed by the future Buddha. We shall not say that the author of the saying, 'I am not a man... I am a Buddha,' is the Master, but he opened the door to it, and, in any case, his testimony destroys the hypotheses of a primitive Buddha altogether, especiably.

Reference may be made (1) to the faculty that Sākyamuni possesses of living for many centuries down to the end of the age of the world (Dīgha, ii, 113); (2) to his 'transfiguration' (ib. p. 134); and especially (3) to his power of assuming the aspect of his auditors: "When I used to enter into an assembly of many hundreds (or brahmaṃs, householders, gods, Mara-gods Bhrahana-gods), before I had seated myself there... I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice... But they knew me not when I spoke, and would have said, 'Who is this man? whom speech is this man? God?' Then having instructed them... I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away; and would say, 'Who is this man? whom speech is this man? God?'" (ib. p. 159; Rhys Davids, SBE xi, 43). The Buddha Sākyamuni is neither a man nor a god; he appears as a man or as a god; he is a Buddha; he is also the Prototypical Buddha.

Sākyamuni, therefore, that the manifestation in this world of the marvellous being who reigned among the Tusiya gods was not in reality what it seemed to be. The Bodhisattva, after all, assumed merely an empty appearance of humanity in consequence to the ways of the world (lokānaṃvar- * śrītātā), that is to say, he hid or at least he hid himself, to be moved by a god, i.e. if Buddha were to appear as a god, men would feel discouragement.

One of the Buddhology, the Lokottaravādins Mahā- sāṅghikas of the Mahāyāna† (a half-Sanskritizing sect of the Little Vehicle), teaches not only that the Buddhhas have nothing in common with the world (lokena sammāntam), that everything about them is supernatural (lokottaram), that, if they seem to the normal mind to be gods and man on this case, it is merely by confusion, in order to conform outwardly to our weakness (lokānaṃvarātanai, but also that the Bodhisattvas are in no way born from father and mother, that they are produced by their own powers (acāya-pratītya), that their mothers (mahāpurūpa), to which, that, if they come forth from their mothers' right side without injuring her, it is because their form (ātīpa), i.e. their body, is entirely spiritual (manomaya, 'made of mind'), i.e. guṇa-immaterial. And a sect of the Mahāyānavādins (Vajraśravaśa), connected with the Lokottaravādins in the Mahāyāna, maintain that there is no matter (ātīpa) in the Buddha.§

It is evident, therefore, that the manifestation in this world of the marvellous being who reigned among the Tusiya gods was not in reality what it seemed to be. The Bodhisattva, after all, assumed merely an empty appearance of humanity in consequence to the ways of the world (lokānaṃvarātātā), that is to say, he hid or at least he hid himself, to be moved by a god, i.e. if Buddha were to appear as a god, men would feel discouragement.

† It is generally said that the mother of Buddha dreamt that a white elephant with six tusks entered her womb (Utaika, p. 210; Rhys Davids, To, p. 309; in the Lalita, p. 65, the Bodhisattva is transformed into an elephant. On the Bhūta-mallas and the Mahāsaṅghikas of the Mahāyāna, see Kern, Mahāyāna, iii, 210); in the Lalitā, p. 65, the Bodhisattva is transformed into an elephant. On the Bhūta-mallas and the Mahāsaṅghikas of the Mahāyāna, see Kern, Mahāyāna, iii, 210; Foucher, Art gréco-bou- dhique, p. 424.

* Mahāvastu, i, 98.

† On this point, which is open to dispute, see Miłinda, 134; Rays Davids, To, pp. 134, 135; and the last (p. 134). It is certain that the "Pāli" Buddha is not free from suffering.

§ With regard to this obscure subject see Fleet, JRAS, 1906, p. 321.
The body which he shows to men and gods conceals its true nature from the 'worldly' mind. One may go further, and say that this body is only an illusion. Certain heretics of the Kathāvatthu (xvi. 1), for confusing the Great Vehicle, say that there is no Bodhisattva, that only Sakyamuni is a 'saint'. Bodhisattva do not come down to the earth; he does no more than 'show' (sändarśyayati) his descent, his so-journ in the world of Mayā, his conquest of the Bodhi, and nirvāṇa.† In the Lotus of the True Law and in later systems the Buddha thus manifests himself on several occasions, appearing as a 'Bodhisattva in his last birth' (see artt. LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW, ADIBUDDHA, etc.). This theory of the apparent descent, avatāras of the quasi-eternal Tathāgata, is the last phase of the Lokottaravāda. According to Suürālīkāra, Sākyamuni, even in the Tūtsa heaven, is a phantom, a 'contrived body' (nirñayā). According to another theory, less categorical, the Law has been preached by Ananda (Kathāvatthu, xvii. 1). This means that Ananda was a real flesh and blood, neverthless remained, since the Enlightenment, in a definite state of concentration or trance (pamāna, dhī). and can be thought of as the Transcendent Ananda.† We learn from Bhāvya that schools which were at a loss to settle this question. Desiring for the sake of peace to avoid too many concentrations of views assume that Buddha caused Ananda or even the walls of the preaching-room to preach the Law (Kunārā in Tantredda). But we find a strong view in this strand, according to the Great Vehicle such wall-preaching is a case of nairamānī which elsewhere the organ of preaching is the smile of Sākyamuni, or the light thus arisen from his ārya (white hair between the eyebrows). Elsewhere Sākyamuni is credited with having answered such questions: such discs we heard them with the developments on his disposition allowed.

Together with the problem whose various solutions have just been expanded, and which centres round the Buddha and the Bodhisattva 'arrived at his last existence' (saṃvīrtaka bodhisattvā), there is another, almost as important, concerning the Bodhisattva during the course of his long career. Is he a 'saint' or an 'ordinary man'? Legend supplies contradictory and confused answers.

According to the Introduction to the Jātaka, it is only after having ascended arākhapatī, i.e. the right of entering nirvāṇa at his next death, that Sāmeṣa (the future Sākyamuni) conceives the idea of being the Buddha. The career of Bodhisattva is, in his case, somehow geared on to the quality of Arhat. Without examining how far this is compatible with the conception of an ordinary mortal, will once more make under the Bodhi tree, we see that Buddhists inquired if all the accounts concerning the previous existences are compatible with the possession of arhatship. Assuming that the concept of Bodhisattva ought to be brought within the framework of the doctrine of the path to salihood, Buddhists further asked whether a Bodhisattva is necessarily a saint (ārya), or whether he remains, at least at the beginning of his career, an ordinary man (prthagjana), what grade he occupies in salihood, arhatpathi, the first, or arhatship, the fourth grade, and at what time he attains to those grades.

The Great Vehicle has answers to these questions, and to many others subsidiary to them (see III.). The Little Vehicle, besides having cancelled arākhapatī, i.e. the right of entering nirvāṇa, refers the matter to documents sufficiently detailed on the nature of the future Buddha, but they are silent. All the Buddhist sources who have taken the trouble (i.e. all the primary Buddhist authors) are of the same opinion that Sākyamuni is exempt from birth in the asītī, with the ghosts (poyata), among the lower animals, in all the seven classes of the senses of the senses, they are neither women nor eunuchs; they are never guilty of mortal sin; they do not lose sight of the doctrine of action and salvation during the seven lives of the senses, neither of the senses, nor of the lowest tendency, nor of the seven lower heavens, neither of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells, nor of the seven lower hells.

This passage denies that the Bodhisattvas have taken

1. *These heretics are, according to the commentary, the Vetyukatikā. Minayefi has noticed that this sect is much later than the traditional but disputable date of the Kathavatthu (A.C. 240). On the Vetyukatikā and the Great Vehicle, see J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 432.
4. *Dhamma = 'storey' (of a house), or 'category' (for instance, the trade of fisher, p. 230, 232). The Lotus has once dārāma = dhamma, xiv. 3, see Kern, ad loc., and the Avadānagāthā, dhamma, arhatpathi, etc.
5. *Maṇḍadārikātātra, 13, 6; Bodhisattvabhumi, n. iv.
7. For a list of the terms see Kern, J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 230-232. The Lotus has once dārāma = dhamma, xiv. 3, see Kern, ad loc., and the Avadānagāthā, dhamma, arhatpathi, etc.
9. *Dhamma = 'storey' (of a house), or 'category' (for instance, the trade of fisher, p. 230, 232). The Lotus has once dārāma = dhamma, xiv. 3, see Kern, ad loc., and the Avadānagāthā, dhamma, arhatpathi, etc.
10. Maṇḍadārikātātra, 13, 6; Bodhisattvabhumi, n. iv.
12. The term dhamma is used in the Pali Abhidhamma (see C. F. Waddell, Buddhist Psychology, p. 26) as equivalent to magga, way.
and so on. Consequently there are eight noble individuals (arhappuññitas or mahāsattva-puññitas). Moreover, scholastics regard a mahāsattva as being one who is not yet qualified for the liberation of the six jhānas, for whom the meaning of the term 'arahat' is the same as for 'arahata'. Although the schools disagree on this point, the general opinion is that not only the arahat but also the sākyamuni have obtained the liberation of the six jhānas.

The most ancient systematic doctrines concerning the career of the Bodhisattva seem to have been the following:

There is a preliminary stage, during which he still dwells in the five realms (the present Bodhisattva; prajñāpāramitā, and so on) and after the death of the Bodhisattva, this is succeeded by three other stages.

1. The preliminary stage is called Prakṛti-charyā, i.e. 'the period during which the innate qualities show themselves', and which begins when the future Bodhisattva plants the roots of merit which later he will apply to the conquest of the Bodhisattva.

2. The second stage is that of the Bodhisattva who for the first time conceives the thought of Bodhi (prathamacittāpādikā), or who merely steps into the Vehicle (of the Bodhisattvas; prathamavājanasampratikha), or again 'the beginner' (ādikarmika), 'who is eager to start on his journey (gantukāma), but who has not yet set out.'

3. The Bodhisattva 'who follows out the mission or career of the Bodhisattvas (bodhisattvavacaryādīśvara), who adopts a career 'in conformity with the vow' (anuvātanācaryā), who is on the march (gaṇt); who is endowed with practice (charyāprātikha).

The Bodhisattva who dwells 'in the stage from which there is no return' (anuvātanivartaniya ḍhamma). It was at the beginning of this period (anuvātanivartanacaryā) that the future Sākyamuni received the prediction (vyābarana) from Dipankara (Mahāvāra). These and similar divisions, although they are known chiefly through the works of the Great Vehicle, contain nothing that is opposed to ancient ideas; they constitute merely an advance upon the views expressed by the commentators of the Jātaka (see above, p. 730). It seems to be otherwise with the 'stages of the Bodhisattva' as understood afterwards. On the one hand, the teachers of the Great Vehicle sometimes regarded the doctrine of the bhūmīs as their special right (Mahāyāmokhaśāstra, p. 29); on the other, the Great Vehicle literature, as well as later Buddhist literature, usually referred to the bhūmīs as bhūmi, bhūma, etc., without distinguishing them. The latter, a Tibetan writer tells us, replied that a sect of the Little Vehicle, the Mahāāṅghikas, possessed a book, the Mahāvāra, in which was set forth a system of several 'stages of the Bodhisattva', corresponding to the bhūmīs. The Mahāāṅghikas were in this respect divided in their opinions. While some of them, in the so-called Jātakas (e.g., the Mātālājātaka), let alone the Mahāvāra, called the bhūmīs bhūma, others, especially at the beginning of the period of the Mahāvāra, used the word bhūmi with a more extended meaning, and referred to the eight bhūmis, while all the bhūmīs (including the first) are 'without return', at least at the beginning of the period (see above, 754a and 757).

The idea which is contradictory to the Little Vehicle is not the subdivision of the Bodhisattva's career into several periods, but (1) the practical meaning of this teaching: everybody has not yet qualified to become a Bodhisattva; and (2) the nature attributed to the Bodhisattva 'dwelling in the bhūmīs,' a kind of God-Prov- idence, who is above all human, and at the same time above all universes, etc. The Bodhisattvas of the Mahāvāra do not appear in the Jātakas, even in the higher worlds (see next col., n. 1, and p. 749).

The theory of the ten bhūmis (Wass. 262f.). On this point, as on several others, the School of the Great Assembly seems to have become separated from the ancient sects and to mark the transition between the two Vehicles. Its bhūmis, however, are not the same as those of the Mahāyāna [all of which, being exempt from return, are included under (4) of the above enumeration]. So far as we can judge, they present this characteristic, that the first seven are only a subdivision of 'charity' (2) and (3) of the preceding enumeration, the last three being the remainder of the ten bhūmis.

The account of the bhūmis in the Mahāvāra seems to be independent of the authorities of the Great Vehicle, although it has some points of contact with the Dīpaddharmas and theŚrāvakas.

Unfortunately, this account is confused, fragmentary, and perhaps contradictory. We possess on this point information supplied by Chandragiri, who, as we shall see, peculiarly should be made to E. Senart's analysis, from which we sometimes venture to differ.

The [future] Bodhisattva, who has not yet conceived the thought of the vow of Bodhi (prajñāpāramitā), possesses the privilege that his sins are purified only during seven births, pain in the end being reduced to headache (prajñāpāramitā, cf. Bodhisattvārya, i. 21 [L. 101, 5]. The first bhūmis are produced by the thought of the vow (cf. Bodhisattvārya, i. 21 [L. 101, 5]), but his actions are not those of a man, but his works are mixed with good and evil (102, 5). In theory he does not eat any evil food, etc., do not lead him to hell. Nevertheless, he should deny the existence of the Āryas (āryaparāda); here it is chiefly Buddhists and the Mahāyāna who disagree; that according to the Mahāyāna, he is reborn in a particular hell (pratyakṣaraka) instead of being re-born in the Avīci, in a Preta with a small body (as opposed to the Preta with a great body, which according to the Mahāyāna is a place from which food and drink are available to the partial salvation of the individual). He should never be an author, or a king, or a merchant, or a eunuch. But if he commits a mortal sin, the murder of a Bodhisattva, of a Śrāvaka (Arahat), of a Śrāvaka, or of a Pratyekabuddha, he is to be hanged or drowned by the bodyguard (sāvatīti) (vid. XXV).

It is said that, for scholastically expanded reasons, such and such a Bodhisattva will never be able to pass from one bhūmi to the next. The Bodhisattvas destined to proceed under the guidance of the arhat, the Śrāvakas, or the Pratyekabuddhas never appear in the Jātakas, etc. [see special Aññapāsavārīnī prajñāparamitā, ch. xxii.

* See especially Aññapāsavārīnī prajñāparamitā, ch. xxii. Instead of 'career,' or 'stage without return,' &c., text, Śākyā, 212, 12 and 313, 19; this stage corresponds to the prajñāpāramitācaryā of the Mahāvāra, and to the anuvātanivartanacaryā of Bodhisattvārya and Sūtraśāstra.

Of the great vehicle quoted in Śākyasūtra, 212, 12 and 313, 19; this stage corresponds to the prajñāpāramitācaryā of the Mahāvāra, and to the anuvātanivartanacaryā of Bodhisattvārya and Sūtraśāstra.

* See especially Aññapāsavārīnī prajñāparamitā, ch. xxii.

The Bodhisattvas who are in the first bhūmi, ordinary men though they were, secure the acquisition of fruits, and on that account become the object of the reverence of all people ...

* But he sumns up (p. xxvi.): 'The Bodhisattvas at this stage are still ordinary men.' And, with regard to the Bodhisattvas of the bhūmi stage, we have already quoted the Mahāvāra, which the present writer, like E. Senart (p. 457), understands to mean 'in consequence of their position, the bhūmis are a state of higher order.' The next, and perhaps the first passage (75, 11) thus: 'The Bodhisattvas are ordinary men, but they are worthy of the world's respect as if they were princes.' But unfortunately, Chandragiri (Mahāvāra, xxiv, 9) informs us that 'the scholars of the Mahāyāna, following the authorities, call the stages of the bhūmis stages, which are not bhūmis, but bhūma, etc., and that the Bhāvavīra in the first stage possesses the dāresāntārīpa, that is to say, has obtained the fruit of the kṣīraṣaṅkhāra.'

The formula of the Abhidhānasamucceśa is as follows: 'There are no Arhats in this world.' It implies a rejection of the True Law (mahābhāsikasutra), and seems inseparable from the denial of the morality of actions and of their fruit: miśā datātā ... etc. See Dīpa, l. 55.

* Cf. above, p. 742.

* We are told (l. 105, 4) that the Jātakas, and the heroic charities too, refer to the eighth and following bhūmis. This is very strange.
These men do not, however, immediately decide, for the sake of the welfare of creatures, for their temporal happiness and their salvation in nirvāṇa, to make the very great sacrifices that the career of a Bodhisattva entails. Therefore, before taking the vow of Bodhi, a period usually called a ‘bhāma’ (the number of years, or chaturthi) is devoted to the bhāma-vipaka (the fruit of bhāma) (Skt. bodhakāya, the Sri lanka, T'chihāvāhāthi, and adhikāmikākhyā-bhāma, 

1. First Period: The future Bodhisattva. — We have seen that, according to the Introduction to the Jātaka, the future Śākyamuni was already richly and peacefully disposed when he was born, the Buddha Dipākara caused the thought of becoming Buddha to arise within him. It is after taking the vow of Bodhi that he examines the virtues necessary to a Buddha. All this is rather poor psychology; for nothing is more opposed to the career of the Bodhisattva than the state of mind of an Arahant, isolated from everything, from his neighbour as from himself. The future Buddhas, let us rather say, are recruited from men who have not entered the path of the Arahants, and whose spiritual temperament is not the same (āhimsa). 

2. Second Period: The first seven stages of the Bodhisattvas. — The stage called sattvākaraṇa (or siddhatvākaraṇa), and more commonly the ‘Joyful’ (pramūdita), is, properly speaking, the first bhāma of the Bodhisattvas. (Until now the disciple was only a future Bodhisattva.) It is also the first in the classical list of the ten bhāmas. We shall see that it does not undoubtedly lead to srotasatpatti) cannot produce the thought of becoming Buddhas; . . . nevertheless I joyfully approve them if they come to produce such thought.’ It is unfortunate that the Prajñāpāramitā uses the phrase srotasakaraṇa just as the Nāgārjuna do (see Stūpa-buddha, E. X. 11), and contrasts it with the nāgārjuna (see p. 746, n., * p. 747, n., * and Waghara on Bodhisattvabhihāma. This is the account of the Bodhisattva-bhāma, but there is no doubt that the Mahāyāna recognized these distinctions. See Sīkṣāsūtra-sūtra, ch. v., nos. 8: Mahāyānasastra, ch. 13. 2. To have the slightest chance of being able to judge of the disposition of a future artist. Here pārāvāhāma bodhisattva-pārāvāhāma (see p. 746, n.), the Mahāyāna seems to admit mortal sin in the Bodhisattva; see p. 745. 1. Hereby when we come to the question of the purity and the quality, the denial of the fruit of actions (see art. Kāma). See p. 747, n. 1. 1. To complete this description it would be necessary to interpret and comment on Mahāyāna-sūtra, p. 32.
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BODHISATTVA

746

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{prthagjana, prakftapurusa) but a saint (drya),
one of the elect (niydmdvakrdnta) ; * for, having
brought worldly {laukika) meditations (dhydna)
to their perfection, he has entered the
supernatural career [lokottaragati). He is a ' graded
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Bodhisattva (bhumisthita), or, more correctly, he
a true Bodhisattva (paramdrthabodhisattva),
and he will certainly become a Buddha.
He
already possesses in a high degree all the qualities
which will develop in the subsequent periods.
'

is

render homage to the Buddhas; to preserve and
preach their Law to ascend to the great nirvana,'
after having performed all the works of a Buddha
since his descent from the Tusita ; to produce
thoughts for the purification of all the 'stages'
and the fulfilment of all the perfect virtues in
order to that end ; to ripen all creatures for
Buddhahood to pass through all the universes
for the purpose of listening to the Buddhas there
;
to purify all the fields of Buddha (that is to say,
to make of them so many Sukhavatis) ; to enter
the Great Vehicle to act and preach for the salvation of beings with full success and without error
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without abandoning for an instant his own path,
to exhibit the birth as & prthagjana, the entrance
into the religious life, the miracles, the conquest
of Bodhi, the putting of the law into motion, and
the great complete nirvana.*

(3)-(4) The disciple possesses ten qualities which
purify the stage in which he dwells,' and which
purify the ten stages.' Becoming more and more
give it in detail so that its scholastic character may be noted.
perfect, they enable him to ascend from stage to
stage
faith, compassion, affection or goodwill,
(1) The 'stage' is produced, in a soul whose
intentions or aspirations are pure, by the forma- generosity or disinterestedness, indefatigability,
tion of the thought of Bodhi' (ctiittotpada)—& acquaintance with the doctrinal books (worldly
thought which is the pure expression of charity and Buddhist), knowledge of the world (or of
[ddnapdramitd) or of compassion (karund). The men), modesty in a two-fold form (reverence for self
thought of Bodhi is here 'absolutely fixed,' and is and reverence for others), power and endurance,
thus distinguished from the thought as it exists and the worship of the Buddhas.
in the preparatory stage.
(5) Enjoying the sight of the Buddhas described
Entirely personal and
in the Bodhisattvapitaka (see Mahayana), and, in
sincere, the result of meditation (bhdvand), i.e.
resting on an intuitive view of truth, it con- general, of all the Buddhas of every region,
this
because of (a) the strength of his loving faith, and (b)
sists of the vow of the Bodhisattvas in all the
fullness of disinterested generosity a vow which the resolution, made by these Buddhas when they
will never be abandoned or altered under any cir- were Bodhisattvas, that they would be visible he
cumstances, and which will have Bodhi as its end, worships these Buddhas, listens to the Law, practises
embracing as it does all the intellectual qualities the Law, applies his merits to the acquisition of
of the Perfect Buddhas and all the works which Buddhahood, and ripens creatures for Bodhi by
means of the ' elements of popularity {sahgrahathey are to accomplish.
Destined to Buddhahood {sambodhipardyaiia),\ vastu, see pp. 74P, 750*). All his actions are called
the disciple realizes that he is
born into the • purifiers of the roots of merit.
family of the Buddha,' and his joy knows no
(6) While he dwells in this stage the Bodhisattva
bounds; joy of affection for the Buddhas who is, in all his births, a ' sovereign king of a continent.'
have begotten him to this spiritual birth, joy in Deprived of all egoism, he frees all creatures from
the feeling that he is devoting himself to the egoism, t
Whatever act he undertakes, it is
realization of the task of the future Buddhas, and
(7) Power. X
in order to reconcile creatures to himself, and
joy in his goodwill towards all creatures.
For him the five terrors {bhaya) terror relative always with thoughts connected with the Buddha,
to the necessities of life, to an evil reputation, to his Law, and his Order ; it is always with tlie
death, to unhappy re-births, and to the 'assem- thought: 'May I become the first of beings [i.e.
blies
disappear. As he has ' produced the vow a Buddha), in order that every creature maj"^ have
that the sins of all creatures should ripen in him recourse to me for every good. And all his under{dtmavaipakya), i.e. wishing to bear the burden takings succeed. He has the energy required § to
of the sins of others in the hells and elsewhere, he leave wife and belongings, to enter on the religious
is henceforward free from all evil re-birth.
Know- {lath, and, having entered,§ to conquer a hundred
jodhisattva-trances every second, to perceive a
ing that there is no one better than he in this
world, no one who is even his equal, why should he
praij.idhdna, its subdivisions and its virtues, see Dharmabe afraid of meeting any assembly whatever ?
satigraha cxii., Bodhicharydvatdra, ix. 36.
* This somewhat incoherent list of resolves is cited in Sikfds.
(2) He binds himself by the 'great resolves,'
which are independent of limitations of time or 291, 11 f., and summed up in the Bodhisattvabhumi. The last
not believe in the
space (mahdpranidhana),t and purifies them to 'resolve' shows that the Mahayanists did existence."
If the
reality of the 'Bodhisattvas in their last
* The murder of a niydmdvakranta is a capital sin (a?ianpresent writer's interpretation of the text Sikfds. 295, 6 ia

The description

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borrowed by the Bodhisattvabhumi from the Da^ahhumikasutra, is developed according to a scheme which recurs in all the succeeding stages. We
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tarya)
see Mahavyutpatti, 123. 3
niyatabhumisthitasi/a
Dodkisattvasya maravam, and cf. on the same topic Abhidhanrmko^av. which has niyatipatita bodhisattva (MS. As.
Soc. fol. 331rt).
As observed on p. 745*, the eighth stage is
sometimes called niyatabhumi ; but, according to the gloss,
the reference is to the third niyati (see p. 747^, n. •). Discrepancies in sacred books as to the stage which confers niyaina
(niyati), ' predestination to Buddhahood,' led the scholastics
to specify different kinds of 'assured psychological progresses.'
The niydina of the Sth stage confers assurance of obtaining and
never losing andbhogata and anutpattikadkarmakfdnti (see
below, p. 747'') it is the 6th niyatipdta of SutrdlaAkdra, xix. 3i<.
t This phrase occurs in the Nikayas (see Sathyutta, Index)
»nd in Anoka's edicts (see Senart, i. 1S2, 186, ii. 223). Here, as
observed bj' Prof. Rhys Davids, Dialogites, i. 190, sambodhi=
ftrhat-ship, and nothing more.
On the vydkaraxia, ' predict ion,'
that the future Arhat gives to himself, see Saiiiyutta, v. 359.
t The praxiidhdnas are innumerable.
They are summed up
In the ten great ones (mahd"), which are ail included in the
tamantabhadra', 'universally propitious resolve.'
On the
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correct, it shows also tl~.at Sakyamuni was believed to have been
born as a bdla, 'an ignorant person,' 'a fool."
t In the subsequent stages the Bodhisattva is successivelysovereign king of the four continents, Sakra, Suyama, Santu?iti»
(a variant of the word Tusita, common in the ancient literature),
Sunirmitava^vartin. ... To each stage corresponds a certain
virtue which the Bodhisattva makes prevalent in the more and
more wide-spread kingdom in which he reigns. These virtuef
are successively the paramitds (see below, p. 748).
} The description of the prabhdva, or 'power,' of the Bodhisattva is the same in the succeeding worlds, except that th«
numbers increase. In the Daiabhumaka we find the series 100,
1000, 100,000, 100 kofis (koti = 10,000,000), 1000 kofis, 100,000
kofis, 100,000 nayutas of ko^is (naj-uta = 100,000 kotis of kojiis),
the number of the atoms in a hundred thousand times ten greal
universes, etc. The BodhisaltrpbkUmi is more moderate, but it
gives numbers only for the first seven worlds, 100, 1000, 100,000,
10,000,000, or a ko^, 100 kotis, 1000 ko^^is, 100,000 kotis.
§ This clause Is wanting in the description of th« higher
bhiimis.


buddha, to know the magical beings that these buddhas animate and the blessing they shower on the Bodhisattvas, to make a hundred universes tremble, to go to these in his bodily form or to enlighten them by his brilliance, to display them to creatures, to ripen a hundred creatures (or forms of the hundred magical beings) to live for 100 kalpas, or ages of the world (if he chooses), to know a hundred kalpas in the past and the future, to comprehend (or accumulate, pravichinato) a hundred months of the Law (dhammapadika), and to show a hundred bodhisattvas (or bodhisattvas of the hundred magical beings) to the very end of the Law (dhammapadika).

Sixth stage. The Turned towards (abhimukhi).
Knowledge, third part: existential, dependent origination (pratityasamutpada).

Seventh stage. The Far-going (darsanagama), which sums up the six preceding stages, and includes especially the fruits of the sixth, the full development of the intelligence of the Bodhisattva, and the complete absence of regard for the particular (mirmimitta), and the constant possession of meditation of annihilation (nirodhasamadhati).

Now the Bodhisatta dwells at the apex of existence, one of the great bodhisattvas, but he does not realize annihilation (niruddhi sakgakara). And yet, just as a Chakravartin king, although unsoiled by humanity, is nevertheless a man and not a god (brahma), so he has not yet escaped from the domain of passion (klesa). Desire, in connection with the consciousness, has in his actions (abhisamakara), and with the act of turning oneself (abhoga) towards an object, has not yet passed away. He is not subject to passion (na saklesha) in the sense that any passion whatever would work in him; he is not free from passion (na niiklesha) because he desires the knowledge of a Buddha, and because his intentions of (universal salvation) are not fulfilled.

Nevertheless, being in possession of the perfect qualities of a buddha, he is near to the Arhats and the Pratyekabuddhas. Above him there are only the Bodhisattvas of higher worlds and the Perfect Buddhas.

The intentions of all beings (abhima) of the Bodhisattva, even when he is only on the threshold of his course (dikakara), are pregnant with the Bodhi and the salvation of all beings. Therefore he is very much superior to the Arhats and the Pratyekabuddhas. These, however, are in enjoyment not only of freedom from desire (sthitagraha), but also of lofty intellectual attainments (sthitagraha).

Therefore, as the mind (pratipad) of the bodhisattva, the Bodhisattva is inferior to them. From this point of view, he surpasses them only on entering the seventh stage. Such is the teaching of the Mahayana Nikayas and the Dharmanirdeśa (Madjagananikara, 15-20).

Third period: The last three stages of the Bodhisattvas.—The eighth 'stage' is the Steadfast, or rather the Immovable (achala). Its characteristic is the possession of that supreme virtue called the anupatikadharmanakasanti (upholding the doctrine of the non-production of things).

The Bodhisatta is free not only from all nimmata (particular and enger act of attention), but also from all abhoga ('turning towards, taking into consideration'). He is immovable: His actions, of body and of voice as much as of mind, are infinite, yet numerous, merciful, and fruitful, but are in a sense foreign to him, for the idea of duality, of being and non-being, of self and non-self, has perished for him; as also all movement (umadharana) connected with or belonging to the Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas, nirvana, or the Arhats.

The Buddhas must also intervene to prevent such a Bodhisatta from entering nirvana. They do so by virtue of the vow which they made formerly when they were Buddhas, since they have become Buddhas all activity has ceased for them. They remind the Bodhisattva of the eighth stage that his task is not accomplished, that he still needs many things in order to be a Buddha: 'Your patience in the real truth' (paramartha samastipati) is in order; but you possess neither the ten powers nor the ten virtues (paramartha vihara) (a characteristic of the bodhisattva).
nor the four abilities. . . . See how infinite are our bodies, our knowledge (jiṣṇu), our kingdoms, our glory. You must acquire this body; you must appease those who are not appeased, convert those who are not converted," etc.

It is for this reason that the Bodhisattva remains in existence. Without activity of body, voice, or mind, he is not a Bodhisattva, and becomes a mere servant of the law. If he destroys the merit of the Bodhisattva, he becomes a servant of the law; if he acquires the four trances (śādyūna), the four 'immensurables' (upayāpaya), and the five supernatural powers (abhijñā). He vanquishes all beings and is nothing different in the next life, and triumphs over them in the world.

(4) The Bodhisattvabhumi is the domain of energy (prārya) which helps towards the perfecting of good works, intellectual and moral, and especially towards application to the thirty-seven wholesome characteristics (puṇḍakārāma), and also the complete surrender of the idea of 'mine.'

(5) In the Invincibl e stage (sudarśana) meditation or ecstasy (samādhi, śādyūna) predominates. The Bodhisattva, safe from demons, meditates on and understands the four noble truths (niyata'charydbhumi), or what comes to the same thing, relative truth and real truth (samākhy and paramārthastāya) (see p. 751).

The 'Bodhisattva' (bodhikāra) is the domain in which the Bodhisattva, understanding 'dependent origination,' is turned longer in the world of becoming (sattvabhumi), but, by virtue of his predominates in him. He obtains the nirodhasamāpatti ('destruction-trance'), which was not possible before, on account of the non-predomination of the prajñā, which is the essence of charity, etc. Who then may be taught the profound doctrine of dependent origination, i.e. vacuity (vākṣyā), which alone gives meaning to a thing or not being? Not on account of some 'ordinary men,' show sincere and profound enthusiasm on hearing of various kinds of things there are in the universe. In- tellingence of the Perfect Buddhas, and the love, which they will develop for this teaching satisfies the mind so well, will be a pledge and a sign of things. And if the teaching will be impaired by a Bodhisattva arrived at the first stage, the Joyful word, or, more correctly, the teacher, in his interpretation of the text, will be in line with the word of Nagarjuna, a Bodhisattva in the first stage.

(6) In the Fourth stage (dharma) together with the perpetual 'ecstasy of annihilation,' there prevails the perfection of skill in the means (i.e. upayāpālaśādāpanā), these means leading to the acquisition of unshakable compassion, (b) knowledge of the elements of existence, (c) desire for Bodhi, (d) non-surrender of existence, (e) immaculate agency in existence, (f) non-surrender of the universe that is in existence, (g) bearing fruit, (h) in their being in them of good, (i) removing all creations that is in existence, (j) to make such a person be the leader of the group and have the right to enter the Great Vehicle, (k) causing them to ripen in the Great Vehicle, and (l) leading them to deliverance in Bodhisattvabhumi, the domain in which the Bodhisattva, understanding 'dependent origination,' is turned longer in the world of becoming (sattvabhumi), but, by virtue of his predominates in him. He obtains the nirodhasamāpatti ('destruction-trance'), which was not possible before, on account of the non-predomination of the prajñā, which is the essence of charity, etc. Who then may be taught the profound doctrine of dependent origination, i.e. vacuity (vākṣyā), which alone gives meaning to a thing or not being? Not on account of some 'ordinary men,' show sincere and profound enthusiasm on hearing of various kinds of things there are in the universe. In-tellingence of the Perfect Buddhas, and the love, which they will develop for this teaching satisfies the mind so well, will be a pledge and a sign of things. And if the teaching will be impaired by a Bodhisattva arrived at the first stage, the Joyful word, or, more correctly, the teacher, in his interpretation of the text, will be in line with the word of Nagarjuna, a Bodhisattva in the first stage.

The sūtraśākāra (xvii. 47, see also xx. 10 f.) gives the following scheme:

1. Adhibhūtakāra, ācarā—Samadhāra (equipment, exertion, preparation) in order to enter a true bhūmi, to become a Bodhisattva.
2. Bhūmi i.—Samadhāra towards anuvinnata (absence of particularized and eager attention), which is obtained in the (v) vihāra bhūmi. There is samākhyā towards anubhūtī (absence of turning oneself), which is obtained in the (b) vihāra bhūmi. There is samākhyā to (4) vīṣṭa bhūmi. There is samākhyā towards adviṣṭa (constancy), which is obtained in the (5) xith bhūmi. There is samādhāra to (6) bodhikghāta, or niyata'charydbhumi, 'arriving at the goal.'

IV. SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE BODHISATTVA, A FOLLOWER OF THE GREAT VEHICLE. The question now presents itself: What is the connexion between the follower of the Great Vehicle who aspires to Buddhahood, but who is, properly speaking, only a future Bodhisattva residing in the gotra arrhadhulaktibhāgī bhūmi, and the real Bodhisattva in possession of all the ten virtues? The ten virtues to what extent do the former participate in the 'perfect virtues'? The disciple, however humble he may be, must apply himself to the double task of merit

* The description is borrowed from the Bodhisattvabhumi.

* See above, p. 743, n. 8.
and knowledge, in which are included all the virtues that make a Buddha. He participates directly and practically in the first seven 'stages,' being generous, moral, patient, energetic, meditative, studious of the doctrine, and skilled in the means of winning in saving 'merit' (śāstra), the powers, and the knowledge of a Buddha are beyond his reach, he can always make a sort of imperfect initiation.

Śaṅkara, a 7th century theologian, who is at the same time a writer and a monk, has written a work entitled the 'Initiation to the Career of the Bodhi, or Introduction to the Practice of the Bodhisattvas,' in which, summing up some technical ideas and his own experience, he gives no place to abstruse theories, scholastic and mythological, regarding the 'stages of the Buddha,' and in possession of the Mahāyāna (bodhisattva mañjuśrī or mahābodhisattva or dāśabhūmikaśvara bodhisattva) intervenes only as protecting and helpful spirit, or supreme object of the Little Vehicle. He is the 'jewel' (ratna), i.e., the Order (sāgha), which, in the Little Vehicle, includes all the monks. They are, therefore, closely associated with the Buddha and the Law, which are the first two 'jewels' in the formula of homage and refuge. They fill an even more important part than the Buddha, being regarded as more powerful and more active. But, the more exalted they are, the less eager for the moment is the disciple to place his head beside them. The Buddha is only a beginner (ādikāriṣṭa), subject to falls, uncertain of success, relying far more on the favour of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas than on his own powers and understanding.

1. Initiation or conception of the thought of Bodhi.—Every disciple of the Mahāyāna aspires, by charity, to become a Buddha. He has to take the vow of Bodhi and assume the obligations and rules of life of the Buddha (bhūtānusraya or bhūtānusraya-vārasa). As to mark more clearly the difference between the two Vehicles, he is not obliged, as are the followers of the Little Vehicle, to undertake to take the vow of biological (ādikāriṣṭa), and Sākyamuni was in fact married. There are Bodhisattvas who leave home (pravrajāta) and add to the obligations of the Bodhisattvas the obligations of monks. These constitute a new rule (yoavat), after the pattern of the Vinaya of the Little Vehicle, and will be discussed in art. MAHĀYĀNA (bodhisattva-pratimokṣa). Monks are more fit than the laity to practice certain virtues, less fit to practise certain others. Consequently the entrance into religion will depend upon the transformation of the merit acquired by the disciple. He must in some way have the 'vocation' in order to have the right to become a monk.

The disciple (1) reflects, either by himself or under the direction of a teacher, on the advantages of the vow of Bodhi, (2) performs pious works with a view to purifying his soul, and (3) undertakes the vow of Bodhi.

(1) 'The sin accumulated in my former existence, accumulated in all creatures, is infinite and omnipotent. By what power can I acquire by my worship of the Bodhisattva, my taking of refuge, my confession of sins, etc., I apply to the good of creatures and be the attainer of the Buddha. I wish for bread for those who are hungry, drink for those who are thirsty (word of Buddha), I give myself, all that I am and shall be in my future existences, to creatures (atāmasottapattaya). In the same manner, as those in which the former Buddhas were when they undertook the vow of Bodhi, and just as they carried out the obligations of future Buddha, I shall carry them out. Now the disciple is a beginner (ādikāriṣṭa), a neophyte, 'a seed of Buddha, 'a young shoot of Buddha' (buddhadhāra, buddhānūkāra). Of course the 'production of thought' in question belongs to the domain of the adhikāriṣṭikārya (see above, p. 749), and is only an initiation or a reduction of the all-pure 'production of thought' which constitutes the so-called 'Joyous stage.'

The series of pious deeds (bhadaracara or auspicious practices) just mentioned (from 'adoration,' the dānayuddha, to 'prostration,' the adikārya-pradaksina, the introduction to the path of the Bodhisattvas, the entrance into the Vehicle which leads to Buddhahood, but also a daily ritual (viśūka), the daily food of the spiritual life, and, to express it technically, the triple element (trikhandha) which must be set motion for, is called bhūpāla. This bhūpāla is divided into three parts: (1) confession of sins, with its preliminaries of adoration and worship, (2) acquiescence or rejoicing in good, and (3) prayer with a view to securing the preaching of the Law and delaying the entrance into the 'right path' for a new stage of existence. The application of merit (parisāmāna) and the vow (pramāna) complete the ritual of worship (pijñapa or viṣūka) which is called 'supreme worship' (amurtarapāji), and is termed quintuple, sestuple, or decuple, according to the elements into which it is broken up.

2. Protection, growth, and purification of the thought of Bodhi.—The disciple has undertaken the thought of Bodhi; he must not lose it, but he must purify and increase it by exercise. He must add the practices (pracārtān) to the bhūpāla as a matter of course. There is therefore a double duty which may be traced to a single principle: (a) vigilance on the thought of Bodhi (bodhīchittotpāramāṇa), and (b) "These formulas of Śaṅkara (bodhīcarayātārā) are well known. They recur in a more or less changed or abridged form in the Dharmaśāstra (see p. 3, note), in the Nyāya-Sūtra-pāramāṇa, p. 117 f. (with some alterations in a monothestic direction; see ADYASVAMA), in some Tantras, e.g. Chāṇakya-hṛṣṣaṁya, iv. 6, in Nepal manuals and anthologies like the Adikārśapradāpa and the Kṛṣṇaśākunehṛsha (MS No. 110, fol. 38; further, Iconographie, ii. 8; see Pousain, Études matériales, 100 and 236; and, on the Chinese authorities, Chavannes, 'Les inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-Gaya,' R.E. xxvi. p. 250 l. In the Śiṅkṣaśākunehṛsha, p. 250 l, Śaṅkara gives information about his student's most important works; e.g. Bhāṣya, a commentary on the D-vatārāṇā--charja, 'propitiatory practice,' a work in Gāthā dialect, which exists in the original, in Tibetan, and in Chinese (Nanjō, 1142; translated A.O. Hunwick, Peking, 1909); and the same commentary Bodhīcārya, translated into Sanskrit (a.d. 395-393), the Ratnamāka (A.D. 503), etc. It would be useful to trace in the literature of the Little Vehicle, at least in the commentaries of Buddhist masters on the taking of refuge (Sahajagovinī, p. 200 l, and the first alliterations of the Bhadra- charya. Apart from the thought of becoming Buddha, we find there in which form the essence of our ritual, viz the offering of oneself to the Buddhas (attasamājīpātask), as regards confession of sins, and the bhūpāla, serves as a basis, is well known. In art. KARMA will be found an account of the part it takes in the remission of sins, according to the doctrines of the Great Vehicle.

1 There are several works entitled Trisākhandha, 'work on the three elements.' One of them is devoted to the present subject (see Nanjō, 1142), and 290 l. Bhaṭṭa Śīkṣa, 259 l; Takakusu, J.-T. Ewing, p. 75, note. Another treatises of morality, dealing with the three elements, are Bhūpāla-prakāśa, p. 58, and (Sādhu, Māra, xxii. 17), it is difficult to identify Mahārīpa, 40, 59.
makes use of it to convert the creatures, that the Bodhisattva deserves to be called by that name (Bodhisattvabhuta, i. 77, c.), and the virtue of generosity may be, it must not stand in the way of its aim, must not be unreasonable or excessive (attityāga). It is especially after he has conjured a stage that the Bodhisattva is able to be useful therein, and his charities must not form an obstacle to his spiritual career, unless it be to help some Bodhisattva more capable of benefiting beings than he is himself. Moreover, there is a gradation among gifts: to give one's flesh is good, but to give spiritual food, to preach the Law (dharmabhakti), is more primarily needed. In order to follow the rule (dharma) of morality, it is necessary to follow Sākyamuni's example and allow one's self to be doved by a tiger, when safety (abhayañāna) can be otherwise won for men, and they may be repined for Bodhi.*

4. Morality or virtue (śīla).—The essence of śīla is self-preservation (ātmabāvāraṇa) for the sole purpose of benefiting creatures. Neither a preta nor one condemned to rebirth in hell can be service to others. It is necessary, therefore, to make sure of the births, in order to undertake the career of a Bodhisattva. For the sake of him, morality must be practised. It is no less necessary to avoid scandal. Every future Buddha, however great his sins, must be revered by men: if they despise him, as a fire covered with ashes, they run the risk of injuring and opposing the career of the Law, by never forsaking 'spiritual friends,' by keeping constant watch over the state of soul and body, he succeeds in avoiding all harmful actions (anarthavivarjana) and fruitless motion (niśpakalakāṇḍana), and in preserving good deeds (punyarakṣādharma).

The Great Vehicle, however, distinguishes the virtue of abstention (nīvṛttiśīla), which was the whole śīla of ancient Buddhism, from positive virtue (pravṛttiśīla); and it does not set apart the pāramitās, which have no practical existence the one without the other. The following account, which is offered as a specimen (according to Bodhisattvabhūmi, 1. 1x), ignoring a host of scholastic details, will give an idea of moral theology, as the Yogāchāras understood it. It will be noticed that all the 'personal virtues' are examined according to the same subdivision.

I. What is morality or virtue (ātmabāvāraṇa)? Not to violate the rule. It has four elements: (1) shame (apatiṣṭhāpaṇa) with regard to others, (2) a sense of intention to prevent a sin, (3) regard to one's self, (4) reformation after transgression, and (4) regard for the Law (dharma), which keeps the Law ever present in the mind (smṛti)."
selves by generosity, etc., behaving according to the rules laid down (on drinking, etc.) when there is no trouble, compliance with the thoughts of men who need conversion (dvitiyadharma-

vritti) has a mystic quality. There are mystical wonders giving them visions of hell, causing Vajra-
pujā or some other mighty Yajña to appear when some hungry ghost is identified with his personality, passing through walls, rocks, etc.

lions. These details are reduced from the definition of the Bodhisattva. There are certain acts, wicked in themselves (prakrtisuddhi), which, committed with the evil intention of the non-existing, are unfavourable; those not only are not culpable, but are even highly meritorious. When he sees a robber given to murder, and not shrinking even from the acts of murderers, he who has achieved the property of the Buddhist church or violate stūpa may be defended by the monks, as they hope to increase their robberies, and the more they possess they increase their sin still more. Directors also (śa-rūpyeśvarā, āritāke) who waste the property of the Buddha and violate the precepts, those who so practice with high degree of watchfulness and care that he hardly ever commits even a small sin.

All-round virtue (avaccheda). From this point of view moral virtue is quadruple: (1) acquired (usthāna), in so far as the vows taken are of three kinds (śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, bodhisattva), (2) natural (prakṛti), in so far as the excellence of the character, acts purely in thought, word, and deed; (3) practical (pratītya), as it is practised in benefaction; (4) theoretical (pratītya), as it holds a being with the power to resist evil and to love good; (4) associated with the expediency, i.e. with the four elements of popu-

larity.

virtue of a good man (atmanugraha); (1) he is virtuous, (2) he inspires others with virtue, (3) he prays virtue, (4) he shows sympathy for those who suffer, (5) when he sees a man who makes a sin the other makes a sin through itself.

Omni-form virtue (pratiśrāvūka) is of thirteen classes, divided into two groups of six and seven respectively: (1) turned towards enlightenment, (2) clear through assuming all the vows, (3) defiled, (4) liberated from the two extremes of luxury and asceticism, (5) perpetual, (6) firm, (7) possessed of virtue’s ornament and itself the ornament of virtue, (8) turned towards (VI) from the virtue of the Great Man (i.e. of a Buddha), (9) reflection (adhiścitta), (10) fortunate re-births, (11) the welfare of others, (12) abstinence from all actions hurtful to others, having regard to the principle, ‘Do not to others what you would not have others do to you.’

vi. Virtue as pleasant in this world as in the next. It includes four kinds of pure actions: (1) forbidding to men what ought not to be done, (2) allowing good actions, (3) allowing the others to be done, and (4) gaining the sympathy of others, and (4) improving the virtue of morality among the gods, generosity, patience, energy, wisdom, and knowledge.

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power of the passions, like a fish in the hands of the fisherman, for I am in the net of re-births, threatened by death and by the guards of the bulls. Thou hast boarded this vessel, having chosen style; cross my suffering, thou foolish, there is no time to sleep; when and at what cost wilt thou find this vessel again?" (3) To despise pleasures, which belong to the earth, the task of the Bodhisattva is not the joy of good works. (3) To remember what Skāyamunī said: "The earth is the abode of the devas, Skāyamunī, Dipākara, etc., are insects, flies, and little flies; but the great ones that they acquired the illumination of a Buddha, so difficult to obtain, and which I have already gained, that the greatest possible task is accomplished! The task of the Bodhisattvas is distressful, but the bulls are far more distressful. All the great beings are really distressed, and the Bodhisattva, a clever physician, by degrees he accustoms us to making the greatest sacrifices with ease, and besides "the future Buddha will not disturb them, and the Buddha is free from sin and suffering, and he is free from sorrow, for he realizes the truth of the nothingness of the ego. By his good works the Bodhisattva tastes ever-increasing joy, superior to those of the beings entering nirvāṇa. He arrives at nirvāṇa more quickly than the others.

To increase his 'energy' (vīryavrādhana) the Bodhisattva manoeuvres his 'armies', which are: (1) chakravartin (the wheel-turner), the root of all merit: 'What a sublime task I have undertaken in the destruction of all my vices, all the vices of the world, and the endowment of myself and my neighbour with every good quality! ... Those whose works are all good are re-born in the Paradise of Amitābha.' Pride (māna), (2) the pride of work, 'it is upon me that all difficulties in the world devolve, and it is I who create my own burden of work upon me!'; (3) pride against the passions (kṣīṇa-maitrī), pride in having acquired the knowledge of the passions (upakāya)? The most humiliating and most exacting of the passions is pride; (4) pride of power or endurance (ṣakti); the pride of Conquerors, pride in having acquired the power (bodhikṣaṇa), Joy (rati), by virtue of which, when he has finished one task, he plunges into another, like the elephant, under the midday sun, so that the earth is filled with its activity. 'He whose pride in work itself seeks in action nothing but action, (4) Abandonment (maitrī): he must measure his powers before undertaking a task, and stop when his powers fail. (5) Exclusive application (tāparāya), especially in all that concerns the means of avoiding the blows of the clever adversary, the prince of suffering. It is in this duel, in which the Bodhisattva is armed with the memory of the law of Buddha. If he happens to get wounded (for what fight is there in one's own country), he quickly gains the graces, and he says: 'I do not wish to prevent this occurring again!' (6) Self-mastery (āśrāvahita): 'Never does he forget the Buddha's sermon on attention (anippana) and of his body; he is alert and easily managed, so that he may be ready at any time and for any thing even here.' It is necessary to begin. As the seed of the cotton-plant obeys the wind, coming and going under its impulse, so, in body and thought, the Bodhisattva directs himself according to his will. It is thus that magical powers are obtained, and all happiness.'

7. Contemplation (samādhi) or meditation (dhyāna).—Contemplation or concentration of thought, which, as we shall see, is indispensable to merit and success. It presupposes a temperament, the action of two factors: isolation of the body (kṣaya-viveka), i.e. life in retirement; and isolation of thought (chittaveke), i.e. indifference to all worldly desires.

These are the qualities very favourable to literary development, and have always prevailed widely among Buddhists. Śāntideva deserves great praise for treating them with much eloquence, and especially for being satisfied with sixteen verses to describe the dangers and penalties of a worldly life 'in the midst of fools,' ten verses to exalt the life in the forest: 'with the trees which are good naturally, and whose sympaties are easily gained'; but he requires thirty-eight to deter us from love, the source of so much shame and sin, which can be explained only by an aberration of mind, a sickly passion for impurity.

All the meditations here recommended to the Bodhisattvas are merely the putting into action of the meditations on impurity

* Properly speaking, the saint is free from suffering only when he has attained the 'suppression of all attachment' (vipākārada). The consequences of which are themselves felt in two ways: (1) grief (vipākaphalā), which produces increase of compassion for others; (2) tendency to sin (nīpānaphalā), which is destroyed by patience (see Madhavakāśita, 29, 10 and 50). 1

1 Marks.

2 Pride, modesty, manānd, manāṇā, abhisāman (to believe wrongly that one is destined to Buddhahood, to rely on ascetic practice, the capital, more than murderer, etc. Māra endeavors by all means to induce the Bodhisattva, in the 'beginning' Bodhisattva (acharitānupāsrupaksha), to doubt of his own power to achieve better than the others, to destroy his hope of achieving the perfect state, because he is not the true 'isolation'; that solitary life involves many spiritual dangers, namely, pride, absence of 'spiritual friends' (kalpita-prasanna) by the 'perfection of contemplation' (vīryavrādhana, the natural abode of the Pratyekabuddha (Āgantukarikā, p. 391), 11).

(nāsavahādanta, kṣayavipākārada, sattva), oecumenes, etc., which belong to the world of vehicles. The Bodhisattva adds a note which is peculiar to it: 'What painful efforts have been needed from the beginning of time for this body, ordained to the destruction of the re-born, the spiritual body of the Bodhisattvas, and doomed to tortures in hell because a part of those efforts and sufferings is necessary to attain Buddha.' The perfection of contemplation is the sufficiency of those who are subject to desire are insensible and unknown. But the Great Vehicle adds a note which is peculiar to it: 'What painful efforts have been needed from the beginning of time for this body, ordained to the destruction of the re-born, the spiritual body of the Bodhisattvas, and doomed to tortures in hell because a part of those efforts and sufferings is necessary to attain Buddha.' The perfection of contemplation is the sufficiency of those who are subject to desire are insensible and unknown.

The mind is therefore absorbed in contemplation, being detached (vīśvīka). It is able to penetrate the ideas to which it is about to be applied, and to be deeply penetrated by them. This is, properly speaking, meditation; (meditation, ecstasy). The Buddhists have completed a system of systems of meditation, which all aim at leading to the possession of knowledge or wisdom (prajñā). None of them is foreign to the rule of the Bodhisattvas. The 'perfection of contemplation' may be meant (1) practice of the dhyānas and the samāpattis of ancient Buddhism; (2) study of the four truths, and of the two truths (relative and absolute); this is the theory of Chandrakīrti in the Mādhyanamakavāda; (3) meditation on impurity in order to destroy the vice of passion, on kindness to destroy the vice of pride, on origination to destroy error, or, further, on subjects of mindless reflection (samantātyāpāya), or, in general, on all the doctrines of the prajñā, that is to say, which relate to the true nature of things.

In the Bodhicaryavatāra Śāntideva adopts the very original plan of subordinating the virtue of meditation to the active virtues of charity, humility, and patience. On this subject, usually so dry and foreign to Europeans, he displays all the heat and emotion appropriate to a homily.

There was, however, no better way of introduction into the Vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. Although meditation on the nothingness of the ego, etc., seems to result, and in the Little Vehicle really does result, in apathy and nirvāṇa, by destroying the activity of the mind bent on the objects of knowledge (jñeya-rājya), Śāntideva maintains that it begins by putting itself at the disposal of the active virtues which destroy passion (śīla-rājya).

The nothingness of the ego does not warrant us in remaining inactive, for we find it a reason for sacrificing ourselves for our neighbour.

And soon, by a just compensation, this practice of abnegation, destructive of attachment and hatred (rāga, dveṣa), results, much more surely than selfish meditations, for the complete purging of the mind (moha); that is to say, since every idea, as such, is erroneous, abnegation purifies the mind by emptying it (moha = jñeya-rājya; buddhā-sthāna).

Śāntideva's plan is so 'orthodox,' and at the same time, so far as can be judged, so original, that it will be well to give at a detailed analysis of this part of his book, in which there is much to be commended.

The disciple must practise (1) the parāsaṅnakamat, the equality of self and neighbour; (2) the paritāma-purāṇa, the substitution of neighbour for self. Each includes a clear insight into the real nature of things, and, if the energy (vīrya) is strong enough to ensure their perfect practice, they include, in addition, all the practice of a Bodhisattva.

(1) Parāsaṅnakamat, making no difference between self and neighbour, is the beginning of the Bodhisattva (bodhisattvatvavāraṇa). (2) As the body is composed of different parts united together so that the hand takes care to protect the foot, in the same way, in this manifold world of living beings, joy and sorrow are common to all. What joy means for me, it means the same for others. It is the same with sorrow. We must do for our neighbour what we would have our neighbour do for us, because it is sorrow (moha) which interests us on account of our own neighbour's sorrow, just because it is sorrow like my own. We must serve ourselves; the greater is the self-interest, the more is the self-interest of the neighbour.

(9) If any one should object, 'My neighbour's sorrow is his sorrow, not mine,' the reply is, 'What you call your neighbour's sorrow is such that you consider it as a mere possession in you, but a series of intellectual phenomena (which series does not exist in itself, any more than a row of units), or an aggregate of phenomena with no individual unit. There is

* See Śāntideva, Sktēgaṁamakeha, xii-xiv.
therefore no existing being to whom we can attribute sorrow, or whom we can question as to its origin, or who can be held responsible for it.

Why then contend with suffering, if there is no sufferer? Because all the schools agree on this point. If it is neces-
sary to contend with it, contend with it, for its nature. If it is not necessary, do not make distinction, and occupy your attention with other objects. God, the Supreme, only understands the painful duty of a future Buddha? This duty is not painful, but if it were, yet, should the suffering of one individual put an end to the welfare of several, or of several to its entire undertaking. It is for this reason that the future Buddhas, whose spirits are fortu-
ified in the 'equivalence of the self and the neighbour,' for the neighbours are the self, and no one can despise, that when
their neighbours are suffering, plunge it into the Avichi hell to take the place of the condemned there. The deliverance of creatures causes the river of suffering to dry up, if the self is not; he is raised, praised, happy; I am poor, despised, unhappy; it is evidently because of the welfare of the world, as a whole, the self, and the good qualities.

But have I really no good qualities? If I have not, should not he toll to curce of my vices? If he is unable to say, but I, to say, 'I renounce, I forgive, I am merciful,' what is the nature of his excellent virtues? What matters it to me if he is holy only for his own sake? Has he compassion only for the unfortunate who are also his? Have you ever heard of a divin destiny that is himself, in the process of his virtues, he claims to excel among the saints. In this way, the Bodhisattva energetically voices the complaints of the sinful and wretched poor whom most men call but ask too apt to despise; and, while excusing his neighbour, he eagerly seeks every occasion to exalt himself. Thus only every is our selfish ego? 'Renounce, O my thought, the foolish hope that I have still a special interest in you. I have given you to your liberty, despise nothing of your sufferings. For I were so foolish as not to give you over to the creatures, there is no doubt that you would deliver me to the demons, the guardians of hell. How often, indeed, have you not handed me over to those wretches, and for what long tortures! I renounce your wrong estimate, and I crush you to the self, the slave of your own interests. If I really love you, I must love myself. If I wish to preserve myself, I must not preserve you.

8. Knowledge, or wisdom, as it is usually called by Europeans (prajñāpāramiśa), is the supreme virtue. It is the application of the mind to the knowledge of the truth, to the knowledge of what is (tattva). By a direct effort it destroys false views concerning self and nature, and its complete possession is impossible to the non-Buddhist. Hence, for the Bodos, religion is a matter of self-interest, and their speeches, as well as their religious lapses, are explained by their desire for personal gain.

The definition of the word prajñāpāramiśa appears contradictory. The prajñā, being in a general way the exact knowledge of all things (Jñāna as a whole, nañjana, is called prajñāpāramiśa in so far as it bears on the real nature (paramartha-rājāya-prajñāpāramiśa), and jñāna in so far as it refers to the metaphysical principles in the relative truth (sañjñā-sañjñā). (See Boddhitathavābhu, ii. iv.)

The Bodhisattva acquires first lokotkata jñāna, i.e., prajñā (whether pāramiśa or not). Then lajñā, i.e., jñāna which endows them with all the privileges of a Buddha, but which does not help fellow-beings (desikākarakā, xiv. 42). But our authors do not feel satisfied with this definition, and we find, inter alia, the following commentary: prajñā in its most comprehensive sense, (1) Self-knowledge (jñānanjana), (2) medical art, (4) grammar, (5) technical art (śīpā-karma). (See Boddhitathavābhu, i. xiv.)

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MĀDYAŅIKAS, VAJÑĀVADINAS. For Boddhissatva in Paññā literature, see JĀTAKA.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully throughout the article.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSEIN.

BODOS. I. Name and language.—The generic term ‘Bodo’ is now, for convenience, applied to all peoples speaking the Tibet-Burman group of languages. Etymologically, the true Bodo race exists, in a more or less pure state, all over Assam, in the proper (the Brahmaputra Valley), in Koch Bhīrā and Northern Bengal, and in the valley of the Surnā river, now part of Eastern Bengal. It is probable that the semi-Hinduised caste of Chapāls or 'Manusūdras' (see nāma, a recognized fact of Bodo origin; but this cannot be settled till further ethnographical inquiries have been made. In the plains the Bodos have become largely Hinduised, and have intermarried freely with Ahoms (q.v.) and other races. But even in the plains, and mingled with Hinduised neighbours, there are large communities of Bodo people, still speaking their Tibet-Burman language and preserving the simple animistic superstitions of their race. Those who live in the hills of North Bengal are by them styled 'Mosh' or 'Mising,' 'Welsh,' or 'barbarian.' But the name has long lost its contemptuous signification, and is placidly accepted by the people themselves as their tribal title. Their Mongolian type of feature and dark-blue clothing, their religion, which mark them off from their white-clad Hindu neighbours. Adjoining them are the Koch, now mostly Hinduised, and justly proud that, in the person of H.H. the Maharājā of Koch Bhīrā, they are ruled over by a dynasty which once conquered nearly the whole of the ancient kingdom of Prājyotisīpur (see Assam). Beyond the Koch tribe, eastwards, come the true Bodos or 'plains Kaḥārīs' (as the English call them), who dwell in the faro, or submontane tract, under the hills of Bhītān, known as the Kaḥārī Dwār or passes.

It was from these people that B. H. Hodgson took the title of Bodo, for they call themselves Boro-ni-śāśya, 'sons of Boro,' or 'sons of the Man.' (It should be noticed that most of the aboriginal tribes of the N.E. frontiers of India have no specific name for themselves. They are 'men.' Other races are Bengali-men, Englishmen, China-men, etc.) There are about 300,000 of these people still unabombed by Hinduisim. Mixed with them are the Bodos on the borders of Assam and Bengal and the Nāgalás. They speak the same language, but holding themselves superior, apparently owing to a somewhat larger infusion of Western blood. These are a finer and stronger race, and at one time supplied recruits to the regiments formerly raised in Assam. In the central mountainous mass of Assam, between the Nāgas on the East and the Khasis on the West, are about 16,000 people speaking a form of the Bodo language. This branch call themselves Di-bodos, they are now totally separated from the lowland Bodos; and England's recognized authority, says that their speech now differs from that of the Boro-ni-śāśya as widely as Italian differs from Spanish. This branch of the family once formed a powerful kingdom, first at Dimāpur in the Brahmaputra Valley land, and then driven thence...
by the invading Ahoms (see Assam), at Maibang in the centre of the Hills, and afterwards at Khāspur in what is now the British District of Kachar. 

In the district of Nowgong and the adjoining hills, there are some 3000 Hōrom or Bodos, who are derived from the Bodo word Haĥō (i.e. 'earth-high,' 'mountain'), and means 'hill-folk.' They are very similar to their neighbours the Lālangs, about 40,000 in number, on the southern slope of the Gāro hills; and in the adjacent parts of the plains district of Mymensingh are about 8000 Hajijongs—another name evidently derived from the word Haĥō. Finally, there are two great isolated highland groups of Bodo people in the hills respectively called after them—those known to us as the Gāros and the Morans, etc., whose speech, so far as they have not been agglutinated to Hinduism and Assamese, is of the Bodo type, that is, an agglutinative language which has learned inflexion from contact with the Indo-European Assamese. The verb is still modified by agglutinated infixes, but in other respects the language resembles Western languages in having acquired even such linguistic luxuries as adverbs, relative clauses, and a (rarely used) passive voice.

2. Origins.—Of all these peoples and their origins there is no written record. They totally lack the historical instinct so characteristic of their Ahom conquerors. Their physical aspect renders it likely that they came from beyond the mountains to the N.E. of the Assam Valley. The Morans, the most easterly branch of the race, and perhaps the latest settlers in Assam, have indeed a tradition that they came from Maingkaing in the Hukong Valley on the upper reaches of the Chindwin river.

The story goes that there once dwelt there three brothers named Moyling, Morān, and Moyrān. Moyling, the eldest, remained in Assam, and the tribe which bears his name is still in Assam; Morān, the second, migrated into Bengal, and was there lost; whilst Morān, the second brother, became a chief of the Morans, etc., which bore the name of Morān, and the whole tribe is now called Morān, etc. Another name for this tribe is Jumā, which bears the same meaning as Morān.

Linguistic and ethnological inquiries may some day trace some connexion between the Bodo-speaking peoples and one or other of the races in Upper Burma, but the link is still missing. It is certain, however, that some 2000 years ago or more, the Bodo peoples must have covered the whole of the Assam Valley, the greater part of Northern Bengal, and the Surnā Valley. The most significant sign of their presence in this area is the Bodo element in the names of the rivers, such as Dikhōj, Tiaphik, Dipān, etc., also the names of some of the hills in similar names as the Tista, or Dista, near Darjiling, the Tiaphik in Upper Assam, and the Tipai, or Dipāi, in Kachar. (The word dī or dāi in Bodo means 'water' or 'river.') Those of them who settled in the plains of Assam, into which they gradually degenerated, have become the population of the plains of the British East India, and are conquered by successive invasions from East and West. Those who took refuge in the mountains, such as the Dimāsāt, Gāros, and Tipāpis, became a sort of people of a more primitive type than their brother, the Gāros above, and the Gāros below. The Gāros above, the Gāros below, are still called 'Bodos,' though they are not our Bodo, but a separate people, who are called Kachar in the Assam District. Those of the Bodo family who follow a religion of fear, and are haunted by many gods or spirits, who have to be propitiated by offerings of food, etc. Within historical times the Chutiyas of Upper Assam were wont to offer human sacrifices at their famous copper-roofed temple at Sadiya; but this habit may have been borrowed from the sacrificial habits of Śktikāi Hindus. The majority of the Bodos of the plains are singularly mild and inoffensive people; and though they are much given to making offerings of fowls and goats to various deities, especially, it is significant to note, on the occasion of harvest and other festivals, these are apparently excuses for feasting and merrymaking, occasions on which there is much consumption of boiled pork and rice-beer. There are indications of a now declining belief in totems, and among the Morans, etc., the chief of this tribe is a sort of totem upon which he prides himself. 'I am the tiger,' he says; 'the tiger is mine.' The people in the plains of the Bodos, etc., are septs, for instance, calling themselves Mosārā, 'sons of the tiger,' who go into mourning for a whole day, fasting the while, if a tiger happens to be killed in their vicinity. So also there are those who belong to the clan of the sacred cow, the Siju (the Euthophobon), and are proud to call themselves Siju-ārā. And there are many others. There seems to be no belief in a supreme deity or creator. Among the Western Bodos, gods are freely borrowed from the Hindu pantheon, one of the most popular of these being Kuvera, the god of wealth. The plains Bodos a.e. a simple, agricultural, and far from avaricious race, and the extent to which Kuvera figures in their folk-tales and legends is certainly curious.

The matriarchate is unknown, and the father is an extremely good-natured and easy-going head of a contented and simple family. The tribes are mostly endogamous, if the expression can be used of people who marry very much as European peasants do. There is a certain tribal communal character in their rule rather than the exception. There are signs to show that marriage by capture was once the rule; but nowadays marriages are the result of an elopement, followed by the payment of a fine to the girl's relatives, or a combination at the marriage of a few of the young people, which results in a present offered to the bride's parents, or else a term of service on the bridegroom's part in his father-in-law's house.

Running rivers and water-courses are held in high respect and honour; and the dead are either buried or cremated (if their relatives can afford the necessary fuel) near streams. A woman is laid on seven layers of fuel, and has seven such layers placed over her. A man has only five such layers. So, when a male child is born, the Bodos of either sex are offered to the gods, a great part of all who die in infancy are offered to the gods, a great part of all. All are buried in simple coffins, or Sometimes in small earthen graves, and are placed with their heads to the east, the Bodos believe that the body is at rest until the time of the great resurrection, when it will be raised to celestial regions.

There is a crude belief in a future life. When a body is buried, a reed or bamboo tube is led from
the corpse's mouth to the outer air, so as to enable the spirit to breathe if he will, and the dead man's favourite food is placed for a time near his grave. Grown-up people will not touch these offerings, but children take them without scruple. Spirits, as far as the Bodos are concerned, live in the air, and cannot cross water without help; and if a funeral party has to cross a river, a string is suspended across it to enable the spirit to follow the body or return if it desires to do so.

If the roots of the plains are a very simple and guileless race. They live on a soil which yields them rich reward for comparatively easy toil, and, as their wants are few, they lead a joyous and childlike existence. Like other human children, they are occasionally given to fits of sulks, are very clamorous, very obstinate, and sometimes what suspicious of more intellectual and ingenious races. But they readily make friends with kindly and sympathetic Europeans; and, with the sole exception of the Gáros (now also rapidly coming under gentler influences), they have long ago lost the martial tendencies the race must once have possessed. They have much of the genial joviality of the Búrne, and are extremely addicted to feasts, junks, and all manner of merry-making. Their language has now been investigated with much thoroughness, but a systematic inquiry into their ethnographical position and their beliefs and customs still remains to be made.

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BODY.

Buddhist (J. J. Batson), p. 758.
Christian (J. C. Lambeit), p. 760.

EYPTIAN (H. Foucart), p. 765.
Greek and Roman (W. Capelle), p. 768.
Hindu (J. Jolly), p. 773.

Among certain African tribes: 'Whenever an enemy who has bela\nsed with conspicuous bravery is killed, his liver, which is considered the seat of courage; his name is substituted to that of the\nbeak of intelligence; the skin of his forehead, which is regarded as the seat of perseverance; his testicles, which are held to be the seat of strength; and other members, which are sup\nviewed as the seat of other virtues, are cut from his body and\nlaid to circulate:&quot; (Bodley, History of Kings, p. 190.)

As the nature of certain ordeals and penalties, chosen in re\nlation to the supposed hidden psychical qualities of certain\nparts of the body. The history of witchcraft abounds in\nexamples, but the field is much wider. Thus, Lady Anne\nBlunt reports concerning an Arab dispute as to the parent\ngage of a child: 'The matter, as all such matters are in the desert,\nwas referred to arbitration, and the mother's assertion was put\nto the test by a live coal being placed upon her tongue' (A Pilgrimage to Meccah, i. 19). A parallel biblical example is\nfound in the jealousy ordeal of Noa, on which see Gray's 'Numbers' (in ICO, p. 43, for a note contributed by the\npresent writer. As an example of the same principle applied to\npunishment it may be taken Law of the Code of Jämîmarâli: 'If the doctor has treated a gentleman for a\nsevere wound, and the object of his treatment, and has caused\nthe gentleman to die, or has opened an abscess of the eye for a\ngentleman with the bronze lance and has caused the loss of the\ngentleman's eye, he shall cut out his own eye' (Bodley, History of\njorities, p. 46). This is clearly not a case of lex talionis, but the doctor's\nye would have been extracted; penalty is exacted from the\nbands whose inoffensive victim led them astray.

As the physical qualifications for special offices and activities,\nespecially when these could not be transmitted. Thus, amongst\ncertain tribes of Central Australia, the essential mark of the\nmedicine-man is a perforation in his tongue, mysteriously\ncaused in the ceremony of his initiation. If the hole closed\nduring his year of probation, he loses his professional status\n(Spencer-Gillies, p. 525). Since such perforation can only\ncarried on in a practical way, we must assume that the object of\nthe operation of such marks is to set free, in some way deemed efficacious by primitive thought, the\nmembers which the medicine-man has chosen, for his pro\fessional purposes. It is probably one out of many cases of\nnaturalization which are to be explained as the partial dedication of certain organs to the service of the invisible powers, and their use. Thus, circumcision admits of no explanation, valid for\nprimitive thought, which does not apply to the closely related ritual in the South Sea Islands. Both processes occur at the period of puberty (ib. p. 251); but both receive adequate explanation, for primitive thought, as a propitiatory preparation for the safe journey to the spirit world. A parallel to the\nmedicine-man is recorded by Howitt (p. 747): 'A mother\namplyakes a stone with the hair of the right shoulder of one of her\n
(b) Life of the organ and single organs, and particular organs.\nOne of the best known cases is that of the evil eye. How\nphysical the influence was conceived to be is shown by the\nsuperstitious measures taken by the person supposed to be\nconnected with these organs may pass into the eater. Thus
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surface becomes covered with a bloody clout; and if the mirror is new the stain is hard to remove, but if it be old, the removal is easier. (On Diseases of the Body) 244.) the very fact that the organ is that, also, for the present argument, that early medicine discusses the treatment of the separate parts of the body as though they were not in vivo, in the living human patient. The Anglo-Saxon 'Leech-Book of Bald,' of which a summary is given in the English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Tum (p. 40). This corresponded to the popular idea of disease. Ewing writes of present-day Bedouin: 'Every disease is localised in a particular region of the body, and part of the body there is a special medicine, which the doctor requires only to take out of his chest and dispense. A special diagnosis of the part affected is not necessary. The localised affection of the patient is not considered necessary' (Tagung einer Reise in Inner- Arabien). This characterises the sickman-Hebrew-Babylonian belief in demonic influences, which is in accordance with the localisation of psychic function in various physical organs (cf. also the theory of vitalism and correspondences). 'Almost every part of the body is threatened by an evil demon; the ashakku brings fever to the head, the namtar threatens the life with pestilence, the utukku affects the neck, the ahi the breast, the ekimmu the hips, the gallu the hand, the raibus the skin' (Jeremias, Höle und Paradys bei den Baby- loniern, p. 10).

Such illustrations, which might be multiplied to almost any extent, sufficiently prove the identity, for the primitive thinker, of the sciences we clearly distinguish as physiology and psychology. This confusion is of fundamental importance for the study of primitive and ancient ideas of per- sonality, and for those who undertake to interpret ancient thought, particularly by interpreters of the Old Testament. Its further examination belongs to the subject of ancient psychology. Here, we are concerned with the evolution and development of animal consciousness, and with its present problems for psychology and religion.

2. Evolution of physiology.—It is plain that a sound knowledge of anatomy was necessary before an accurate physiology could be reached; yet of this Sir William Turner remarks: 'Amidst the greatest confusion in the ancient Greek and Roman literature of anatomy, only two leading facts may be admitted with certainty. The first is that previous to the time of Aristotle there was no accurate knowledge of anatomy; and the second, that all that was known was derived from the dissection of the lower animals only' (EB, s.v. 'Anatomy'). The most notable name before Aristotle is that of Hippocrates (n.c. 460-377), who does not distinguish vein from artery, and nerve from sinew; he represents the brain as a gland, or diverticulum venosum; he submits the heart is muscular and of pyramidal shape, and has two ventricles separated by a partition, the fountain of life—and two auricles, receptacles of air; that the lungs consist of live ash-coloured lozenge-shaped organs; that the skin is spongy, naturally dry, but refreshed by the air; and that the kidneys are glands, but possess an attractive faculty, by virtue of which the moisture of the drink is separated, and descends into the bladder. He distinguishes the bowels into colon and rectum (I.c.). Aristotle (b. n.c. 384) has confused notions of the nerves, and, though he connects the blood-vessels with the heart, he has no idea of the circulation of the blood. He regards the brain as the organ of cooling (On Sleep, ch. ii.). 'The heart is at once the physiological and psychological centre of man and, according to Aristotle astray, see Ogle, On the Parts of Animals, p. 163.) Galen (b. A.D. 130) is the first certain user of vivisection, and his writings are 'the common depository of the anatomical knowledge of the ancients. Accurate knowledge of physi- ology is given by Foster, History of Physiology, p. 12 f. No work of great importance in physi-ology was done between Galen's time and the 10th. cent., when the Fabrica Humani Corporis of Vesalius was 'the beginning not only of modern anatomy, but of modern physiology' (Foster, op. cit. p. 10, who traces the development of physiology through the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries).

3. Body and Mind.—The problem of the relation of body to mind is of fundamental importance to a large group of sciences. Since the dawn of modern philosophy in the Meditations of Descartes, the question of the relation of body and mind has been continuously under discussion (Ward, Naturalism and Agnosticism, 11, 4). The chief difference between ourselves and the primitive thinker is that we have narrowed the problem to the relation between the nervous system (more especially the cerebral cortex) and consciousness. The full discussion of this problem, however, belongs more properly to the articles on Brain and Mind, Mind, and Psychology.

A summary review of the positions taken by some typical thinkers will serve to introduce the modern aspect of the problem. Descartes (1596-1650), starting from the existence of the thinking thing, and arguing to the existence of body (in general) as the extended thing, maintained, though in marked contradiction to the general principles of his system and to his treatment of virtue and concupiscence, the identity of mind and body in man. He assigned their point of contact to the pineal gland—a small body about the size of a cherry-stone, which lies between the upper quadrigeminal bodies of the brain, and is connected with the optic thalamus—since such a single organ might correspond to the dualism of ideas from the double sense-organs (Les Passions de l'âme, art. xxxi. f.). Here, as the chief seat of the soul, he supposed mind to influence body, and body mind. Genuinex (1625-1669)—cf. Malebranche (1638-1716)—abandoned the theory of interaction for that of 'occasionalism,' which asserts that God causes the changes in the body corresponding with those in the mind, and vice versa. Leibniz (1646-1716) introduced the conception of 'pre-established harmony,' which rejects both an external world and the duality of mind and body. Descartes's notion of mind and body, which he developed from his Divinely created correspondence of mind and body, like that of two clocks keeping perfect time. Spinoza (1632-1677) made the problem more distinctly metaphysical by his treatment of thought and extension, and attributed his problem to the unity of one substance, God. This metaphysical notion asserts that 'mind and body are one and the same thing, conceived at one time under the attribute of thought, and at another under that of extension' (Ethics, pt. iii. prop. ii. Schel.). Hume (1711-1776) emphasized the mystery of the union of mind and body (Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding, vii. pt. i.), and argued against the alleged causality of mind in relation to body. Huxley (1825-1899) extended the hypothesis of Descartes as to animals into the realm of human consciousness. Whilst holding that 'all states of consciousness in us as in them are immediately caused by molecular changes of the brain-sub- stance,' he considered that 'in men, as in brutes, there is no power of thought or memory, and that the cause of the change is the cause of the state of the organism'; the consequence is that 'our mental conditions are simply the symbols in consciousness of the changes which take place automatically in the organism.' (Collected Essays, 1, 241.) Huxley's theory forms one of the various modern solutions of the problem; but a theory which reduces
conscious experience (including activity) to a series of epiphenomena or "by-products" is not adequate to explain that experience; whilst the denial of mental causation and more specifically of the approved assumption that the universe is mechanical. This is shown most ably by Ward (Naturalism and Agnosticism, Lects. xi. xii.), who in the same context discusses Clifford's "mind-stuff" theory, and the Neo-Spinozism of the "double-aspect" philosophy. The chief modern lines of explanation of the relation of mind and body are those of interactionism, automatism, and parallelism: interactionism, asserting that the causal influence runs in both directions—in sensation from the body to the mind, in volition the reverse; automatism, maintaining that it runs in one direction only—always from the body to the mind; and parallelism, denying all causal influence and holding the relation to be of a different nature. It should be noted that psycho-physical parallelism is frequently a purely descriptive term, to denote the correlation of the phenomena of consciousness with physiological (nervous and cerebral) processes, together with the real distinction between the two series. In this sense, it is doubtless true to say that the most direct and philosophical view of the relation between mind and body at the present day (Baldwin, i. 258). The much larger metaphysical problem of the relation of mind and matter cannot be discussed on the narrow stage of the present article (see art. on MIND and PHILOSOPHY). However completely we might show the dependence of consciousness on the mechanism of the cerebral cortex and the nervous system generally, there would remain the apparent fact that psychical and physical processes are disparate. We must not hastily assume that the laws of the one can be applied without question to the other. The principle of the conservation of energy, however important as a working formula in the physical sciences, has mathematical validity but no philosophical application. On the other hand, we are not at liberty to interpret the causality of mind as though it were the interference of a new quasi-physical force with the working of that particular part of the physical system which forms the human body. The problem is made more difficult by the further proposition that God to the universe, where we have also to reconcile the existence of natural law with real causality; its further consideration belongs to this larger arena. See, further, art. BODY AND MIND.

Practically the problem to be noticed, however briefly, is the group of problems, arising in connexion with the human body, for the student of religion, which receive fuller discussion in special articles. (1) The controversy as to man's place in nature (see art. ANTHROPOLOGY) is now chiefly of historical interest, so far, at least, as the relation of man's body to the animal world is concerned. The modern theologian is usually ready to accept the clear verdict of the scientist that, 'judged by his structure, Man is undoubtedly a vertebrate animal of the class Mammalia,' (Duckworth, Morphology and Anthropology, p. 12). In exact zoological classification he forms the Family Hominidae in the Sub-Order Anthropoidea in the Order Primates in the Section Eutheria of the Sub-Class Theria of the Class Mammalia. In popular zoological terms this classification is usually given to the Gibbons, Orang-utans, Chimpanzees, and Gorillas. This does not mean that these animals actually belong to man's ancestry. "It is practically certain that the modern Similide did not themselves figure in the ancestry of Man, and that they are themselves specialized in a high degree, more specialized in many ways than the Hominide and more specialized than their own ancestors" (Duckworth, op. cit. p. 543). On Man, 'specialisation of the cerebrum has conferred an altogether exceptional development of self-consciousness (op. cit. p. 545). . . . the future modification of the cerebrum will be largely dependent on its blood-supply, which in turn is related to the quality of the cardiac muscle and various physiological factors . . . on what may, in the widest sense, be termed hygienic conditions' (op. cit. p. 546). If we grant, however, this physical relationship of man with the lower animals, then is there, according to the body automatists, a psychological. The close correlation of the extent to which brain and nerve are elaborated in them with the observed degree of their intelligence is found to continue upwards to man himself; if the series is more or less continuous on the anatomical and physiological side, it is natural to expect that the corresponding psychical series knows no hard and fast line. This expectation is confirmed by the study of comparative psychology: 'Through-out the range of the sense-experience, common to man and to the lower animals, there is a gradual transition signifying like nature with ours. . . . It is the framing of ideals, not merely as products of conceptual thought, but also as objects of appetite and desire ever beckoning him onwards and upwards towards their realisation, that is distinctive of man as man' (Lloyd Morgan, Intro. to Compar. Psychology, pp. 365, 379). The practical bearing of this may be seen from the standpoint of biology.

The balance of power between the activity of any organism and its control by the environment is continually altering in favour of the organism. Increasingly we find the organism—be it bird or mammal or man—much more master of its fate, able to select its own environment in some measure, able to modify its surroundings as well as be modified by them' (J. A. Thomson, Heredity, p. 517). In the case of man, this fact has been strikingly expressed by a leading biologist, who calls him 'nature's insurgent son' (Ray Lankester, The Kingdom of Man, ch. i.). 'If we may for the purpose of analysis, as it were, extract man from the rest of the organic world and consider him as a separate entity, and part, then we may say that Man is Nature's rebel' (op. cit. p. 26). Such a conception of man, given, it should be noticed, from the purely scientific point of view, is an implicit recognition of the nature of the relations of theologians to be noticed, the theologian to consider man apart from nature, and to claim for him that unique place in the universe which the higher religions, and especially Christianity, demand. We need hardly hesitate, then, to agree with what Huxley wrote in 1863: 'I have endeavoured to show that no absolute structural line of demarcation, wider than that between the animals which immediately succeed us in the scale, can be drawn between the animal and ourselves; and I may add the expression of my belief that the attempt to draw a psychical distinction is equally futile, and that even the highest faculties of feeling and of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life' (Man's Place in Nature, ed. of 1894, p. 152).

(2) The relation of the body to the conception of personality obviously requires some re-statement in the light of the general acceptance of an evolutionary view of man. Hebrew thought in its earlier stages was, that 13; and this belief is not paralleled in the case of the body; even in the theology of the later Judaism the same idea survives in the characteristic insistence on the resurrection of the body as essential to life beyond death. Against this we find an emphasis on the immortality of the soul, which assigns to the body a quite subordinate part. The attitude of St. Paul differs from both: while
he conceives a body to be necessary to personality, he awaits deliverance from this present body in which sin and soul are intermingled, as a result of death, as the origin of a spiritual or 'pneumatic' body, more suited to regenerated human personality (1 Co 15:44, 2 Co 5:17). In the early Christian Church, we gain light on the relation of 'soul' and body from the various doctrines as to the origins of the soul (see Art. Soul), viz., pre-existence (Origen), traducianism (Tertullian), which taught that the soul was begotten with the body, and creationism, which may be regarded as the final normal doctrine, holding that each soul was created by God at birth with the body and all its attributes. Thus, traducianism, has clearly the most contact with the conceptions of modern biology (though its naive distinction of soul and body is no longer possible). The subsequent nature of the individual man, physical and psychical, is now known to be conditioned by the chromosones contributed by spermatozoon and ovum respectively in the process of fertilization. When we ask what this conditioning may imply, this genic problem, like the purely psychological one noted above, brings us face to face with an entire new era in the use of science, the fertilized ovum may contain; all we can say is that from this source, or through this channel, flows the whole life of man (see Art. Life). The subsequent emergence of self-consciousness in the infant, with all that that implies for the mental character of the individual, is a realm beyond the physical. This is the consideration with which we ought to approach the problem as it meets us in the outgoing of man's life. That his personality depends on the body for its present development and expression cannot carry with it any prejudice against the continuance of personality when the body has been resolved into its chemical elements—unless we have silently begged the whole question of the relation of mind and body. As James has urged so forcibly (Human Immortality, p. 24 f.), even though we say 'thought is a function of the brain,' it still remains open to us to maintain that the function is not productive, but permissive or transmissive; in other words, that consciousness finds an organ for its expression in the brain, and is limited rather than produced by it. Under the general condition of our connexion, it is attractive to follow St. Paul's line of thought, and to think of some other 'spiritual body, which may express more adequately man's personality in that life beyond death, which the highest of spiritual life here itself demands (see Art. Immortality).

(3) The conception of the human body in ethical thought and its treatment in practical morals have given rise to a third important group of problems. It is easy for a dualistic conception of man's nature to carry the philosophical opposition of spirit and matter, soul and body, into the ethical sphere; so we may trace the transition from the Platonic view of the body as the prison-house of the soul to Philo's conception of all matter as evil (cf. Pfeiderer, Philosophy of Religion, iv. 5) and to the well-known dualism of the Gnostics and the Manicheans. Such a view is brought home to the practical consciousness of men by the fact that the most intense moral conflicts, especially at the threshold of manhood, are often those between the natural passions of the body and the higher claims of reason and conscience. An evolutionary view of man would explain this conflict as part of the process of man's upward development from a purely animal life; but a dualistic philosophy also provides the true solution of the difficulty. As a practical consequence we have the principle of asceticism (q.v.), prominent in Oriental religions generally, especially in Buddhism, though not belonging to Judaism, and only in its extreme and late development to the Essenes and the Therapeutes. In certain forms of Greek philosophy, notably Pythagoreanism, and the later Neo-Platonism, asceticism was made the condition of deeper philosophic and religious meditation. In Christianity, its special development is connected with Monasticism (q.v.). For the general doctrinal view of the body in relation to evil, see BODY (Christian), 3 (a), and SIN.

In contrast with these applications of dualism, it may be urged that the scientific view of the body is not that. The dualism of the miscellanea: 'Our body is an integral part of our human personality' (Fillingworth, Christian Character, p. 146).

LITERATURE.—A NTHEOROLOGY: see list under article of that name, which should itself be consulted in regard to man's place in nature. PHYSIOLOGY (early history of): Turner, art. Anatomy, in Ebr's; Foster, History of Physiology (Cambridge, 1902). PSYCHOLOGY: the relation of mind and body is discussed in most of the general literature of the subject (see list under art. Psychology), but the following in particular may be named: Bain, Mind and Body (1873, London); Huey, Animal Automatism (1874, in Collected Essays, Eversley series, 1901, London); Le Conte, Evolution and Its Relation to Revelation, 5 vol. (Puddington, 1873, London); Munsterberg, Grundzüge der Psychologie (Leipzig, 1901); Royce, The World and the Individual, 5 vol. (New York and London); Baldwin, art. 'Mind and Body,' in Dict. of Philos., ed. rev., vol. iv. (St. Louis); Diet, Principles of Psychology, ch. ii. (Eng. tr. by Manscora, 1903, London); Ward, Naturalism and Agnosticism, 1 vol. (London); Stout, Manual of Psychology, 2 vol. (Eng. tr. by Manscora, 1903, New York and London); Stoughton, Manual of Psychology, 2 vol. (Eng. tr. by Manscora, 1903 New York and London); Calkins, The Perilous Problems of Philosophy (1867, New York and London).

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BODY (Buddhist).—The Buddhist attitude towards the body has been summed up as follows: (1) the body, whether of man or animal, can never be the abode of anything but evil; (2) final deliverance from all bodily life, present and to come, is the greatest of all blessings, the highest of all boons, and the most satisfying of all aims.

The body is regarded as an 'impure thing and foul.' It is likened to a wound, a sore; it lies to be borne about, but, because of its character, there must be no clinging to it. It is thus borne about for the sake of righteousness. The body is the old worn-out skin of a snake. It is a dressed-up lump, covered with several layers of sickness . . . the heap of corruption. All evil passions proceed from the body. There is no pain like the body; hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains. The weakness of the body is sometimes emphasized, it is a fragile, like a jar; in death, 'I will be gone from the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.'

It is 'disgust' (nibbāna) for the body that is the motive for puññatāya—but that, the 'going forth' from house life into religious life—and also for the layman to sit looses to the things of the world. Gautama was led to 'go forth' for this reason. He used to consider with himself the facts of age, disease, etc., until he determined to escape them. A later amplification of the same idea is the story of Gautama's driving through the town, of famine in the body. The emperor of Buddha sees the body only as it really is, and consequently goes to

1. Monier Williams, Buddhism, 1859.
2. Questions of King Milinda, bk. iii. ch. 6, §1 (SBE xxviii).
4. Dhammapada, ch. x. p. 147.1 (SBE x).
6. Dhammapada, ch. x. p. 262.1
7. Ib. ch. iii. p. 401.
8. Copleston, Buddhism, 1925, p. 133 et passim.
nirvana. The noble Yasas left his house because he saw the female musicians asleep—one would think it was a cemetery one had fallen into. Mental exercise of this description is frequently given as a specimen of right meditation. The idea of dying, of suffering, the idea of demons, etc., is to be kept before the mind when a good point of meditation occurs. Yet bodily deformity, physical infirmity, or a maimed limb disqualified for pabbajja ordination.

The idea of 'disgust' with the body is set forth in Gautama's 'burning' fire-sermon, delivered on a hill, Gayáśika, near Gayá.

Everything, O monks, is burning. The eye is burning; visible things that are visible are burning by contact with visible things is burning—burning with the fire of lust (desire), emnity, and delusion, with birth, death, grief, lamentation, anger, despair, and despair. The ear is burning; sounds are burning; the nose is burning, odours are burning; the tongue is burning, tastes are burning; the body is burning, objects of sense are burning. The mind is burning, thoughts are burning. All are burning with the fire of passions and lusts. Observing this, O monks, a wise and noble disciple becomes weary of (or disgusted with) the eye, weary of visible things, weary of the ear, weary of sounds, weary of odours, weary of tastes, weary of the body of the mind. Becoming weary, he frees himself from passions and lusts. When free he realizes that his object is accomplished, that he has lived a life of restraint and cleanliness, and is delivered from re-birth.

One of the difficulties in the way of right thinking, without which nirvana cannot be attained, is lack of training in the 'management of the body', which is with- held, deliberate, and in lack of training in conduct, or thought, or wisdom, causes the thinking powers to be brought into play with difficulty, or to act slowly. It is the 'eye of flesh' which prevents perfect insight, and only by its removal can the desired end be obtained.

The body is the sphere of suffering:

Now, this, O Skikaka, is the noble truth concerning suffering: birth with its attendant pain, disease with its attendant pain, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant, separation from the pleasant, and any craving that is unsatisfied is painful. It is also the body which is the origin of suffering. The 'noble truth' on this subject has been summed up by Professor Rhys Davids as 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of life, and the love of the present world.'

According to the teaching of Buddha, suffering, subjectively, is desire, in all its varied forms. But desire originates from passion.

Buddha said: "Passion and hatred have their origin from the attachment, the desire, the horror arise from this body, arising from this body, doubt as to the mind as boys vex a crow."

"These have been recognized as causes for name and form for him good, for him evil, for Brahman, for him there are no passions by which he might fall into the power of death."13

One of the suffering lies in embolishment, or matter, and consequently the human body is looked upon as a contemptible thing.14

Complete release from suffering is possible only by emancipation from body and matter. Therefore the 'elements of existence' (upadhi) must be destroyed:

Knowing the step (of the four truths), understanding the Dhamma, seeing clearly the abandonment of the passions, destroying all the elements of existence (upadhi): one can wander rightly in the world.12 The elements of existence (upadhi) are overcome by thee (Buddha). He who, being ignorant, creates upadhi, that fool again undergoes pain; therefore let not the wise man create upadhi, considering that this is the birth and death of pain.12 Metta is a delight, without these words of the great I; well expended, O Gautama, is (by thee) freedom from upadhi.12,14

Emancipation from bodily form is therefore the

1 Sutta Nipata, ii. 1093. 2 Vagga Sutta, s. 23 (SBE xii.).
3 Mahâkâvyan, i. 75 (SBE xiii. 105). 4 Ib. i. 31.
5 Sutta Nipata, 4. 18, 19 (SBE xii. 221.)
6 Mahâkâvyan, i. 74 (SBE xiii. 222.).
7 Ib. i. 26.
8 Mahâkâvyan, i. 74 (SBE xiii. 222.).
9 Ib. i. 46.
10 Dhhamma-Kaka-pparatatta-Sutta, S. 8 (SBE, vol. xii. 319.)
15 Ib. p. 1060.
16 Ib. p. 1231.
17 Ib. p. 1075.
18 Dhammapada, ch. x. 153 f.
19 Dhammapada, iv. 4, 18.
20 Dhammapada, i. 8.
21 J. xviii. 247; Sutta Nipata, pp. 244, 253.
22 Dhammapada, p. 206 (SBE xiii. 224.)
23 Sutta Nipata, pp. 238-251.
24 Questions of King Milinda, iv. 2.
25 Ib. i. 321.
26 Dhammapada, viii. 241.
27 J. ii. 21.
28 Questions of King Milinda, ii. 1.
29 J. xvi. 201.
30 Sutta Nipata, p. 302; Questions of King Milinda, iv. 3, 35.
31 Questions of King Milinda, iv. 4, 16.
32 Mahâkâvyan, i. 46 (SBE xiii. 220.).
just, etc. If this long category of sins against the body, and against others, characterizes the life, neither the flesh of fish, nor fasting, nor nakedness, nor torture, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough skins, nor the worshiping of fire, nor the many penances of the world, nor hymns, nor obligations, nor sacrifice, nor observance of seasons, purify a mortal who has not overcome desire.*

**Literature.—See the references in the notes.**

**J. H. BATESON.**

**BODY (Christian).**—1. The New Testament generally.—The New Testament ideas on the subject of the body are rooted firmly in the soil of Old Testament teaching (see Gn 2', Ps 63', Ezk 44' 4, Mt 25' 12; Christian). The body and soul are frequently thought of as a unit, as seen in Greek philosophy, between body and soul, matter and spirit, is far removed. As in the older Scriptures, the unity of the human personality is the fundamental feature in the conception of man. At the same time this unity is recognized as resting upon an underlying duality; man is conceived of as a complex being with a lower and a higher part, by one of which he is linked to the life of nature, and by the other to the Spirit of God.

In the Hebrew psychology 'flesh' (גוֹזֹן) was the prevailing notion concerning the body, 'spirit,' and 'soul' (נוֹשֵׂעַ) for his heavenly part, while 'soul' (נוֹשֵׂעַ) was the union of the two in the living creature (see esp. Gn 25). There was no proper Heb. term for 'body,' precisely because the Hebrews, with their psychological ideas of man's earthly life, used no single word to denote the bodily organism considered by itself. When we look to modern man we find a somewhat similar terminology, which has come in through familiarity with the LXX version, and is thus indirectly due to Greek influences. 'Body' (רָכֵב) and 'soul' (רוֹעֶשׁ) (םוֹרֵא) are nebulous terms that can hardly be distinguished, to express the whole inward or spiritual nature (e.g. Lk 1' 47; Ph 1' 21). The term 'body' (גוֹזֹן), again, has now come into general use, and is employed in connexions which make it practically synonymous with 'flesh' (גוֹזֹן) (cf. 1 Co 15' 58 with Col 2', 2 Co 4' 20 with 2', 2'. But, even so, body and soul, flesh and spirit are sharply antithetical terms in the sharply antithetic fashion of the Greek philosophical dualism. If the terms are used at all, the idea is still present that a soul ordinarily means an embodied soul, and a living body is always conceived of as an ensoled body. The emphasis within the idea of personality, it is true, has shifted more and more from the inner and spiritual side; existence, and even a blessed existence, is consistent with separation from the body.—St. Paul thinks of an absence from the body which is yet a presence with the Lord (2 Co 5'). But the old Hebrew view of the essentiality of the body to human nature in its completeness is asserted afresh in the doctrine of the resurrection, which had become familiar to later Jewish thought, and asserted now more emphatically than before through being confirmed from the present world of things seen and temporal into the unseen and eternal worlds of the coming age.

2. Christ and the Gospels.—When we descend to the living body of Christ, we find that there are two great lines of evidence which assert and confirm the importance for the NT doctrine of the body. The first comes from Christ and the Gospels. And here, as everywhere in the NT, the evidence points in two directions, one part of it serving to exalt more than heretofore the worth and dignity of man's physical nature, the other to show the subordination of that nature to the claims and uses of his spiritual being.

(1) In the first place, we find in the revelation of Christ's life and teaching a new and deepening exaltation of the body. (a) The fundamental fact here is found in the Incarnation itself, in the Word made flesh (Jn 1'), in the Son of God becoming the man Christ Jesus (Mt 1' 17 etc.). In the OT the soul is delimited as distinct from the body and spirit. In the NT the body is raised to a dignity surpassingly higher, by the habitation in it and incorporation with it of the very Word of life (1 Jn 1' 5).—(b) It will be seen that this exaltation is an historical truth. For this life without fault or stain, lived in the body, disposes at once and utterly of any idea that there is something essentially evil and degrading in the possession of a physical nature as such. It shows that body is not hostile to spirit, but that, on the contrary, the two may be joined together in a solidarity so true and harmonious as to become a perfect instrument for doing God's will upon earth. (c) Very significant, too, is the fact of Christ's joy in living, and His freedom from that ascetic temper which is nothing else than dualism in one form or another. He ate and drank, His practical life was one of eating and drinking, and was so far removed from a false spiritualism, with its one-sided otherworldliness, that His enemies even accused Him of sensuality (Mt 11'). He loved the scenes and shows of nature as they spread themselves before His eyes, and, so far from treating them, like some good men, as cunning traps for the unwary soul, saw in them tokens of God's presence and foretastes of the glories of the Kingdom of heaven (Mt 13'.)

(d) Parallel with this was His constant recognition in other men of the valued claims of the physical nature. He never sought to ignore or disparage what belongs to man's natural life; He came, as we read in the Fourth Gospel, not to kill or steal or destroy, but that we might have life, and have it in all its fulness. The works of healing, which formed so large an element in His public ministry, are the standing proof of this attitude of Jesus to the physical life of man. Here, too, must be considered—as contrasted with the Jews'—the conception of the mind of the Church—His vindication of marriage as forming a part of the Divinely appointed order of human society (Mt 16'); cf. Jn 20'); and further, as flowing from His approval of marriage and parenthood, His loving recognition of little children, and the place He assigned to them in the Kingdom of God (Mt 19' 10'.)—(d) The resurrection of Jesus Christ and His ascension to glory are the culminating proofs offered by the NT of the value and dignity of the human body. He not only rose with the one body, but, when He reappeared on the further side of death, resumed a life of physical conditions (Mt 28' etc.), and carried the human body with Him to the right hand of God (Lk 24', Ac 1'). For the Christian doctrine of the body this is the truth of highest significance—making the doctrine one that applies to both worlds—that, as on earth so also in heaven, as in His humiliation so also in His exaltation, Jesus Christ continues to live the life of the body as well as the life of the spirit. This exaltation of the body, the evidence which comes to us from Christ and the Gospels points always to (a) the subordination of the body to the soul. Although by word and deed, by the facts of His history and the very constitution of His Person, Christ asserted the worth of man's physical nature, it was a fundamental part of His teaching that what is highest in our personality must be sought in the inner nature, and that the body must be kept in a due subjection to the authority of the spirit. Fear (Mt 10'), which is 'a spirit of flattery,' but not able to kill the soul (Mt 10'); cf. Lk 12'). And in some of His most solemn utterances He taught that the outward world, which makes so strong an appeal to our physical senses, is worth nothing whatever in comparison with those spiritual interests and possessions on which our true life depends (Mt 16', Mk 8', Lk 12' 14'). He was no teacher of asceticism, as has been said, but He declared, nevertheless, that God's Kingdom and righteousness were the first things which the heavenly life seeks (Mt 6'), and that those who are engaged in this high quest may sometimes find it needful to pluck out the right eye or to cut off the right hand (5'14'). And whatever further meaning lies enfolded in His agony in Gethsemane and His death upon the cross, they were at all events an affirmation

*Sutta Nipata*, pp. 353-348.
for all time the truth that the life of the body must be freely yielded up whenever this becomes necessary in the service of Divine purposes, and that the spirit must be willing even though the flesh is weak (Mt 26:38).—(b) Again, the evidence points to the provisional character of the earthly body. Christ sanctioned marriage, as we have seen, and declared it to be an ordinance of God's appointment; but when the Sadducees endeavoured to discredit the doctrine of the resurrection of the body by pointing out a perplexing situation to which it might lead under the Jewish marriage law, He declared that, 'when they shall rise from the dead, they are not married nor given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven' (Mk 12:25). Clearly this was an announcement of a resurrection life very different from the present life in flesh and blood. It implies the possession of a body more spiritualized than the present one, and adapted to conditions far removed from those of our earthly life. And what was thus foreshadowed by Christ's words was ecularly proved to His disciples by His post-resurrection appearances. It was the same body they had hid in the tomb which now presented itself to the form which they had seen when the Lord of Christ had failed to recognize their Lord (Ac 1:24). And yet it was a different body—freed from the familiar earthly limitations and possessed of new and higher capacities and powers (Lk 24:13-48, Jn 20:26). The same body which, when as a creature of natural soul, had subdued it to its own uses, that the natural body of Jesus had become a spiritual body. The invisible world was now its proper home, and it was only when He chose to 'materialize' Himself (as a student of psychological research would say), to 'manifest Himself' (as the author of the Fourth Gospel expresses it, Jn 20:16-17), that His disciples were able to perceive Him by their natural senses. It was in this spiritual body that the risen Christ ascended to His Father. And it is this spiritual body of the risen and ascended Christ that becomes for His disciples the type of that glorious body which, in their case also, is to take the place of the present body of humiliation (Ph 3:21).

3. The Pauline anthropology.—The second great line of evidence comes from the Pauline anthropology. It is here that we find the great bulk of the direct NT teaching on which the Christian doctrine of the body is based. Now, in regard to St. Paul it has often been assumed that he was not so informed and influenced by Hellenistic influences, and that he sets up a hard dualism between matter and spirit, between body and soul (cf. Holtzmann, NT Theol. ii. 14 f.). But so far is this from being a correct statement of his position, that it might rather be affirmed that the Apostle is nowhere more closely in line with the OT psychology than in his teaching on this very subject. For him, too, as for the other writers of the NT, human nature is not an irreconcilable antithesis of matter and spirit, but a psychophysical unity. In which, however, the body, as the part that links man to nature, takes a lower position than the soul or spirit, by which he comes into relation with heaven and God. St. Paul's doctrine will become apparent if we consider his utterances on the relation of the body to sin, to death, to holiness, and to the future life.

(a) The body and sin.—It is at this point that the argument for a positive dualism in the Pauline teaching, due to Greek influences, appears most plausible. There can be no question that the Apostle often speaks of the body and its members, not only as instruments of sin, but as a seat and fortress of its power (e.g. Ro 6:19, 7:23)—a way of speaking, however, which is neither Greek nor dualistic, but has its roots in OT teaching, and is the direct result of an acute ethical experience. But it has been shown that St. Paul recognizes in the body the very source and principle of sin (Pfleiderer, Paulinismus, 53 f.). The argument depends on the interpretation given to the word 'flesh' (σάρξ) in those passages where the Apostle, speaking as a Christian, exalts beyond the limits of the use of the word (Ro 2:9, 2 Co 4:18), employs it in an ethical sense in contrast with 'spirit' (πνεῦμα). According to this argument, σάρξ in such cases simply denotes the physical or sensuous part of man, in which St. Paul finds a substance utterly antagonistic to the life of the spirit, and one whose working makes sin inevitable. But the objections to this view are overwhelming. When St. Paul in Gal 5:24 gives a category of the 'works of the flesh,' the majority of the sins he enumerates—for instance, idolatry, hatred, heresies, envyings—are spiritual, not physical or animal, in their nature. When he charges the Corinthians with being 'carnal' (ἀρσενικὸς, 1 Co 3), it is not sensuality that he is condemning, but 'jealousy and strife.' His doctrine with regard to the sanctification of his readers teaches that the Holy Spirit (6:13-18), would have been impossible if he had regarded the principle of sin as lying in man's corporeal nature; and equally impossible his belief in the absolute sinlessness (2 Co 5:21) of the person who once was a sinner. Even his death could not be recognized, had he given so high and constant a place in his doctrine of the future life, to the hope of the resurrection, if he had conceived of the body as the fons et origo of evil in man. He would rather have been driven to long for its utter dissolution, and to centre his hopes for the eternal future in a bare doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

The Pauline antithesis of flesh and spirit, then, cannot be interpreted as amounting to a dualistic opposition between man's body and his soul, his material and his immaterial elements. Here, as everywhere else in Scripture, the real antithesis is between the earthly and the heavenly, the natural and the supernatural. The Apostle uses 'flesh' to denote man's sinful nature generally; and his reason for doing so doubtless lies in the fact that by the law of ordinary generation it is through his flesh that the individual is linked on to the life of a fallen and sinful race, and so comes to inherit a corrupt nature. St. Paul's teaching at this point is, in line with the indications of the OT, that which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit (cf. Laidlaw, Bible Doctrine of Men, 119). St. Paul's 'carnal' man is the same as his 'natural' man who received not the things of the Spirit of God, and is thus distinguished from the 'spiritual' man in whom a supernatural and Divine principle has begun to operate (1 Co 2:14; cf. 3:1-3).

But while St. Paul does not find in the body the very principle of sin, he does regard it as in a special sense the seat of evil. When he speaks of the old man being crucified with Christ that 'the body of sin' might be done away (Ro 6:6), when he longs for deliverance from the 'body of death' (7:24), when he refers to 'the law in our members' which wages against the law of our mind (v. 23), it seems evident that he recognizes an abnormal development of the sensuous in fallen man, and regards sin as having in a special manner entrenched itself in the body, which becomes liable to death on this very account (Ro 6:15, 17), and throughout man's earthly life is a constant source of weakness and liability to fall. Hence his determination to buffet his body and bring it into subjection (1 Co 9:27); his summons to Christ's people to mortify the deeds of the body (Ro 8:13; cf. Col
his appeal to them not to allow sin to reign in their mortal bodies, but to present their members as instruments of righteousness unto God (Ro 6:12).

(b) The body and death.—It is in accordance with the dualistic conceptions of the relation of the body to the spirit, and with the dualistic view of the soul, to consider the body as the instrument of death. Even as the soul is dead, the body is dead. In its essence, the body is spiritual, and its essential nature, under its resurrection, is spiritual; but in its present condition it is earthly, and has the marks of the earthly, and is, therefore, earthly and mortal. Yet that earthly and mortal body of Christ, in his spiritual nature, undergoes a process of sanctification, as by day day there pass—Through all this fleshly dress Bright shoots of everlastingness.

And yet this exalted view of the communion and fellowship of the body in the spiritual life of man, and its sensitivity to the power of the Spirit, did not blind the Apostle to the fact, taught him by his own ethical experience, that in the fallen nature even of a Christian man the body is weak and tainted, and ready to become the instrument of temptation and an occasion of stumbling. In this temple of the Holy Ghost there are dark corners where evil spirits linger, and from which they can never be utterly expelled until in death the wages of sin have been paid. If ever there was a spiritually-minded man, St. Paul was one, but even he was deeply conscious of the infirmity of the flesh (Ro 7), and felt the need of subduing his own body, lest, after all, he should become a castaway (1 Co 9:7). And so, side by side with the truth that the body is a Divine sanctuary, he sets forth in his doctrine of holiness the demand that sin should not be allowed to reign in our mortal bodies that we should obey it in the lusts thereof (Ro 6).

(d) The body and the future life.—Here, again, two lines of thought emerge in St. Paul’s teaching—an overwrought sense, on the one hand, of the worth of the body for the human personality; and, on the other, a clear recognition of its present limitations and unfitness in its earthly form to be a perfect spiritual organ. The proof of the first is seen in his faith in the resurrection of the body. The Pneumatistic Judaism in which he was brought up had come to hold the hope of the resurrection of the dead (Ac 23:26), but that was a dim and palpitating hope compared with the living and shining assurance which Jesus Christ had begotten in his heart. To him the present condition of the resurrection of Christ was a fact of the most absolute certainty (Ro 1:4; 1 Co 15:23). And that fact carried with it the knowledge that the dead are raised (v.25). When he writes of Immortality (1 Co 15:51), he does not mean, like Plato, the immortality of the soul (Phaedo, liv. II.), but the immortality of the whole man. He believed, no doubt, that the soul, as the centre of the personality, could survive the shock of separation from the body (2 Co 5:9). But he thought of it in existing in a condition of deprivation and incompleteness, for which he uses the figure of being ‘unclouded’; and he does not regard it as attaining to the fulness of the life and blessedness of the future world until its ‘nakedness’ has been ‘clothed upon’ (v.28). But, while he believed in the resurrection of the body, St. Paul did not believe in the resurrection of the present body of flesh and blood (1 Co 15:50). He looked for a body in which corruption had given place to incorruption (v.44), in which weakness had been succeeded by power (v.51), in which what is mortal had been swallowed up of life (2 Co 5), and humiliation had been changed into glory (Ph 3:21). He was fully alive to the disabilities which the spirit has to suffer from its union with a body that is weak, earthly, and perishable, and his doctrine of the resurrection includes the assurance that when the dead in Christ are raised—of the physical resurrection of others he has little to tell us—it will not be in the old bodies of their earthly experience, but in new ones adapted to a heavenly condition of existence (1 Co 15:35-50), bodies that are no longer psychical merely, i.e. moving on the lines of man’s natural experience in the world, but pneumatic (v.44), because redeemed from every taint of evil and fitted to be the perfect organs of a spiritual and holy life.

4. The Christian doctrine of the body.—Taking
BODY (Egyptian).—i. Man.—1. What we understand by ‘body’ was to the Egyptians simply the last and heaviest of the material coverings which together form a human being. The flesh, *awf* ('flesh' in the sense of the sum of the physical elements) that compose the body is neither of a different nature nor of a different texture from the other elements contained within and completing the person. All the elements possessed weight and were perceptible, though in varying degrees. If on earth we were not all visible or palpable, that was simply a circumstantial detail and not due to any essential difference. Magic often enabled men to see and handle these elements.

LITERATURE.—Relevant sections in Laidlaw, Bible Doct. of Man, 1879; Delitzsch, Biblical Psychology (Eng. tr. 1887); and the NT Theology of Holtzmann, Weiss, and Reyholz. See further, Dickson, Flesh and Spirit, 1833; Müller, Christian Doct. of Sin (Eng. tr. 1877); i. 355-358; O. Christian View of God and the World, 1883, 160 f., 225 f.; H. W. Robinson, 'Heb. Psychology in relation to Pauline Anthropology,' in Manifold College Essays, 1889, 43; Weiss, Teaching of Jesus (Eng. tr.) i. 156; Paget, 'Sacraments' in Luz Wundt, and Spirit of Disciplines, 1891, 50 f.

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The ka, or ‘double,’ for example, was only a second body enclosed within the jibt, lighter, more subtle or more airy, but composed, piece by piece, of the same elements as the body proper. The texts that refer to the future life (see DEATH, etc. [Egyptian]) prove conclusively that the ka in the other world was constituted, in every detail, like the body of flesh which it had occupied on earth.

The habit, or ‘shadow,’ was also only a third kind of body, still more airy, still more subtle, yet of the very same structure as the first two elements of the body.

The khru, or ‘ghost,’ long misled Egyptianologists, through their relying upon hymns or over-refining texts of the Theban period. Books of pure magic or of funeral magic show us that the khru was originally only a kind of body, still more agile perhaps than the other three, and practically similar to the body attributed to jian and fairies in the wonderful literature of the Arabs, or to the body that the modern Bantus suppose to exist in their own society.

The list is not exhausted by these four names: the primitive Egyptians, like a number of modern uncivilized peoples, had a very complicated idea of the human body. A striving after simplicity came only as the slow result of very long periods of effort. What we have got are the clear impressions of the notions cherished by the Egyptians is still, in spite of the antiquity of the texts concerned, far removed from the starting-point. Glimpses of the primitive notions are caught and they have been re-constructed, but there is no direct contact with them. By the time of the historical period several of the multiple bodies composing a single being had been eliminated by speculation or by experience; and it is hard to conjecture, for example, what the shku can have been. It is to save from the theology of the Chaldeans (and with it several Egyptianists of our day) thinks to find in it a designation of the ‘spiritual body,’ opposed in eschatology to the double, the shadow, or the soul. There are also very distinct traces in the ancient texts of an earlier time when the other and the shadow were two of the bodies of the living man. But as yet we do not know clearly what was their exact nature.

The conjunction of all these bodies made a human being. What we call death was only the sudden removal of them, and was an event which, as among primitive peoples, to some violent censure, arising from the personal act of an evil being (see art. DEATH). What kept all these bodies together in a unity during life was something more subtle, lighter, more active than any of them, something which constituted, at least approximately, the personality or the self. There is no race that has not tried to penetrate more or less into the definition of the latter; and there is no inquiry that has given rise, in primitive religions, to speculations so gratuitous, so indirect, as the conception of the self. As for the Egyptian, he thought to find its nature and power in what he called the ren, which we translate so unsatisfactorily by the word ‘name.’ The ‘name’—we must be content to use this very ambiguous equivalent—is a quite different thing from the body, since the whole series given above is only, as has been said, a sort of ‘gamut’ of increasingly fluid bodies.

The nature of the ‘name’ in itself is too important to receive due treatment here incidentally. The theory of the name ‘cardinal to the mental basis of more than half of the religious ideas of Egypt. It will be discussed fully under art. NAMES [Egyptian]. Here we shall merely say as much regarding it as is necessary in order to understand the Egyptian ‘body.’

As far at least as we can gather, ‘names’ were originally what we may call ‘kernels’ of energy, vibratory, perhaps luminous (of course, material), distinct from and incapable of dissolving into the body itself. They has its own peculiar vitality, in the midst of the great chaotic mass of primordial things. The solar theology, such as that of Heliopolis, revised and corrected the ideas, gave the name the importance of the ‘stems’ and ‘dermure’ of the plant, as originally emanations, vital waves proceeding from the rising sun. These entities, distinct and irreducible, then ‘clothed’ themselves, in or out of doors, in more or less weighty coverings, which are these bodies of which we have spoken, the hard or the soft material of the latter being what we moderns mean by the ‘body.’ How was this ‘clothing’ brought about? Was it by a kind of solidification of the cosmic ‘ether,’ which, being incomprehensible, were supposed to remove a part of the physiological life round the ‘names’? If Egypt seems to have had a confused idea of some answer of this kind, she naturally could not find it only half hidden, in the smoke and lanccum, like so many strange systems of primitive or uncivilized peoples in other parts of the world. The historical period tried to introduce some appearance of a living world. It got hold of the early legends about the world of the lucifer, the world of stone, or of other substances; and the whole together had constituted the creation. Thus revised by theology, the nature of the solar ’sphires’ seemed to transform them into barbarous; on closer examination, the ren, or ‘name,’ was something like a theos, or a genealogical tree, with their special characteristics—and particularly ‘numbers,’ which the voice can reproduce if there is ‘attunement.’ One cannot help remarking that, many centuries after, the Gorgon made ‘numbers’ the basis of his system, and it is only reasonable to wonder what part ancient Egypt played in this.

The theology of the Khnum is that all creation is organized by the ‘names,’ the world of bodies and beings thus set in progress continued and reproduced itself by its own activity. This fits too indubitably with the fact that this is due mainly to the fact that nine-tenths of the Egyptian religious writings, do not possess to-day a meaning, at least, of the other world. The information we get from such texts is enough, however, to let us see that the vital principle of the body, this ren, which is equivalent of the individual personality, pre-existed before the body and its physiological elaboration by the parents of the new being. We do not know very well where it came from, according to the idea of the Egyptians, or what it was before the existence of a body for it to inhabit. But the ren usually arrived on an understanding, by studying the birth-ceremonies (or the ceremonies of the action of kings, which give them a new soul), and we got a glimpse of the combination, or vital share of the elements in which it apparently arose. Horoscopes, or the supposed relations between the condition of the world at the birth of an individual and his ‘name’ have been determined to determine the possession of the name conferred on a newborn child according to the natural phenomena in evidence at his appearance; the anxiety to choose a name: these groups of ideas are the reflection (they make his ‘self,’ with divine persons, with ‘names’ of gods—these things are only means) to re-construct Egypt to our minds, as it was thought as a whole, at least to imagine almost exactly what it was. At the birth of a child the Egyptian sought by every means to discover which group of gods, which deities permitted it to exist, and what the influence which belonged which had just formed the person of the new being. He aimed at reproducing with his voice its vibrations and its conformation, the signs which given by this to the higher beings whose protection must be obtained or whose destiny may suffer interference.

And as the Egyptian tried to do this for his own children, so he also tried to get to know the ‘names’ of the gods of or of formidable beings. The hermetic books or the books connected with the treatment of the dead, taught these names; and those who knew them exercised indubitable power over those who bore them (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]).

The ‘name’ and the series of ‘bodies’ (the body of flesh, the double, the shadow, the ghost, and the shku) together constituted a complete being. These were the only ones to which the Masonic system referred. As yet there was only a being capable of living, only the possibility of life. In these religious systems, what we shall call, for want of a better name, the ‘exercise of life’ does not result from the ‘existence of the body’ or the ‘power of the soul’ or what takes its place. It is the product of forces peculiar to the being to be animated, and it is enough if the being that these powers are going to animate is completely fitted to receive them. This is shown very clearly, momentarily, according to some Masonic books, by the body, the life of which is covered by the hand of man, which are nevertheless treated in Egyptian religion precisely like real bodies. The most ancient rituals show us that it was usual to perform a series of magical operations to enable the eyes of a statue to see, its ears to
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hear, its nose to breathe, its mouth to eat, and the other organs to fulfil their functions. And if to the development of these, we add the traces—though certain traces—of many of these old rituals, it has at least kept intact the long ceremonial of 'the opening of the mouth' (neppt-ro). We need not study these rituals here, since they dealt only with artificial bodies created by religion for the service of its gods, its kings, or its dead, or with bodies made by the magicians for the service of their 'magic spells': dolls or images of men and animals in wax, wood, earth, etc., made into 'living bodies' by the sorcerers, the thummaturgists, the scribes, the artists (hâti, and Turam Papyri). But the way in which the Egyptians conceived the necessity of enabling a statue to use its organs, after making a soul enter into it, is nevertheless a proof of what it is of interest to keep in mind for our present study, viz., that the union of the animist principle, ran, with its coverings was not enough to initiate life.

Life itself (sa^nkhu) was the result of the entrance into the body of those vital breaths which exist in all Nature, and which the air carries and the breeze distributes. These breaths enter by the nostrils, not by the mouth. Like the majority of African races at the present day, the Egyptians breathed through the nose; and in their language the breath of the nostrils was synonymous with life. They looked on them living, the nose and never to the lips, that the gods or kings in iconography hang the chains or bundles of 'handled crosses,' which are intended to signify, by a play of pictorial words, the breaths of life. Thus they penetrated within the coverings which constitute the body. It was supposed that there mixed with the blood, in the form of a kind of gas or bubbles, and circulated by the blood-vessels through the whole human system. Under their beneficial influence, the 'vessels swelled up and worked regularly.' Life accordingly served to maintain the conjunction of the various bodies adjusted within each other and the 'name.' It was, therefore, as necessary to the 'name' as to the series of bodies.

We usually translate the Egyptian phrase sa^nkhu ran by 'give life to the name of.' The translation is somewhat poetical and seems to be connected with ideas familiar to us, but it is one of those mistranslations. The word is 'self' breathe the breaths,' and this leads us to conceptions far removed from ours.

2. Once we leave the medical point of view, Egypt has preserved very few details as to her ideas of the body during its existence on earth. For although we have from the point of view of medicine a veritable superfluity of documents (we need only note among others the Berlin, Ebers, and Amherst Papyri, and those found by Petrie in the Fayyûm), the other Egyptian writings have little to do with the living body. All the moral and religious literature is exclusively occupied with what happens to the body at its physical death, with whatever has a bearing on bodily functions. More popular than the treatises or the writings of pure magic remain as a relative source of information on the subject.

It could hardly be otherwise with a religious civilization which evolved the above-mentioned conception of life and of individuals. Ideas composed in the way described cannot, either in rituals or in treatises, be brought into connexion with subjects that bear on ethics, morals, or the respective values or opposition of the soul and the body. There is, like asceticism, for example, or systems of the type of metempsychosis, avoiding by their very definition the Egyptian thought of the classical period. Hence the information as to the living body that we derive from the monuments and the religious texts of Egypt will be confined to specifications as to how the body may be affected by disease or cured (and this belongs to the domain of healing already traced)—it is to be adorned, clothed, or tattooed (and this is almost exclusively a matter of archeology); or incidentally we shall find detailed information about such and such a part of the body, and about such and such particular organs. Thus, in connexion with a special literary episode or magical operation, the texts tell us in passing what the Egyptian ideas were in regard to the various specified organs of the body; and these are the only ones of fundamentals that are of any interest in our present study.

We need not attempt to give a full account here. Certain elements of the body are scarcely mentioned by the Egyptians outside of medical treatises. In the latter, on the other hand, we find long lists of 'the twenty-two vessels of the head,' the two vessels of the breast,' etc. As regards the rest of the writings, when it is said of the heart (hâti, lit. 'the beater') that it is opposed in the economy to the liver (na^s/hu,it, lit. 'the motionless'), the entire source of life to the eyes there is a great deal more that we know of others, or organs of other bodies. Thus, the eyes have a special magical power; they fascinate and overpower by the fluid they dart forth; they repel harm or evil spirits if they fix on them living. In the nose, too, the nostrils increase their keenness exceedingly—even to the extent of enabling its favoured ones to see what the eyes of mortals do not in ordinary circumstances distinguish: invisible spirits, characters written inside a sealed roll, and innumerable other things. The mouth is an ever possible entrance for demons, phantoms, and spirits, who are always prowling round people and trying to get into their bodies. The magic or cognate writings carefully note this constant danger, and it is undoubtedly one of the strongest reasons that led the Egyptian to breathe by the nose. It is well known that, amongst many uncivilized peoples, kings and chiefs have a great aversion to being seen during meals. A long time ago the true explanation was offered—an explanation based on primitive ideas, namely, that the dread least spirits and malignant influences might enter by the mouth. It is very probable that the Egyptians shared this fear; and if conjecture is right, although it cannot be proved formally for the kings, the idea is clearly one of the anxious superstitions that the meal served almost secretly in the interior of the naos to the living bodies which are the statues of the gods.

Other parts of the system are the seats of more distinct manifestations or principles. The integrity and healthy state of the bones are apparently one of the conditions essential to the harmonious working of the vital functions. The Egyptians seem to have had a strange idea that the disorganization of the system attacked by illness or death began in the bones. It is a popular notion, which constituted somehow or other a vital reserve of special force. But this special point has received little attention as yet, and what has just been said is suggested with the greatest reserve, pending more minute study of the ancient religious texts.

We are a little more certain, on the other hand, of the Egyptian idea that the top of the vertebrae column was the precise point at which certain magic fluids or certain energies could penetrate into the body. The bestowal of the vital or healing fluid (sw) by the gods or their representatives, laying their hands on this point of the neck, is a scene reproduced in thousands of examples in the Egyptian monuments; it is enough to mention it here. The inside of the skull is the chief habitat
of that sort of agile principle which the Egyptian calls \( \text{ba} \), and which is represented sometimes in the form of a leaping or a wading-bird, sometimes in the likeness of a bird with a human head; it was thought sometimes to show itself in the form of a bee. We translate it by 'soul' (q.v.); but that is only a rough approximation, given only because it is necessary to have a word to represent it. \( \text{ba} \) is neither one of man's bodies nor a kind of radio-active substance like the \( \text{ra} \): we can hardly compare it to anything but those little genii or 'spirits,' sometimes one, sometimes several, that so many savage peoples locate in the nape of the neck and in the brain, and which are believed also—and the texts have preserved the trace of it—that a man had several \( \text{ba} \) (plur. \( \text{bis} \)) as he had several \( \text{ka} \). At the historical period, this complicated privilege was reserved for the gods and their heirs. This 'soul,' moreover, was so material that dead gods could sometimes catch it and feed upon it.

All this is only approximate translation, and necessarily so, when we attempt to reproduce in our precise modern terminological material distinction and appearance in the text, and yet have to use the same word for it and for the \( \text{ba} \) soul. It is an obscure soul, connected specially with all the manifestations of feeling and passions—impulsive, the generator of movements and of good or bad action. What is certain is that it is a soul with its own peculiar existence and activity. Originally, at least, it existed on its own account—until the time when the progress of Egyptian thought and its striving after psychological unity made the souls of the individual connected to the terrestrial \( \text{ba} \) (for more detail, see art. \( \text{Heart} \)). If the Egyptians had precise ideas on its origin, it would appear that the soul of the \( \text{ab} \) was believed to come from the vital substance of the mother (cf. \textit{Book of the Dead}, ch. xxxvi.). The ancient texts published at the present day do not enable us to give us an exact appreciation of the ideas attached to the \( \text{jesu} \) (vertebrae?), the \( \text{bekas} \) (kidneys?), and the \( \text{samun sou} \) (vessels?). We can only guess that some vital reserve force was located in these parts. It was chiefly conceived under the form of powers, 'knowledge of magic names,' and other sensitive or mental manifestations, as material emanations and, to a certain extent, as a kind of special soul. The rest of the individual is not marked by anything of special interest. The sufferings attaching to the hair, the ears, the teeth, the hands and feet, are only details, and do not bear so much upon the fundamental magic of the religious ideas as upon popular superstition, the contents of which are dissolved and re-fashioned at all periods. We should note only the continual care to protect the various parts of the body, as with magic armour, against the possible attacks of evil spirits: hence the customs relating to amulets, the use of perfume, the whole system of perfumes. The body is also connected, in the period of civilization, with the taste for physical adornment, and give rise to the greater part of jewellery (necklaces, bracelets, rings, etc.) and perfumery (ointments, paints, unguents, etc.).

Circumcision is connected with this group of ruling ideas, but it will be treated in a special article because of its importance (see art. \textit{Circumcision}).

To complete our survey of ideas of the human body, we note the following: (a) The link between the various material bodies may be temporarily broken during the earthly life, under the influence of certain forces voluntarily employed or involuntarily submitted to by man. A magician, for example, can by means of set formulas send his 'ghost' or his 'double' far away to perform some deed or other. Or it may happen to an ordinary mortal—usually during his sleep—that his 'double' leaves his body and wandering in some other place, in the form of a body of flesh and bones more or less visible and tangible. As among all peoples, dreams and apparitions are the pseudo-experimental proofs of these ideas, and the Egyptian notions about sleep, lethargy, and syncope differ very little from those found almost universally.

(b) During the whole of its terrestrial life the body is subject to whatever astral or natural influences prevailed on the day when it made its appearance. The whole body, with all the influences to which the \( \text{name} \) is submitted, and of which we have spoken. The calendar, the horoscopes, the thousand particulars noticed at the moment of birth, may serve to determine this influence and, to a certain extent, may make it possible to prophesy the fate of a child (cf. \textit{Sallier Papyrus}). The study of them determines what precautions must be taken when the conjuration of evil influences proper to such and such a body shows itself anew.

(c) Both during the terrestrial life of the body of flesh and after it, the fragments taken from its substance, its perspiration or its excretions, retain to a certain degree the force of the vital fluid of the whole individual. In Egypt, therefore, as in so many nations, we find those beliefs in the virtues of nail-parrings, hair- or beard-clippings, and of the cloth soaked in the perspiration of some individual, which played such an important part in magic and necromancy. The fluid emanation of the living body may even communicate something of the life and the powers of the individual to the clothing he has worn, and especially to ornaments, arms or badges that he has had in his hands. This idea, which can be found among several African peoples, appears even more clearly in regard to objects connected with the king's attire. He is supposed to give them a sort of 'crown,' e.g., to the power given by the king of Dahomey to his cane or sceptre.

3. A last remark is necessary in connexion with these characteristics of the body among the ancient Egyptians. When investigating the idea cherished by any one of the non-civilized races as to the body, we are able to determine its characteristics accurately enough, because we have under our eyes a population in most cases restricted in number or area, and belonging, as a rule, well at the very time when we are examining it. But we must not forget that, in the case of Egypt, we are dealing with a civilization which has, in time and space, had several different religions, each with its own evolution. These ideas of the body are distributed throughout a historically ascertained series of thirty-eight centuries, having behind it, according to the traditional texts, a pre-historic mass of documents impossible to evaluate, but certainly the product of a considerable number of centuries. Further, these ideas are not for any one period been the same in the whole of Egypt. The Helopolitans did not form the same conception of the body as the Thelban, the Hermopolitan, or the Mendesian. Consequently it is not the absolute
theory of the Egyptian ideas on the body that is given in this article. It is rather a general view, in which it is possible to shade off or accentuate different parts of the question according to the particular ideas concerning the body of an Egyptian of the Ptolemaic period, a Saiite, a Thelban, a Menaphite, a Thinite, or a man of the pre-Thinite period of some province in the Nile valley. But if we desire to gather from the whole the essential physiognomy, and to look for the distinctive characteristics of the primary notions, we shall come very near an exact expression of the early Egyptian ideas on the body if we say that it is a confused conglomeration of substances similar in nature, but of different qualities, of which the ancient Egyptian had a full knowledge, but was in fact continually united by the 'name'. The whole is set in motion by a multiplicity of 'spirits,' with no fixed mutual cohesion, and originally peculiar to a certain part or physical manifestation of the individual. Upon the whole, it is a body very similar to what is revealed to us by scientific inquiry (if not alike in every point, at least identical in the main) among the least civilized peoples of our times, such as some specimens of the non-Aryans of India, the Batikats, the Caribs, the most落后 of them all of a certain.

ii. Animate creatures or inanimate objects.—It would appear that, in a general way, without entering into exact detail, the rest of the bodies in the sensible world were considered as having the same nature as the Egyptian birds and in general as philosophical this applies not only to animals, but also to vegetables, and even to such things as a stone, a rock, an expanse of water, or any object made by man. The religious, magic, and popular literatures present sure examples with reference to the 'double' or the 'name' of a tree, a pillar, or a staff—to mention only these cases. The only restriction that must be noted is that, since it was dealing with objects of less interest than men, theological speculation took less trouble to describe their nature accurately, and to reconcile the contradictory data of their origin. One thing is certain, viz. that there was no essential difference in the structure of all things in the material world—from the inanimate object to man. All are, a priori, of the same organization, down almost to the degrees of their qualities.

iii. Gods.—1. In a country like Egypt this same unity naturally applies to divine beings. In fact, there is no dogmatic definition marking off the deity. The gods originate, not owing to the possession of the 'double' or the 'name' of a tree, a pillar, or a staff—to mention only these cases. The only restriction that must be noted is that, since it was dealing with objects of less interest than men, theological speculation took less trouble to describe their nature accurately, and to reconcile the contradictory data of their origin. One thing is certain, viz. that there was no essential difference in the structure of all things in the material world—from the inanimate object to man. All are, a priori, of the same organization, down almost to the degrees of their qualities.

2. There remains, however, a problem ill solved, or, rather, ill stated. The human being necessarily possesses only one body of flesh—one single combination of substances. But we say that each Egyptian god possessed several bodies simultaneously, each one of them animated by some of his 'souls,' and by a part, or rather an emanation, of his 'name.' On the other hand, other texts or pictorial representations seem to imply that the divine beings possessed only one body of flesh, but this is an important matter, touching as it does upon questions like the original formation of the gods and totemism.

Historical examination of the religions of Egypt fails to discover any indication that the personality of such and such a god was originally distributed among several bodies. Still less was it distributed throughout the entire species of some animal or vegetable under the characteristics of which this god was represented. On the other hand, it follows from the initial data as to the nature of beings, that the possession of several bodies animated by one and the same 'self' is not at all impossible. The 'name' (q.v.), while still remaining one and entire in each specimen of a being, may locate itself in several bodies, and in each of them may be one of the momentary subjective 'aspects' of one and the same entity. This is confirmed, in the religious monuments of Egypt, by the various epithets added to the principal name of the god. Each one expresses the particular, the refined, or the popular nature of a distinct body belonging to one and the same god.

Stated in this way, the question becomes above all a question of fact, to which it is not possible to
give one single reply, because the Egyptians themselves have given more than one. We must make distinctions according to the importance of each god, and according to the period in view. Thus the humblest and most ancient gods, restricted to a circularly understood cult, with each the very divine and limited act, have no need of more than one body. Such deities as Sekhmet the Scorpion and Marit-Soghrnu the Serpent, so far as we know, had only one body. On the other hand, when similar attributes fused two or more deities originally geographically independent, the single god, the new deity thus formed kept as many bodies as it had formerly for the separate gods of whom it was composed. A tree-goddess like Nut, for example, had as many bodies as there had been tree-goddesses with the same character and same rôle, before the one single Nut developed.

More important gods originally incarnated in separate persons led to the formation of a deity single in "name," but necessarily provided with several bodies. Thus Thoth, at once monkey and ibis, was able to live in several bodies. A fortiori, the gods with important national functions or with a cosmogonic rôle, being the product of syncretism, and being the combination of a great number of original gods, animated a sometimes very considerable number of bodies at the same time. An Ammit, for example, was sometimes shown to the attributes of the demiurge sun Minu, the hawk Harmakhis of Heliopolis, the ram and the gander of Thebes, could not but live a complete unity in each of these varieties of material body.

The series extends then, by previous definition, from the simple single body to the multiplicity that has no limitations. But it is a historical fact, and not the outcome of any religious theory. As a rule, there was at first only one body for every divine "name." Then the attributes ascribed to certain beings were added, and the more especially divine grew in importance and brought about fusions. In cases where by elimination (or subordination of the secondary characteristics of the beings originally distinct) the new god completely annihilated the personality of those whom he absorbed, he continued to have only one body (e.g. Milti Orit). Where, on the other hand, it was impossible to fuse the characteristics of the original gods into a perfect amalgamation (as in the case of Hathor), the composite deity retained all the attributes. Thus the god, in the world of dreams, could pass out of one body into another.

To enumerate all the possible combinations, it would be necessary to re-construct the whole history of Egyptian mythology. All that it is possible or necessary to explain here is the mechanism: we need not go into all its practical applications.

There is a sort of counter-evidence that the above is the case, and that the possession of a plurality of bodies by the god is only a result of fact, and does not mark a superiority of nature and supernaturality. It belongs to the series of ideal gods imagined by theology. When the latter created deities by systematic deduction or by personification of functions—deities conceived in human form, like Maat or, later, Inhotep—it gave them only one body. Created in a homogenous manner, they do not require other bodies, no matter how complex or lofty their attributes. The cult of Aten at Amarna and that of Hiqtu the Nile-god, with apparent divergencies chiefly of a literary kind, belong to this scheme of conception.

In conclusion, the case of the divine animals worshipped in the temples does not conflict with the above view. On the contrary, it indirectly confirms it. It is known that the "sacred" animals, which, by the way, are a relatively late introduction into Egypt, are not the bodies of the gods, but beings sharing by simple veneration the regard due to the gods. The animal-god worshipped in the sanctuary (e.g. Apis, Mnevis, Knumu of Elephantine, Sukhos [Crocodile] of Ombos, the Ram of Mendes) is the only copy, the only true body of the local god or, as the case may be, of the group of same deities.

This does not mean that the Egyptians thought they had in the sanctuary the one and only body of the god, but that they had the one and only duplicatum of it. In fact, the world was supposed to be divided into two great halves, symmetrical in the body, each of the great national gods (we need not take the trouble to reconcile so many contradictory data for the lesser gods) had his kingdom in the other world, and in this world possessed a part of Egypt that corresponded to that kingdom. His body dwelt in the other world; but his "name" animated an exact replica of this body in this human world—a permissible temporary representation, which is the divine animal worshipped in the sanctuary. To the divine cow of Denderah, to the ram of Elephantine, the Attic horse of Elephinte, corresponded in the kingdom of the other world a cow, a ram, and a hawk really alive, really divine, with bodies fashioned alike, perhaps gigantic, though Egypt has given no precise information on this point. One thing is certain, viz., that they sometimes lived beside their golden or stone image. As to the exact sojourn of the one body of the gods in the other world, it should be said that here again there has been a succession of beliefs.

The most ancient of them show us the gods living separate, one body in the other world, and the fashion of the world of men, sometimes in the celestial world. The assimilation of earlier and later beliefs in homogeneous groups has gone far in developing the multiplicity of bodies belonging to one and the same god; and the solar theories of Heliopolis, with the course of Ra in his bark, have given far greater importance to the stellar bodies of the divine beings.

LITERATURE.—If we exclude what belongs to medicine, ephemerology, and the disposal of the dead, the data as to the Egyptian god are scattered all over the field of Egyptianology. The existing body never having been the object of a special monograph, only a few parts of it have been studied separately, but without synthesis. We may mention specially: Amelineau, Professesions, L'etude de la religion egyptienne, Paris, 1895, viii, 40 f.; Birch, The Hawk God of Egypt, or Shen Knumu, Egypt, 1893; Budge, Gods of the Egyptians, London, 1904; Le Page Renan, *On the True Semites,* in the *BSA* for 1882; and Le Page Renan, *L'Egypte c'tr. la Turquie* (Revue d'histoire de l'oeuvre, viii, 1893, 101, 115, 145, 212, 215, 217 (where there are notes giving the principal references); also the first two volumes of his *Etudes de Mythologie Egyptienne,* in the *Bibliothèque égyptologique,* Paris, 1893.

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**BODY (Greek and Roman).—I. Anthropological.**

(1) Body and soul.—Among the Greeks, as among most other races, the distinction between body and soul—the natural dualism of mankind—can be traced to a very remote antiquity. This distinction took shape in the primitive mind as a result of its experience of certain peculiar facts. It is maintained by I. Budge, that difference from such scholars as Rohde and Gomperz, that the most potent factor in the development of this dualism is that succession of inner and outer experience undergone by primitive man—as by the child of to-day—in connection with the development.

To the understanding consciousness the body is at first simply a thing among things, precisely like a stone or a tree. It is only by degrees that the growing mind, in consequence of internal and external sensations, as, for instance, bodily pain or danger, acquires a consciousness of and distinction between self-consciousness and the outer world.

An important constituent of naive dualism, no

* Gesch. d. Psychologie, 1880, i. 6f., with reference to the facts of empirical psychology as discussed by Volkmann, Lehrbuch d. Psychologie, 1876, ii. § 103.*
doubt, lies here; and so far Siebeck is right. But a number of other factors, which, to be sure, Siebeck does not mention, also demand account; as, for example, the oftentimes rapid transition from life to death, the experience of dreaming, of fainting, "possession," sudden emotions and their resultant involuntary actions, and, finally, the ecstatic trance. These were also the facts which in the dawn of Greek history generated the idea of a possible separation between body and soul; thus the soul might well seem to be temporarily withdrawn from the body in the case of dreaming, swooning, or ecstasy, and perhaps even of the living—this idea, however, which has become quite obscured in Homer. The paramount interests of the poet, indeed, lie with those who still enjoy the light of the sun, and not with the dead at all. In his unsophisticated mode of thought, he regards—unconsciously—the living and waking man with his bodily and mental attributes as a single whole, and similarly all the spiritual and psychological activities of man are evoked from the body. So far, therefore, the Homerian point of view, as contrasted to the Pythagorean, the Stoic, or the ethico-religious point of view of theologians of a later age, may be called an unreflective monism.

2. Religious and ethical. — (1) Orphism. — Homer views regarding body and soul, and their relation to each other, find their sharpest possible contrast in the thousand years or more that lay between the Hesiod of the Divan and the Hesiod of the Iliad, or between the Iliad, and the Theban and Eleusinian thoughts of the Orphic sects. According to the latter, there obtained not only an irreconcilable division between body and soul, but also a profound difference in value. The soul was no longer, as in Homer, the phantom counterpart of the man, making its influence felt in the acts of dreaming, swooning, or dying; it was now regarded as intrinsically of Divine origin, uncreated and imperishable, and as having been immured within the body in expiation of its guilt.

See Plato, Crat. 600 B (Dibel, Frag. 2, l. 1473, No. 3, cf. Abel, Orphikos, frag. 221): καὶ γὰρ σημα τυχείτε ἄνθρωπος (the body) ἢμα τὴν ψυχήν ἢ τεθυμαίνομεν ἐν τῷ ψυχῆς παραββαίνειν, καὶ Ἰδώτην, ὁ τοσοῦτον σαρκάμενος, ἢ τῷ σαρκάμενῳ θῷος, καὶ τοσοῦτον θῷος σαρκίζει. Homer, on the other hand, was quite true to nature in his theory of reincarnation, which is the central tenet of Pythagoreanism.

(3) Pythagoreanism. — In regard to the process by which such ideas, so alien, apparently, to the natural temperament of the Greeks, as of mankind in general, gained a footing in Greek thought, the reader may consult the art. ASCETICISM (Greek). It will be sufficient here to emphasize the fact that the ideas in question, wholly un-Hellenic as they appear to us so many appear not only in the philosophic as well as the religious systems of the Greeks, but are repeated in the system of Pythagoras as a whole, and also in many of the systems of the Pythagorean sect. It is therefore the aim of the Orphics to make of the soul a perfect and a living being, to which end they taught the study of music, and the religious rites by which the soul is freed from its impurities, and elevated to a higher sphere of existence (cf. Plato, Phaedo, 62 B, and Diels, in reference to Philebus, frag. 14 and 15. The body is accordingly the grave or prison-house of the soul, which in many systems is even identified with it, and the soul, when released from the body, finds itself at once in the sphere of the Deity. It is therefore the aim of the Orphics χρήςμον ἐμέλλει ἀναπαυθοῖν τούτους μοι τοῦ κρατοῦσαν τοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πρᾶγμα ἡ αὐτὴν τούτῳ παρατάτεν καὶ τοῦ φαινόμενον τῆς σοφίας—καὶ αὐτοθύβανα (Philo, 67 C; cf. Diels on Heraclitus, frag. 115).

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regarded as the worst of plagues, impeding the soul in its endeavours to reach its celestial home, and detaching it from its high destinies.

That Empedocles likewise held a similar theory of the relation between body and soul may be inferred from what is said inASCETICISM (Greek) (above, pp. 81, 82) regarding his indebtedness to Orphism and Pythagoreanism. Direct reference to the point, however, is found only in a single fragment of his writings (126, cf. Diels): σαρκων ἀλλόγων περιστέλλουσα χιτώνια. We may well suppose that similar views were cherished by several other thinkers and poets who were more or less influenced by Orphic or Pythagorean doctrines. This is at least the case with the famous lyric poet Theognides of Syros.† In Heracleitus also (frag. 4. 96) we may trace a certain disparagement of the body, though he does not, like the 'theologians,' regard body and soul as antagonistic to each other, but rather as subsisting in a state of constant interchange (frag. 36; cf. 70, 77). Admistrations of this idea are also found in Pindar (frag. 131, Böckh).

(3) Plato.—It was a matter of vast significance, however, that the cardinal ideas of the Orphic-Pythagorean schools should have been assimilated and adopted as the foundation of his philosophy. The way in which the founder of Western idealism interpreted the relation of the human body to the imperishable soul is known to every reader of the Phaedo. As we have already given an account ofEmpedocles' theory of the soul, it is but necessary here to lay emphasis upon the leading ideas in Plato's system of philosophical and theological thought, we confine ourselves here to the most indispensable points.

The human soul occupies a peculiar position between the sensible and the supersensible world. Though itself technically uncreated, of the latter it is drawn into the vortex of becoming. It does not rank as an Idea, but is at best 'most like' one, participating in the Idea of life. In the pre-monad existence of the soul, while dwelling amongst gods and spirits like itself, it has beheld the 'super-celestial realm,' and the world of real being, but in consequence of a decline in its cognitive faculty, and an ascendency in its impulses of desire, it has been drawn down to the earth, and has fallen into corporeality.‡ Partici-
PPlato was more and more influenced by the body, and the body has become for him the only limiting factor of cognition, so that it has completely forgotten its pre-existence and the world of Ideas in which it formerly lived. Its knowledge of truth is now impeded by the illusion of sense-perception, while the body, by means of its impulses, and the desires and affections to which they give rise, wields a most dangerous influence over the soul, deranging its capacity for thought, and wholly perverting its judgment regarding the true good.

† Cf. Phaedo, 69 B. See also Empedocles: B-D: ... το τοῦ σώμαν ἐμπνευσμένον ἡμῶν τῇ φύσιν τῷ ταύτῳ εὐκαίροις αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζει τῆς σοφίας τὸν ἀναλόγως ἀναφέρουσαν ἡμῖν τῷ ταύτῳ ἀναλόγως ἀναφέρουσαν τῇ φύσις τῷ ταύτῳ εὐκαίροις αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζει τῆς σοφίας τὸν ἀναλόγως. And see also Phaedo, 252. Plato has probably here a reference to Orphic doctrine, the Pythagorean doctrine of the soul, as held by the Musonians and the latter. Plato's doctrine was also held by the Pythagorean school of Diels.

‡ Socrates was, for instance, regarded as an 'intellectual soul'; for, according to Plato's original view (in the Phaedrus), the human soul is an immaterial entity, i.e., not only the λογική, but also the ψυχική and the ἀκολούθουν, of which the last two cramp the first, and, still clinging to the soul after death, cause the latter to remain within the world of sense and its tendency to further incarnation (Phaedo). On the other hand, according to the Timaeus—a much later work—the entrance of the soul into the material realm takes place in pursuance of the Divine order, being destined to spiritual union with the body. Hence the soul is not only in two inferior capacities of the soul arise out of its union with the body, just as again they pass away with the latter from this mode.
doctrine of the soul. We may also venture to assume, notwithstanding the absence of positive testimony, that a theory regarding body and soul akin to that of Plato prevailed in the Old Academy. It is at all events certain that such a view was held in the first half of the 4th century by Philo of Opus and Heracleides Ponticus, and probably even by Aristotle in his earlier years.

(4) Aristotle.—With ripper experience, however, Aristotle abandoned his master’s dualistic standpoint, save in regard to one important feature, and advanced to a entirely different conception of the relation between body and soul, a conception which stands in the closest connexion with his metaphysical teaching about the relations of matter (ἀέα) and form (εἶδος), of potentiality (δυνάμεια) and actuality (ἐνέργεια). Here we come upon the pregnant idea of the ‘organic,’ which Aristotle was the first to formulate. An object is said to be organic when its parts are ‘instruments’ (ἐγγραφή) for the realization of the end for which the nature of the object as a whole is designed. A whole of this character, however, is characteristically endowed with a view to life or animation, and accordingly the organic and the animate are but different designations for the same thing. The human body, as indeed the body of any ἄνθρωπος, attains its realization only in the certain connexion (the principle of form working from within outward) ἀγαμενος φυσικόν εἶναι ἔγγραφος δύναμις (de Anima, ii. 1. 412 A, 20ff.). The ‘end’ of the body is the soul, which realizes itself, and at the same time realizes life, in the body and its organs (de Partibus Animalium, i. 5. 645 B, 14ff.). Apart from the soul the body is but a corpse. It is therefore the entelechy of the body ... οἵ τε σώματα ἔπειτα ἐνεργείαι φύσεις, ἀλλ’ ἄλλα σώματα τινές, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κάθε ἐπε φανερώσαντες οἶος ἡμάς ἄλλ’ ἄλλα σώματοι εἶναι εἰσῆλθον ἐνεργείαις (ibid. ii. 4. 415 B, 7. 8. τῇ ἐνέργειᾳ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἀνίμη καὶ ἀρχῇ. Body and soul in a living man may well be distinguished as concepts, but they cannot be dissociated in actual fact. The two form an inseparable synthesis, like the material and the form of a ball of wax, or like the eye and the sense of sight. In the words of Eucken, ‘the soul forms with the body a single life-process.’ When man dies, his body is deprived of its function as a purposive organism.

The fundamental principle of dissonance between body and soul, as propounded by the theologians and Plato, is therefore quite foreign to the philosophy of Aristotle. It is true that the latter regards the νοῦς, the thinking spirit, as coming from without (ἐκωτῶς) which controls and conditions the organism, and combines within itself the physical and the psychological; and here no doubt we come upon an inconsistency in the Aristotelian psychology, a residue of theological and Platonic speculation. Nevertheless, there is for Aristotle no opposition between the νοῦς and the living body, so that the presence of the former constitutes no end in human life relative to the body.†

(5) Stoicism.—Among the earlier Stoics, not

[Note: The text is missing a paragraph or section, possibly due to a break in the source material.]

† The teleological point of view was first applied to the human body by the Stoic school of Antiochus of Syracuse. It is set forth in popular form by Socrates in Xenophon, Memorab. i. 4. 5ff., and in a truly scientific style by Aristotle, e.g. in de Partibus Animalium, i. 6. 667 A, 7ff. Popular views regarding it re-appear after the middle stage of Stoicism: cf. Cicero, Nat. Deorum, ii. 134-148.

‡ Concerning Aristotle’s physiology, we cannot deal with it here, it may be noted that he regarded the activity of the soul as being combined with the natural life of the body, the head being combined with the blood as the animating breath or ἐνέργεια. Aristotle placed the central organ of psychic life in the heart, not the brain. The views of Antisthenes of Apamonia, like Plato, had identified it with the brain. The influence of Aristotle long prevailed to keep the earlier and correct view in the background.

† The last stage of the Stoic system was the extreme or Epicurean, which seems to have been applied to the body in a disparaging sense first of all by the Orphics (cf. Empedocles, frag. 195; Empedocles, frag. 194; Xenocris, frag. 21); later, it seems to have found sporadically among the Tragedians; also in Plato and Platonizing thinkers.

‡ Cicero, De Leg. i. 58, 54, 60, 62, 66, 68, 73ff.; Quaest. Nat. i. 34, 35, 18, ad Marc. 21ff.; Gaius, de Pote. Legg. ii. 1. 448ff. (Millier).
a soul carrying a corpse." To the wise man, indeed, his body is of no concern.* Above all, the body is a potential obstacle to happiness, since it stands in the way of what must be achieved, in reality the only good. Something more than the influence of Plato or Posidonius, or of the Stoics, is required to explain such hatred of, and disdain for, the body as we find in Epicureans; and it is possible that his experiences with his own flesh may have given some bitterness to his sentiments.

To the high-souled Marcus Aurelius likewise, though, like Epicetus, he was a professed adherent of Stoicism, there exists a keen antagonism between body and soul, and he too speaks repeatedly of the body as a necessary evil. He spoke of it especially as the source of carnal appetite, and as tending to enervate the soul. He welcomes death because, among other reasons, the soul, whether she then 'is dispersed,' or becomes extinct, or is re-absorbed into the universal soul, is at least released from the body (Stich, 71, 4 ff.).

A markedly dualistic tendency appears also in his general views regarding man, though he rejects the belief in a continued personal existence after death.

(6) Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism. — Among the obvious examples of the persistence of Posidonius, and through him of Plato, upon a later age is to be seen in Neo-Pythagoreanism, which became widely diffused throughout the ancient world, especially in the first three centuries of our era. The remarks of the former (above, p. 46) how in this school the Orphico-Pythagorean-Platonic conception of the body as the prison of the soul, conjoined with the notion of matter as the cause of all evil, was resuscitated in intensified form. Similarly, as regards Neo-Platonism (Plotinus), we would refer the reader to the account given on former pages (86, 87), merely supplementing it here with an instructive passage regarding mankind from Enneads, 47, 10 K:

...  ἡ γλυκὰ ἡ ἀκράτης, ἡ συμφώνωσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ τὸ σώφρον ἢ τὸ ἑκατέρον ἢ τὸ πάλαιρον ἢ τὸ παλαιότερον ἢ τὸ πλῆκτυ ἢ τὸ ἀθέρετο ἢ ἄλλο τὸν τούτοις τὰς ἄντικας ἡμιοῦν τὸ ἐκ νοημίσως ἢ ἐν νοημίσως τῇ ἀνακυκλώσει ἢ ἐναρτάναι φύσις ἢ ἐναρτόρρητα τὰ ἐναρτήθη ἡμῖν, ἀπελαθεν ἢ ἀπελευθερώθη ἢ ἀπελυθρώθη ἡμῖν.

A human king had a beautiful garden, in which there were some fine early figs. The fig tree in it was in two weeks from the same size as the other and the blind. Said the lame man to the blind, "I see some fine figs, carry me on your shoulders and we will get the fruit and eat it." After a day, the lame man has left the garden and comes after his figs. The lame man protested that he could not walk, the blind that he could not see. So the master put the lame man on the blind man's back and judged them together. So God brings the soul and casts it in the body (after death) and judged them together." (Sanh. 91b-9).

Body and soul thus form one whole, and the persistence in later Jewish thought of the belief in the bodily resurrection was in part, at least, due to the impossibility of separating body and soul, even in the aspect of immortality.

The wonderful structure of the body, its delicate adaptations to ends, was the subject of admiration as an expression of the Divine wisdom. This finds its analogue in the liturgy of the Synagogue in a remarkable benediction, which is recited daily in the morning prayers, and is repeated after the normal functions of the body. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast formed man in wisdom, and created him in many offices and vessels, and revealed and manifested to his glory, that if one of these be opened, or one of those be closed, it would be impossible to exist and to stand before thee. Blessed art thou, O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, who wast holy before the ancient ages, and art holy drouelly." (Singer, Authorized Daily Prayer-Book, p. 4. The benediction is Talmon, p. 2.)

Though the Jews, especially from the Maccabean period, were strongly opposed to the Greek games and culture of the body, and felt an especial aversion to nude exposure, they had a keen appreciation of physical beauty, not only in women, but in men. The stature of Judas Maccabeus was glorified, and the beauty of various Rabbin is specially recorded (especially Johanan b. Nappaha, Berak. 20a; cf. Emil G. Hirsch’s remarks in JE lii. 617). In the medieval Heb. poetry (imitating the language of the illumination of the sages) there is at once a thorough-going eulogy of female beauty and an application of sensuous phraseology to the mystic relations between man and God.

The body was in the Rabbinic view originally a shapeless mass (galaq): it was a sexual, or rather bi-sexual, and it became differentiated (see the early chapters of the Midrash, Genesis Rabba). The number of the limbs (or bones) was calculated as 248, and of nerves (including sinews and even blood-vessels) 365 corresponding to the affirmative of the 248 letters of the Hebrew alphabet (which were enumerated as 615). Adam’s dust was taken from all quarters of the globe (Sanh. 38a), to express the unity of human nature.
The provision of food, drink, and attire was regarded as a religious duty (Maimonides, Mishne Tora, 'Deoth' v.). Bodily cleanliness was similarly regarded; and as part of the 'Law of Holiness,' dietary restrictions and ablations were prescribed. From the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. hand-washing before and after meals was the rule. Washing the face in the early morning was older. During ablations pietists would avert their eyes from their own bodies. The bodily seclusions were not unclean until they separated from the body; in the latter case ablation was rigidly enforced. Special conducive practices have always been part of Jewish settlements. The Biblical conceptions as to the defilement caused by dead bodies were continued in later Judaism. But the great bulk of the early Rabinic laws as to ritual purity applied only to priests or to Israelites about to participate in Temple rites. Maimonides sums up the Rabinic rulings as follows (ib. 'Tumuth Okhelim' xvi. 9):

'It is permitted to every one to touch an unclean thing, and thereby to become unclean. For Scripture only forbids praise, and Nazirites from becoming unclean by touching a dead body: hence it is inferred that everybody else may become unclean. And there are many different Nazirites, as it is inferred to become unclean through a human corpse. Every Israelite is enjoined to be clean at the time of the festivals, in order that he may be able to offer these sacrifices, and eat holy food' (Montefiore, Hibbert Lectures, 1892, p. 476, note 4; Bucher, Der Galiläische Anuha-Ausdrucke, chs. 1-4).

Some of the anatomical peculiarities in relation to the body and its stature and proportion were derived from an anthropomorphic interpretation of the text that man was made in the image of God (Gn 1:26). The bodily sign of the covenant is discussed under CIRCUMCISION.

LITERATURE.—Besides sources already noted, see L. Löw, Die Lebensalter der jod. Literatur, 1875; M. Joseph, Judaisches Leben, as Creed and Life, 1903, p. 394; art. 'Body in Jewish Theology,' in JB ili. 283.

I. ABRAHAMS.

BODY (Hindu).—The Sanskrit terms denoting the various parts of the body agree remarkably with those of the other Aryan languages—a circumstance which renders it probable that a certain knowledge of anatomy may have been part of the common heritage of the Aryan nations. Their acquaintance with anatomy would seem to have extended to the internal organs, such as the heart, liver, lungs, bile, kidneys, etc. The ancient Hindu sages have improved and extended this traditional knowledge. Thus, in a hymn of the Atharvaveda (x. 2) on the creation of the soul, which is supposed to belong to the highest portion of that venerable collection, we have a careful and orderly enumeration of the several parts of the skeleton. The hymn consists of a series of questions, such as these:

- By whom were the two heeds of man? By whom was the flesh constructed? By whom the two limbs? By whom the slender digits? By whom the apertures? By whom the two sets of long bones in the middle? How did they (the deas, or gods) make the two ankle-bones of man below, and the two knees-caps above? How many deas, and who among them, contributed to build up the bones of the breast and the cartilages of the windpipe of man? How many disposed the ribs of the two breasts? Who, the shoulder-blades? Who picked up the two arms, the nostrils, two eyes, the mouth? Whatever first constructed that brain of the two 20, and disposed the embryonic humum, and the structure of the jaws, and, having done so, ascended to heaven—who, of the many deas, was he?

The composition of this hymn is ascribed to a certain sage called Nārāyaṇa, the same to whom the famous Rīgvedic hymn (x. 90) on the sacrifice of man (prajñāsātkā) is attributed, in which the four classes of priests, nobles, husbandmen, and serfs are declared to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the Primal Male, or original sacrifice. The body of the hymn is a repetition of the earlier formulae, which occur in some of the earliest Sanskrit tracts on medicine, are also supposed to have been proclaimed by this Nārāyaṇa.

Descending from the Vedas to those early pantheistic compositions, the Upaniṣads, we meet, in the Garbha (or Embryo) Upaniṣad with an interesting description of the constitution and growth of the human body, which is said to consist of the five elements—earth, water, fire, air, and space or ether. From habitation, a small compact mass is produced, which, within a month, becomes a solid lump. This is formed for two months; the feet are developed after three months; the ankles, belly, and thighs, after four months; the spine, after five; mouth, nose, and eyes, after six months; the soul (jīva) enters the fetus in the seventh month; it becomes altogether complete in the eighth month.

The later systems of philosophy assign to each person two bodies—an exterior or gross body (ākāśa-sāraṇa), and an interior or subtle body (vīkṣepa-sāraṇa, or linga-sāraṇa)—much as Nyāyaśāstra claimed a subtle ethereal clothing for the soul, apart from its grosser clothing when united with the body. Indian philosophers had to admit the existence of a subtle body, in order to make the process of migration after death intelligible, according to the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis. The subtle body is that which cleaves to the soul in its migration from existence to existence. According to the Vedānta system, this subtle body arises from the so-called upādhis ('conditions'), and consists of the senses of the body (āleheendriyas, the perceptual), of the active (karmendriyas), and of mind (manas), intellect (buddhi), sensation (vedāna), implying beyond itself the vijnānas, or objects required for sensation. Its physical life is said to be dependent on the vital spirit (mukhya prāṇa), and on the five prāṇas, or specialized spirits. According to the Sāṅkhyā system, the subtle or inner body, which is, of course, invisible, is formed of eighteen elements. The coarse material body consists either of the earth only, or of the four or five other elements, and is covered by coverings—hair, blood, flesh, sinews, bones, and marrow. In some systems, each organ is connected with its own peculiar element, the nose with the earth, the tongue with water, etc.

The whole subject of anatomy is treated at great length in the vast medical literature of ancient India. The Indian theory of the skeleton, in particular, has been transmitted to us in three different systems, one of which, the anatomical system attributed to the mythical sage Ayreya, while agreeing with the material views with the statements quoted above from the Atharvaveda, is also found in several later non-medical Sāṅkhyā works, notably in the celebrated law-book of Yājñavalkya. In its original shape, as restored by the researches of Dr. Hoernle, this enumeration of human bones seems to have been made up of the following thirty items:—(1) 32 teeth (danta); (2) 32 sockets (uñkha) of the teeth; (3) 20 nails (nokha); (4) 60 phalanges (ākuti); (5) 20 long bones; (6) 4 bases of the long bones; (7) 2 heels; (8) 4 ankle-bones; (9) 4 wrists; (10) 4 forearms; (11) 4 bones of the legs; (12) 2 knee-caps; (13) 2 elbow-pans; (14) 2 hollow bones of the thighs; (15) 2 hollow bones of the arms; (16) 2 shoulder-blades; (17) 2 collar-bones; (18) 2 hip-blades; (19) 1 pubic bone; (20) 45 back-bones; (21) 14 bones of the breast; (22) 24 ribs; (23) 4 sockets of the ribs; (24) 24 tubercles fitting into the sockets; (25) 15 bones of the neck; (26) 1 windpipe; (27) 2 palatal cavities; (28) 1 lower jaw-bone or chin; (29) 2 basal tie-bones of the jaw; (30) 1 bone constituting the nose, prominence of the cheeks, and brahms; (29) 2 temples; (30) 4 cranial pan-shaped bones:—total, 360. The large excess of this number over the some 200 bones in the adult human skeleton, which are distinguished by modern anatomy, is principally due to the fact that, besides including
BODY AND MIND.

1. The problem of the relation between body and mind has occupied philosophers and scientists since the dawn of thought, and to many it appears no nearer to solution now than it has been named the central problem of all philosophy, fundamental alike in the theory of knowledge, in ethics, and in religion. Not less fundamental, however, is the problem of the relation between the physical and the spiritual; for the point of view from which we regard mental development, the changing forms of nature, animal life and evolution, will be radically different according as we do, or do not, attribute to mind a controlling or directing part in the process of change and growth. The question of the relation between body and mind cannot be discussed apart from the question as to the nature of the two factors, and the difference between them. Both are really metaphysical questions; that is to say, the solution put forward will necessarily be incapable of scientific verification; but it should be such as to give a rational account of the possibilities of knowledge, of individual and race progress, of ethical and religious life.

2. Whether we are dealing with the special relation between the individual mind and the individual body, or with the general relation of finite mind to matter, there are three possible solutions of the problem:—(1) That matter or body is the 'real' or 'substantial' thing, while mind is its product, or in some way dependent upon it for its existence and for its qualities—the solution of Materialism. (2) That mind alone is real or substantial, and that matter or body is its appearance, its manifestation, or in some other way dependent upon it for existence and quality—the solution of Idealism, and of Spiritualism. (3) That mind and matter are equally real, and independent entities; or equally unreal, as the two 'aspects,' 'appearances,' 'sides' of one and the same reality. The former is Dualism, the latter 'Substance Dualism' or the Philosophical Idealism. There are of course many shades of difference and many overlappings in the different views that have actually been held. The divergencies are especially apparent when a given principle is applied to the relation between the finite body and the finite mind. Thus, even when we regard body as unreal, it is clear that 'my' body is not the manifestation of 'my' mind, but is to a large extent at least independent of it; therefore one may quite well speak of 'my' body and 'my' mind as two separate entities, with an unmistakable similarity between this Indian theory and the ancient Occidental theory of four humours in the human body. Blood (rakta) is sometimes mentioned as a fourth humour in India, as it is in Western medicine.

The supposed parallelism between the microcosm and the macrocosm may be found in Indian thought. Thus, as the universe consists of earth, water, heat, air, ether, and Brahman, which is unmanifest, even so Purusa, or the male, is said to be made up of six ingredients: the form is earth; the liquid secretions are water; the animal heat is heat; the life-breath is air; the hollow places are ether; the inner self is Brahman. The self or soul is an emanation from God or the Universal Soul, from which it springs in the same manner as sparks do from a red-hot ball of iron.

the former ones: the relation between finite mind and finite body may be either (a) that of complete dependence; (b) that of parallelism, the two series, mental and bodily, corresponding step for step, element for element, with mind wholly non-spatial in itself, acting on its own bodily organs. It is also the standpoint of Dualism on the one hand, and of several forms of Spiritualism or Idealism on the other.

3. It is necessary here to refer only to one of the many forms of Materialism, that in which the mental is regarded as an effect of physical processes, although in itself immaterial; or again as not strictly an effect, but as a by-result, an accidental accomplishment, of material processes. Matter—the physical universe—is upheld on this theory as the necessary condition, and the ground of all that which mind is as one of the changing and temporary phenomena, adding nothing to the whole, forming no essential part of it, existing merely, as it were, for the delectation of some imaginary spectator.

(1) Haeckel holds a view similar to that of the object of the mind to a secondary place is the first principle of Einfühlung, Einfühlung, the doctrine of empathy, viz, that matter or body is given only as idea or content of consciousness; it cannot be the source of that which is a presupposition of its own existence. It is an actual inversion of the true order of things, therefore, to place matter first and mind second. Not only is it not a justifiable inference that matter may be the source of mind; it is not even a possible thought; it is a form of words without meaning.

(2) The second difficulty the view has to face is that of the incompatibility of mind and matter; they contain no common characteristic except that of change in time; in other respects, as the Cartesians pointed out, every attribute of mind may be denied of body, and vice versa. Thus matter occupies space, has form, resistance, etc., while mind, as a system like that of man—has been achieved in the course of evolution and development. Others, among whom are Fechner, Spence, Haeckel, Höfling, and Paulsen, make the parallelism universal: mental life is the correlate of bodily life, mental change of bodily change, that is, of movement. Hence, where there is mind there is also body, and wherever there is mind there is also physical motion. The two series, as Spinoza taught, are parallel throughout the whole extent of each; for every mental there exists a physical correlate, for every physical a mental; the motion of the atom or other physical element has, as its 'inner' side, a phase of feeling, of sensation, of will. The complexity of the human mental life is in direct correspondence with the complexity of the physical substratum, the nerve and brain organs and the processes that occur in them. There is unbroken continuity first of all in the 'evolution' of inorganic forms, next in that of plant and animal forms, and finally in the development of the individual organism; and this holds both of body and of mind. Thus in mind we pass from the simplest 'feeling', the correlate of the atom-movement, to the highest thought or act of intelligence, the correlate of a process in the cortex of the hemispheres of man, without a change of kind. Causal relations nowhere exist, however, between the one series and the other.

6. There can be little doubt that for a parallelist the larger scheme is the more consistent. In partial parallelism we have continuity in the
physical series, where every event depends upon a previous physical event out of which it arises; on the mental side there is no such continuity, but while causally connected with each other in continuous trains of thought, etc., there are on the other hand constant breaks or gaps in the series. In sleep or other forms of unconsciousness, in the animal life prior to the growth of the higher brain centres, in the transitions from one line of thought to another—in all these cases, there are stages of unconsciousness between, or prior to, the conscious moments. How, if we keep only to the mental series, are these gaps bridged—through what causal agencies are the transition-marks replaced? The transition-marks are made through the body, or through some constant supernatural agency or 'pre-established harmony.' The latter alternative will not readily be accepted by scientists, and as a matter of fact the former is frequently adopted, as by Huxley, for example, although it is inconsistent with the principle of parallelism. Wundt, on the other hand, although partial parallelism is put forward as a 'working hypothesis,' finds himself compelled, when in his Philosophy he attempts a rationale of mental life as a whole, to pole the principle of causality of the individual mind, to postulate sensation, feeling, and will, not only in the lower organisms, but even in the inorganic world itself. If there is complete continuity on the one side, as Biology and Geology assume there is on the physical, there must be complete continuity also on the other side, the psychic.

7. We have seen that the question of causality on the psychical side is also a subject of difference between parallelists. It is admitted that there is relation of cause and effect between the different states of a material system, such as the bodily organism is. Is the same true of the mental series? It would seem that it must be, if parallelism is to hold, but there are heavy penalties to face for the admission. The chain of causes and effects on the physical side is a mechanical one, each link following its predecessor by a blind necessity which is quite regardless of the ideals, desires, or judgments of the mind connected with the body. If causality on the mental side holds, and the parallelism between the physical and the corresponding link on the physical side, then the time-order must be the same in both; therefore the mental life, the course of development, the history of the soul must also be the subject of a blind mechanism; or, per contra, if the mind is self-determining, if it has free will and originality of action, freedom to choose and to act according to norms or ideals of value, then the physical organism cannot be subject to the blind necessity that science assumes. Its laws are not inexorable, and the most confident expectations based on centuries of past experience may be suddenly disappointed. In other words, either mental life is wholly determined by an influence which governs it from the beginning of its history, or the attainment of scientific truth about the physical world is impossible.

8. From this dilemma some have sought to escape by denying that there is any causal link between mental states; there is 'transversal' causation, from body to mind, as well as 'longitudinal' causation from body to body, but there is neither lateral nor transversal division in the other two directions, viz. from mind to mind, or from mind to body. In order to justify the very subordinate role attributed to the mind, it is argued that the principle of causation demands the existence of a relation between cause and effect, and that no such experience is possible with regard to the sequence of bodily upon mental states, or of mental upon mental. In reply it may be said (1) that the origin of the idea of causality is to be found in our direct experience of mental activity, and not of causality as such, and therefore in the facts appearing in the body; the first idea of causality (and it remains at the root of the ideas of causality in modern science) is that causation is spiritual or mental; body, on the other hand, is dead inert matter, and has no spontaneity, no source of movement in itself. Accordingly some modern theories of science seek to dispense altogether with the idea of causation. But (2) 'transverse' causality, from body to mind, is inconsistent with parallelism, and means a return to Materialism; it makes mind a function of body, in contrast with the body-mind. (3) Mind and body, each is a mental process, and so there is a mental process of mind itself, and something else, the body. It is not clear, as either in Spinoza, his originator, or in his modern followers, whether by the one reality is meant an unknown z behind both body and mind, or which they are the diverse 'appearances' or 'manifestations,' or whether the reality is simply their identity, the same being which appears to itself as split in two, the body as an extended manifold—the body. In either case, as almost inevitable, the primacy is found to be given to mind. Thus the unknown z becomes a conscious mind. After all we are conscious both of our 'own' minds, and through sense-perception of our 'own' bodies. But our cognition of the body is a mental process, and so we become aware of the body only in and through such a process: the mind is therefore a presupposition of the body; the body is a mode or manifestation of mind. Aristotle's reason applies to the second standpoint. The body stands in a two-fold relation to the mind: (1) it is the object of knowledge, or of a particular kind of knowledge, and (2) it is the accompaniment, the condition, apparently, of every case or instance of knowing, or of any other mental process. A given sense-perception has (a) its object in the physical world—say the flight of a bird through the air—and it has (b) a physiological process in the brain of the individual as its accompaniment and apparent condition. With which of the two is the mental process identical? In the natural process, then the possibility of knowledge remains wholly unaccountable. The 'knowing' of an external object by the mind is a mental act to which no physical parallel can be given, and therefore mind has a much wider reach than body. It has rarely been denied that the mind is identical with the perceived object, in this case the flight of the bird. Schuppe, indeed, attempts to combine both object and brain process with the mental process in an ingenious way: 'I see, because my eye sees, or because I am this seeing eye, so my motor nerve wills, because I will, because I am this motor nerve' (Das Grundproblem der Psychologie, p. 60). That is, both sensation and volition, being mental, are also bodily processes, the eye or mind being identical with the body. I am therefore the same thing as the content of my perceptions, and the same thing as the object of my volitions. But if the connexion between eye and brain is cut, I no longer see, however healthy the eye itself remains; and, again, what I see may always differ widely from the picture in the retina or in both retinas. It is not the eye, but eye plus optic fibres plus optical brain centres, that is the 'organ' of sight. Now, whatever similarity there is between the picture on the retina and the object, there is no object, there is no connexion of the brain process and the seen object; hence the dualism between physical object of knowledge and physical basis of knowledge re-emerges: a mind
stands always in this double relation to body, and therefore cannot be regarded as identical with the individual organism to which it 'belonges' as a part. Neither the body nor the nervous system is a unity in itself: each consists of a aggregate of cells, molecules, atoms or other elements. Still less possible is a physical correlate for the freedom, spontaneity, originality, which the individual mind claims for itself; this also, like sensation, is a subliminal form of necessity to an atomistic conception of consciousness. The apparent function of consciousness as the unifying and binding bond of successive mental states or processes has no physical correlate, and therefore must be rejected as unreal. Neither the body nor the nervous system is a unity in itself: each consists of a aggregate of cells, molecules, atoms or other elements. Still less possible is a physical correlate for the freedom, spontaneity, originality, which the individual mind claims for itself; this also, like sensation, is a subliminal form of necessity to an atomistic conception of consciousness. The apparent function of consciousness as the unifying and binding bond of successive mental states or processes has no physical correlate, and therefore must be rejected as unreal.

The Use of the Term 'Appearances' or 'Aspects' is Misleading. Aspects or appearances presuppose an observer; who is the observer in the case of body and mind? He must be something both more and less than either. If he is something more than either, he must be mind. Thus we come back to our starting-point: mind has priority over body; body is the appearance of mind. This, however, is not parallelism.

The alternative is interaction—the assumption that body acts upon mind, and mind upon body. Unfortunately, such a theory is subject to objections of great force from the points of view both of the physicist and of the spiritualist.

1. The chief advantage of Parallelism as a hypothesis is undoubtedly the same as that of the 'Twofold Truth' of an earlier philosopher: it enables its adherents to side with the materialists from one point of view, with the spiritualists from another. Both systems, it held, may be true; each at least may present one aspect of the 'real' world: the one that is materialistic, the other that is vitalistic. It is not necessary to go back to the old view of the Ego as the source, the principle or cause, of its own states: but even as the subject of experience, every conscious mind is something more than any one of the elements of which it is conscious. In particular, the advance from 'lover' to 'higher' mental achievements, from simple to more complex mental life, as from sensation to conception and from perception to thought, is possible only on the assumption of a directive activity of the mind, an activity which cannot possibly intervene in, or belong to, the elementary states or simple processes themselves, out of which the higher forms are derived.

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An action—a form of behaviour—is explained only in terms of physiological, that is, ultimately, physical and chemical processes. Design, selection, choice, feeling, desire, emotion play no part in the world's activity—"the point of view." On the other hand, seen from the inner side, this necessity becomes freedom and spontaneity; the mechanism of the atoms, the movement of the molecules, become desire and judgment, feeling and will: the organism is a personality, and determines its own ends, its own life. To the Cesar of science are rendered the things which are Caesar's—the conservation of energy, the reduction of the whole life of the universe to chemical, electrical, and mechanical processes, and to God the things that are God's—the spiritual life with its struggles and falls, its ideals and its redemptions. The question is not, however, whether there is any advantage in this theory; there certainly would be, if it were true: but is it ever taken? Are the two not mutually independent, without any meaning behind them, when we speak of the same reality as being at once determined from without, and self-determining? A man has an alternative of going abroad for a holiday or remaining at home for his work; he 'decides' for the latter. Does he decide, or is the body itself attracted by anything? Human action is really determined by his structure, as it has come to be through physical heredity and environment. It has also a perfectly good meaning to say that his choice is free, is an expression of his mental character, of the ideals by which he is attracted; but it has no meaning whatever to say that it is both determined and free. Whichever form of parallelism is adopted, a given bodily action has its mental correlate, which is either the same in reality as the bodily action, or is at least its necessary and possible antecedent. The existence of the one must also govern the existence of the other: if a physical process is a necessary sequent of a and b, then its corresponding mental process C must also be a necessary sequent, not merely of mental A and B, but also of the physical series a b.

The use of the term 'appearances' or 'aspects' is misleading. Aspects or appearances presuppose an observer; who is the observer in the case of body and mind? He must be something both more and less than either. If he is something more than either, he must be mind. Thus we come back to our starting-point: mind has priority over body; body is the appearance of mind. This, however, is not parallelism.

12. The alternative is interaction—the assumption that body acts upon mind, and mind upon body. Unfortunately, such a theory is subject to objections of great force from the points of view both of the physicist and of the spiritualist.

1. If action of any kind takes place from the mental upon the physical world, or vice versa, then the principle of conservation of energy cannot be maintained. No means exists by which the amount of energy lost by the brain in effecting a sensation, or added to the brain in a volition, may be measured. Some energy must presumably be lost, however, when a physical process is the condition of a mental impression: there cannot remain the same quantity in the body, since, in fact, the action of the body is found to be different, according as there has or has not been a conscious process. Again, the same stimulus does or does not give rise to consciousness, according to its intensity, i.e., according to the force with which it acts upon the nerve-centres; in the case of subliminal stimuli we can only assume that the energy is lost, but cannot measure or account for the change in consciousness. The principle of conservation has two sides (cf. Wundt, System der Phä., 2. p. 483)—(a) that the total amount of energy in the physical universe remains always the same, and (b) that, when work is done by any physical system, the amount of energy lost must be fully compensated for (however different the form it takes—heat, electricity, light, motion, etc.) by the gain of the other physical systems affected by the work. The second part of the principle may be accepted apart from the first; it has, however, no bearing on the relation between mind and body. The first part is more purely hypothetical, and need not be admitted by psychology, if inconsistent with the facts of that science.
mystical pre-established harmony. The only defence possible is to admit the charge, but to deny that the action complained of is a crime. The principle of conservation is a hypothesis formed to explain certain phenomena of the inorganic world, verified as far as experience has gone (although now being doubted in question) and these only; not verified at all for organic processes, such as growth and reproduction, still less for those physical actions which we ascribe to mental influence. It has also been suggested (by Stumpf, for example, and from another standpoint by Fechner) that we may regard mental activity as itself a form of energy; that the physical energy expended in the central nervous system is transformed into an equal quantity of mental energy, and vice versa. We call mental energy certain influences with physical, or, between bodily and bodily, it decreases with the degeneration or decay of the brain. It is questionable, however, whether the term ‘energy’ in the two cases is really being used in the same sense, as it must if there is to be ‘energy’ of the same kind.

(2) It may be said that the action of body upon mind is inconceivable; that the only forms of action given to us in experience are either (a) of body upon body, or (b) of the mind upon itself. The first we have from external, the second from internal causes. Berkeley and Hume were long ago disposed of the view that we ever directly experience the action of body upon body; and Hume also questioned the assumption that we are conscious of, or have any direct knowledge of our own mental activity. Causality may be a presupposition of experience; it is certainly not given in experience. On the other hand, the ‘uniform succession’ which we regard as the cue for the application of this category is found far more frequently between mental and bodily processes than between mental and mental processes. In other words, we may be less likely to be observers of our own minds, than of ourselves working upon our own bodies.

(3) But how, it may be said, is mind to set about its action upon body. A ‘voluntary’ movement starts, let us say, in certain brain cells, and proceeds outwardly to the muscles. How does the muscle know what to do? What is the process going? Somewhere the push must be given, or the spark applied. How is it done? Here the difficulty of the disparity of mind and body presents itself with great, and for many, it appears, with overwhelming force. It is not, however, in principle any more curious or incomprehensible than that body should correspond, to mind, whatever may be taken as the meaning of that mysterious word; not more so than that one reality should appear as two totally disparate entities, as mind and animism appears. Somewhere or other we must arrive at an unexplained and, perhaps, inexplicable fact of experience; and for interaction, this local action of mind upon body, with the converse qualitative action of body upon mind (as when a given, definitely localized, nerve process gives rise to a sensation of red, while another, differently localized, gives rise to a sensation of cold or of bitter), marks that point.

Body may ultimately ‘prove’ to be mind, and yet maintain between themselves no such mind be one of interaction. A system of this nature is contained in Professor Busse’s critical and thorough study of the subject. We have seen that our own and all other bodies are given to us, and are known by us, only as contents of consciousness, as actual or possible sensation, perception or thought, while various social experiences forbid us to regard them as merely our individual or subjective impressions. We may conclude, then, that our own body and other bodies, which we only gradually learn to distinguish from our own, are appearances to us of mental or spiritual realities—realities distinct from and independent of, or different from, us; that these realities differ widely from each other, and from us, in the degree of mental development at which they have arrived, and of which they are capable; that they affect or influence us only through that entity or system of entities which appears to us as ‘our’ body, and that they in turn are influenced by us only through the same intermediary. Thus our body is not the ‘manifestation’ or ‘outer aspect’ of our mind, but is relatively independent of it, being the manifestation of another, or different, mind. On the other hand, our mind’s development is bound up with that of the body, which is so intimately connected with it. What we may regard as in a special sense the growing-point of the body, or the actual, or potential, or future, or organization, in large part determined by the actions of our mind, by which it becomes a more and more perfect instrument for the realization of our desires and our ideals, whether high or low. It may be held also that the gradual failure of power to withstand the progressive failure with illness or fatigue—failure which, though primarily physical, seems to reach to the very core of the mind’s being—is defect not of the player, but of the instrument on which he plays, and through which along with his own volition expression. See Brain and Mind.


BOHME.—I. LIFE.—Jacob Bohme (sometimes spelt Behmen), called the ‘Teutonic Theosopher,’ was born in November 1575, in the province of Old Seidenburg, near Götritz, in Upper Lusatia, which in his time seems to have belonged to Bohemia, though in 1635 it was transferred to Saxony, the Elector of which was Bohme’s protector during the later part of his life. The parents of Bohme
were poor pious folk, who trained up their son in their own (the Lutheran) faith and in a knowledge of the Scriptures. The only education he got was of the most elementary character. At an early age he was put to tend cattle, with other children of the village, and, while they ran the first remarkable experiences. Having climbed (says Martensen) to the top of a mountain called the 'Land's Crown,' he saw 'a vaulted entrance composed of four red stones, and leading into a cavern. When he had toiled through the brushwood that surrounded the entrance, he beheld in the depths of the cave a vessel filled with money. He was seized with an inward panic, as at something diabolical, and ran away from the spot in alarm. Subsequently he often returned to the spot, accompanied by other boys. But entrance and cavern had vanished.'

After this, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker in Görlitz, and had another strange experience. While he was in charge of the shop during his master's absence, a stranger entered and priced a pair of boots. The lad, thinking he had no authority to sell, tried to get out of the difficulty by naming a prohibitive price; but the stranger paid it, and, after having gone out into the street, turned and called in a loud voice, 'Jacob, come forth!' Surprised that his name should be known, Jacob went out to the stranger, who then revealed that he was a penetrative gaze, said, 'Jacob, thou art yet little, but thou shalt become great, and the world shall wonder at thee. Therefore be pious and fear God, and especially read diligently the Holy Scriptures; for thou must endure much misery and poverty and persecution; but God loves and is gracious unto thee.' After this Jacob became still more serious and devout. Unable to endure the rihald and profane language of his mates in the shop, he felt obliged to reprove them, whereupon his master began to reproach him with having become a 'house-preacher' to stir up strife. Jacob now entered upon his Wunderjahr. In the course of his travels he discovered how many warring sects the Protestant party was split up, and how fierce and uncharitable were their contentions. They seemed to him as Babel, and he has much to say about this Babel in his writings.

At the end of his wanderings, he returned to Görlitz, and in 1599 married the daughter of a tradesman, with whom he lived happily for twenty years. During this time, a succession of further visions came. When he was sitting one day in his room, his eye caught the reflection of the sun's rays in a bright pewter dish. This threw him into an inward ecstasy, and it seemed to him that he beheld the inward properties of all things in nature opened to him. It was one of his ideas that the quality of everything is expressed by its shape, colour, scent (which he calls its 'signature') to such as have eyes to see. Ten years later, he had another 'opening' which went much further, and showed him how the world was made, and how it arose, and its meaning and end. He felt an inward impulse to write down what had thus been revealed, not for publication—for he felt himself too simple to teach others—but (as he says) for a memorial to himself, so that, should the power of interior vision fail, he might have a record of what he had seen, and thus hold it permanently. The book he now wrote was the Aurora, or Morning Redness, and was the cause of many complaints of that description which for so many years embittered his life. The work was, of course, in manuscript. The written copy chance to be seen by a nobleman, Carl von Endern, who had called on him. Being greatly pleased with it, the nobleman begged permission to borrow it for a short time, and then, without Boehme's consent, had some copies of it made. One of these happened to fall into the hands of the Pastor Primarius of Görlitz, Gregorius Richter, a violent man and inflamed with the dignity of his office. He attacked Boehme in a sermon on 'False Prophets.' A degree of banishment was passed, and no time was allowed him to wind up his affairs and make arrangements. Boehme meekly submitted, saying, 'Yes, dear Sirs, since it cannot be otherwise, it shall be done.' There is some difference of statement as to what happened after this. Martensen says that the next morning the Council sent to recall him, and told him he might continue to live in Görlitz if he would give up writing books and stick to his trade. This he undertook to do, and for five years abstained from writing, though much troubled in conscience as to whether he ought not to obey God rather than man. At the end of this tole, conscience and the entreaties of friends triumphed, and he again began to write, and was then finally banished. Others say that the Council offered to revoke the sentence of banishment, but on the explored him—for the sake of the peace of the town—to remove away of his own accord, and that he did this.

It is certain that, when banished finally, he went, on a citation for heresy, to Dresden. Here the Elector appointed six learned doctors to examine him and report as to whether he ought to be protected or punished. His answers seem to have produced a striking effect on these men. One is reported to have said, 'I would not take the whole world, and condemn this man.' Another replied, 'How can we, when he himself has no 'house-preacher' to stir up strife. Jacob now entered upon his Wunderjahr. In the course of his travels he discovered how many warring sects the Protestant party was split up, and how fierce and uncharitable were their contentions. They seemed to him as Babel, and he has much to say about this Babel in his writings.

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BOEHME'S SYSTEM.—I. His doctrine of origins. — Boehme's system goes back to the beginning, to the time when the Divine Being first proceeded to manifestation. To attempt to go behind this, he says (Three Principles, xiv. 84), confuses the mind. He also says (ib. v. 19) that the origin of things ought not to be inquired into at all; yet since so much has now appeared, we must ourselves from the glory of God, we must know how sin arose, or we cannot know the remedy for it. And we cannot know how sin arose without opening the mystery of the process to manifestation, and the arising of the second, or contrary,
Will, and the seven Forms of Nature, and how the two eternal Principles—darkness and the first Form or Light—are related. It is a presentation of this present world of the third Principle which stands between the two, and is qualified in good and evil. The ability to open this mystery is ours only when we are led by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and not (as in the second Form or Light) out of the darkness. We are able (in this spirit) to penetrate so far; for every spirit can see back into its own Mother, but no further (ib. ii. 1).

Of the state before manifestation, all we can say is the following. The Supreme Spirit (whom we call the Father) is either the first Form or Light, or 'Still Rest.' In Him was active one only Will, which, being one, did nothing but be, in one state and without any happening. All that afterwards came into manifestation through the process about to be described was in Him in a state incipient and purely subjective. There was yet no creature to know Him and rejoice in the knowledge, and find the highest delight in the recognition of His Power and Goodness. All was yet pure potentiality; all were in Him as undifferentiated elements, and He, the self, knew not themselves or each other. In short, all was Essence in the simple Being of the Deity as a One Will, and there was no existence.

It is clear that such a statement as the above is derived as an impression from primitive considerations, and the cases of the dead (the case of the case) as they must appear to our highest metaphysical perception. Boehme does not claim that such a presentation is a full and complete account of so stupendous and mysterious a matter, but only that it is the best we can yet see. To him it was probably presented in mystic vision; but, we lacking this, can only follow him with our best thoughts. It is well, really, not to speak in these terms, but to remember that the transcendent Fact is not a thing in these terms; and there is no harm in so doing so long as we bear in mind that the transcendent Fact is only freshly apprehended, and never in any way comprehended, by our thought. Therefore, while we have to speak of a time before manifestation, we must remember that this is only by a logical necessity, arising from our present limitation, and not a full presentation of the Fact.

When manifestation was to take place, the first necessity, says Boehme, was that a second and complete Will and everything connected with it be introduced—a new thing in God, for, as to His content, He changes not. It is again a logical necessity, because out of a one Will no 'manifolds' can come, no conflict or strife or dramatic interest. So we must think of Will and its immediate result of its arising within darkness of the primal and, till now, universal light. Even light cannot be known consciously as such if there is nowhere any darkness. And as we know and appreciate only through experience of a contrary, and God had made us thus, the presumption may very well be that there is something in Him which answers (though in a far-off and exalted way) to this law of our minds to which we know no exception.

Immediately upon the darkness there arose the first Form of Nature, which Boehme calls Harkness.* This is the principle of hardness, closing holding of itself to itself, and resistance to modification—a strongly conservative principle. The second Will must produce the contrary of the first—darkness, overshadowing, drawing together, hardening. Spiritually it is the power of self-centredness, self-satisfaction; of that inertia which

* One of the difficulties in following Boehme arises from the fact that, in different passages, he calls these Forms of Nature by different names, according to different points of view. Thus he sometimes calls the first a hand attracting, though he calls the second a hand repelling it, and all the others thing that there is so hard an attractor of itself to itself that it attracts nothing else, while the second seeks to attract other things to itself, but does not attract itself to itself. The original idea of the Forms will soon become clear upon patient study.

resists conviction of sin, submission to the will of God, and love of the brethren.

Immediately upon the light of this Form, the first Will, disliking the darkness, seeks to turn back again to the light. But this it cannot do without reversing the Will to manifestation, which is impossible. Thereupon arises the second Form of Nature, Attraction. It is the reverse of the first. It seeks changes and new combinations, and will let nothing alone—the principle of dissatisfaction and unrest. Spiritually, it is that which forces us into ceaseless activity, whereby we enter into experiences, and so (in the end) work out our reductio ad absurdum.

Out of the conflict of the first two Forms arises the third, Bitterness. It may be easier to catch the ideas of these first three Forms if we call them (in modern terminology) Homogeneity, Heterogeneity, and Strain. The Strain, or tension, arises from the contrariety and opposition of the first two. It is the bitterness of dissatisfaction which, as to the darkness, expresses itself in discontent and complaining, but, as to the light, becomes discontent with our own sin, sorrow for it, and tears of repentance of sin.

Out of the Strain, as it increases in intensity, there arises the fourth Form, Fire. At this point, the operation being carried on reaches the degree at which a self-consciousness arises, with a sense of own will and choice. At this point also the evolution divides itself into two conflicting directions, and it is within the power of the consciousness to decide which of the two it will take. The Fire at first is a cold, dark fire which can burn and hurt, but cannot purify—like an iron heated to just below redness. As it burns and the Strain increases, it grows in heat till it reaches redness, which is a light of low illuminating power, and shows things very dimly. Such is the light of the external man, and the light is the quality of the self-consciousness, which in this case is full of greed, wrath, and pride.

But if the evolution goes on in the right way, then the dull glow of the Fire grows stronger and stronger, until it passes into the fifth Form, Light. This is the true Divine Light, and makes manifest things as they really are. When this Light arises, the Fire sinks down from its horrible raging and becomes only a meek and pleasant warmth, giving all its power to the Light. Thereupon the first three Forms also change their character and become gentle and soft and harmonious. It is as though in the Light they first see their true function and then, with the self-conscious content to fulfil it, and cease to express themselves as they are in themselves (in own self-will) without regard to the end they are there to produce. It is the change which (in modern terms) would be called the passage from self-consciousness to cosmic consciousness, when, instead of thinking of the universe as made for our self, we think of our self as made for the universe. Thus we rise to a higher grade of being and a truer joy than the self-fulliment of our own small wishes and loves could ever give us.

The sixth Form of Nature Boehme calls Sound. The quality—first fixed towards good by the arising of the Light—now begins to express itself to perception. The manifold ways in which this expression is effected—by speech, cries, colours, scents, tastes, feeling, lightness, heaviness, and so on—are what he means by Sound.

The seventh and last Form of Nature he calls Figure. Here the whole 'thing,' thus being attained its form, attains its one essence. It rests on a shape, a body, fit to be its full and perfect expression, and a mansion of the six Forms. Hence, as the evolution has gone on in right order, arise all forms of beauty, all fair colours and sweet
scents and pleasing sounds; and the creature stands marked with the 'signature' of God, a being to His honour and glory and its own indescribable delight.

But should the evolution proceed from the fourth Form in the false direction, that is, should the will elect to stand in self-will, and prefer might, power, anger, to meekness, humility, and love, then its light is but the dull, red glow of the fire; its sound is discordant and harsh, and its figure repulsive and monstrous. For the first three Forms are the real bases of Becoming, and originate the Essence which becomes substantial in the sixth, and embodied in the seventh. If these first three are not manifest in the true eternal, and hidden, but in the fifth, they must remain expressed in their own self-quality of fierce rage and fury, and the creature of which they form the basis will be of like nature and signature. It is in the fourth Form that the great choice has to be made whether the Fire shall be the fire of 'self,' which consumes, or the fire of 'love,' which illuminates.

It is absolutely necessary, says Boehme, that the first three Forms shall be there; without their presence no creature can come to being. They are the roots of things, existing at the presence of the plant, and are animal. But they should never be allowed so to be known or manifested as that their essential 'own self quality' should have any influence in determining the quality manifested. We know that Love is strong, the very strongest of all things; but in Love this strength is never on the surface. As soon as Love strives to 'force,' it ceases to be Love; when it keeps the strength in a hiddenness, and shows as its seen quality only meekness and gentleness, then the unseen base makes the meekness and gentleness strong. But should the creature despise the meekness, and resolve to compel and force others to love it, then the force, being shown, can no longer act as a base, and the supposed force becomes the weakest of all things, because devoid of its basal strength.

Nevertheless, it is in the power of all creatures, from human upwards, to open the first three Forms, and make this quality their quality. This Lucifer did. He was created a Throne-Angel, but allowed the might of the Fire to become dominant in him, and from that time forth despised the meekness of the Light of love. Hereupon his light went out, not, as afterwards happened to Adam, into a hiddenness, but into absolute extinction. The meek love of God, which alone could re-kind it, that he has destroyed by his imagination. From the Light, shut up to the Fire he has chosen, and in which alone he is capable of finding joy. He is now God manifested as to the first Principle, as Jesus Christ is God manifested as to the second; for Christ is the true Light, and the Devil is the apparent Darkness. Each abides eternally in his own Principle.

Of these Principles, it is now time to speak. There are three: two eternal, and the third temporal. The first Principle is the dark world of the Anger, in which the first three Forms stand open and operative in giving quality, and the last three are hidden. The second Principle is the light world in the Love, where the first three Forms are not allowed to give quality, but remain practically hidden, while the last three alone quality. But to understand this we must go to the third Principle, the Present World—which had a beginning and will have an end. The first Principle is all evil; the second is all good; the third stands in good and evil. While man is in it, both the two eternal Forms are manifest to him; the dark world strives to draw him down into it, and the light world strives to lift him up into it. He stands between the two, and to whichever of them he here inclines his imagination, to that he will hereafter belong (Boehme says eternally). For there is no open way from the first Principle to the second, or the second to the third, which stands opposite to the both, and when this temporary world of the third Principle has passed away, no passage will remain, and the two will be so absolutely shut off from each other that each will seem all that is to itself, and be unconscious of any other.

2. Doctrine of Sin and of the Fall.—Sin, in Boehme's system, is really a false imagination. But, as our imagination defines the real for us, the concept is much stronger than it might sound. If the false imagination lasts eternally, we are eternally in deception and error. But, if it is destroyed eternally, we are eternally in Heaven. For nothing short of the power of God, co-operating with the consenting will of man, can enable man to alter his imagination; that is, his consciousness of his state and surroundings, of what is real and of what is not.

The problem of the origin of Evil has long perplexed students of Divine wisdom. Boehme seems scarcely to be conscious of those aspects of the problem which press upon many hearts and minds to-day. His teaching is strongly anti-blame and anti-blame responsibility on the altered will of a creature (Lucifer), and this only removes the difficulty one step further back. Nevertheless, his system contains a remarkable suggestion of a solution.

He is careful to assure us that God (as He truly is, as He appears to an imagination formed in, and by, the Light) is never angry and never punishes. Seen by such an imagination, what looks to its opposite like punishment appears as loving warning and guidance. But the false imagination cannot but think of God as like itself; therefore it takes God's mercy for His wrath, and His guidance for revenge. All the six Forms of Nature have come out from God, and so the first three (which, when manifested, appear as wrath, anger, jealousy) are in Him, only in Him they are never manifested. Boehme commonly needs careful interpreting. He calls the first Principle the Principle of the Father, and the second that of the Son. But he adds that in the denial of the Father apart from the Light of love, that which is known as the blame and responsibility on the altered will of a creature (Lucifer), and this only removes the difficulty one step further back. We see, therefore, that what he really means is that, if the Father should (by a false imagination) be thought of as existing alone, and apart from the Son, He must (by such an imagination) be thought of as existing alone, and apart from the Son, and from that time forth, without an imagination exists, He must speak to it in the terms of its own apprehension. But in Himself, as known by a true (because Divinely illuminated) imagination, He is all Love and Goodness. Sin arises when the first three Forms are brought out of the hiddenness, not merely to look at (as will be explained further on), but to be tasted and known, and their own self-quality accepted as our quality. But as to the transcendental reality, they are never thus brought out. The transcendental reality is known to man only through his imagination. When illuminated by the Light, his imagination rightly pictures to him the reality; but when not so illuminated, the reality is wrongly pictured, and what he imagines to be the fact is the reverse of the fact. Therefore sin is possible only if a false imagination can take on an appearance of reality only in such a false imagination. Thus at once sin is, and is not. When it is said, 'God cannot look upon sin,' the expression is more profoundly true than we suspect. It is a profound truth that the thing Himself has made, but as the imagination of the thought of the heart of a creature who is unaware that the light in him is darkness. The fact is not
as the false imagination pictures it, and the thing pictured exists nowhere save in the false imagination. That gives it reality to the man whose imagination it is, but cannot make it truly real.

But however unreal the content of the false imagination may be, the false imagination itself is real. It was real to Boehme because he believed that, if not rectified in this life, it would eternally abide; for there is no better test of the real than that it should hold its ground through eternity. To determine this idea of its eternity, the problem would be solved, for sin would then be but as a passing madness, and Hell and Earth but an episode in the eternity of Heaven.

But it would have been most important in this clear principle (Myst. Mag. i. vi. 12), that the fullness of joy might know itself, the keen tartness of the Source [that is, of the first three Forms] must be a cause to the Joy; and the darkness, a manifestation of the Light; that so the Light might be manifestly known, which could not be in the One. But can this be, if the three first Forms are never to be explored? Here again Boehme offers us a key.

'The outward spirit and body were unto the inward as a Wonder of the external to the internal in the Light-world, a mirror of the great Omniscience and Omniscience of God, and the inward was given to it for a ruler and guide. As the outward spirit and body are inward, Divine man should play with the outward in the manifestation of the whole in this world, in this world, in this world, in this world, in this world, and one of the original of the holy Light world. All this was given him for his play' (Myst. Mag. i. vi. 9-11).

Through the clumsy (and, to some, repellent) wording,* it is not hard to catch the suggestion here contained. The first three Forms are the sole causes of variety in the manifestations. As the first or second or third predominates—which is possible in an infinitely varying series of grades or of tenses or of times—the world varies.

Through these three Forms arise the wonders. These may be looked into—by a will so set in the Will of God that it is in no danger of wanting to do more than look, never to taste or know—with perfect safety and propriety. We should not omit them. Let little children play at 'shop,' without ever dreaming of making it the serious business of the whole life. They play for the time, and then let it go, and so shut it up again. The harm is where the will plays too long from looking it passively, and then longing after, and from this to tasting and proving; so that the might of the Fire-world gains a hold, and moves the being to put his whole imagination into this 'play,' whereby from play it passes to earnest, and surrounds the whole life, and becomes its one desire. Then the true imagination becomes as dead, the spiritual perception closes, and the being lives henceforth in the world of its false imagination, and knows no other.

The consequence of sin, in Boehme's teaching, is a disturbance of the relations of the parts to the All. Man should be to the lower creatures what God should be to him. Over him God should have sole dominion, and over them he should have sole dominion. Thus, through all the infinite multiplicity of the external, the individuality of the Divine properties, one Will should be dominant—the will of man in whom God's Will is dominant. Thus God would be (virtually) All in All. All the creation would then be in true harmony and temperature, each would love and serve the rest, and forever be in peace, without strife and discord. The elements whence strife arises, and the strife itself, might be known as a speculation (in the old sense of 'looking into'), but never as an actualization. Such was the first world of the Temperature, before Lucifer's and Adam's fall.

The outer process by which the Fall was effected was, as the first and initiatory step, the sin of Lucifer, who was pleased with the might of the Fire in the fourth Form, and rejected the meekness of the submission in the Divine Light, which would otherwise have qualified the might. Secondly and directly, it was the act of our first parents in eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

Only a hasty, general sketch of Boehme's teaching as to this can be given here. Adam was created out of the two Principles on which he had an extensive operativity, the fire of the Earth-source and the fire of the inner Fire-source from the Soul of the Lord. The former is the masculine element, the latter the feminine. The two sex-elements were produced the first time from the One, the image of the masculine Virgin. The Fall had a preparation and a culmination.

The preparation was that the Being of Adam, left 'alone.' He should have 'propagated magically' through the union of the two elements in himself, for he was a two-in-one element, corruptible matter, made (as science tells us) 'bone for bone, muscle for muscle, and nerve for nerve' like the beasts that perish. Instantly also the result reacts through to himself, but he looked around and saw the earth and the earth produced fruits wholly good, now withdraws into the hiddleness, and the earth bears 'thus', as the only such grain, but not the whole contains with the good of nourishment for the animal body—the evil which through digestion and excretion is eliminated. It is now only the lower class of animal, which could never be in heaven where no corruption can enter. Disease and sickness manifest themselves, poison manifests itself in certain forms. The fiery fiercest of the lower classes of animals. Thus the Fall of man infected the whole dominion' he should have ruled as God's vice-regent, so that now the whole nature of his 'creation and progression' was infected by the evil, it was a self-will which manifests or it will, and not in the will of God.

3. Doctrine of Regeneration.—St. Paul declares that the creation was thus subjected to 'vanity' in hope that it should 'be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God' (Ro 8:21). Lucifer's fall was beyond remedy, says Boehme; Adam's was not. Lucifer imagined into the first Principle (which is eternal); Adam only into the third. He desired to know good and evil; Lucifer had said, 'Evil, be thou my good.' Though it was introduced into his mind, he knew his knowledge which yet did not entirely obliterate, but only obscured, the true, so that he yet can know evil as evil; while Lucifer knows evil as good. Therefore Adam died, not to the entire ability to know good, but only to the true, Divine, which is good. But though he died to this, it did not die to him; it went into a hiddleness, but is still there as a latent potentiality in him, though at first he is so completely unaware of it that it is as if it were not in him, and so in his state, for it is less than an absolute death; it is practically absolute as far as his consciousness goes, but his consciousness does not embrace the whole content of reality.
His natural life is a life in death, and if the dead life is to come to real life, it can only be through that whereby we come to this life—a birth; therefore (as our Lord said to Nicodemus) 'ye must be born anew' (John 3:3). The power to this New Birth is the power of God in His life and life in His death, and when Christ who came down into our false imagination (but not into its dominance) to re-etiure the disappeared Divine nature that stood as dead, that it might again spring forth to newness of life. He brought the true imagination into the false, and showed it to us visibly in His born and charred flesh. If we may catch the idea that ours is not the true, and so come to desire the true. Then He leads us in the one way to the recovery of the true, by leading us to the Cross, wherein we must (in and with Him) crucify the false which lies over and obscures the true; then the true arises necessarily and becomes our new imagination, that is, our new 'self' and life.

The promise given to our first parents of the Treader on the Serpent, though not immediately fulfilled, till the iniquities after. Man was handed over to our Fall—availed to preserve the Divine nature in man from doing more than disappear, from actually abandoning him. It remained hidden and unrecognized, but it was there; till the fullness of time. And while the Virgin—there may be a man—neces-sary for the Virgin-birth lies in this, that the male seed is from the Fire-source, and the female from the Light-source; so the special nature of the Fire—a hard-set selfhood—is less present in the female than in the male (Myst. Mag. 1, xxiii., 45). Thus our Lord was born, not of 'bloods' (i.e. a divided parentage) nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God; that is, of the heavenly Water and of the Spirit; and Man must again be 'born anew.' All through His life till the penance of Heaven, only in Heaven, stood where Adam fell. He stood in the forty days' fast, and refused to eat of the earthly substance (though it looked 'good for food'); refused to long after earthly adulation and worship (though it seemed 'pleasant to the eyes'); refused to act from the outer wisdom of the serpent (though it would have given Him the external dominion and glory of this world).

Thus He gained the power required. But, to avail ourselves of His salvation, we must enter into this matter of the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the Devil; that is, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life. Through His power we can now put the self-will again into the hiddenness, and so bring out of the hiddenness, and live in, the meekness in which He ever lived. Thus we regain what Adam lost—the high glory of being so one with God that He dwells in us as our will, and what He wills seems to be what we will.

When this central Will is inoperative, myriad's of errors arise, foetum with false imagination do then 'what is right in their own eyes,' and all peace and harmony is destroyed. The world is plunged in conflict, everything is 'out of joint'; and all this for the sake of a false idea of freedom, the glamour of which seduces us, but which proves a more horrible bondage than 'His service,' which alone is 'perfect freedom.'

A powerful aid to the regeneration is found in 'Christ's Testaments,' Baptism and Holy Communion. In each it is not the outward element that counts, but the power which has arisen in the soul, then it perceives the inward in the outward element, and it is the inward water which cleanses, and the inward sustenance which feeds, the inward man. In all earthly matter of the four elements the inward One Pure Element lies hidden from the outer man, but open to the inward, first through faith, afterwards actually.

Many other points in Boehme's system might be noticed, but enough has been said to give an idea of the general trend of his theosophy. His terminology constitutes the greatest difficulty in understanding his writings, and many who have studied and made with students of Alchemy, and one of them induced him to read the works of Paracelsus. He thus became acquainted with the terms of Alchemy, and uses them constantly, to the perplexity of his readers. For he saw in them a meaning beyond the outward, and many who will catch his real purport who cannot detect the spiritual allusion underlying the terms used. To him the Magnum Opus seemed a magnificent symbol of the 'maximum opus' of regeneration. The transmutation of the base metal into the perfect stands for the transmutation of the fallen, external nature into the unfallen internal in which man was originally created in the image and likeness of God. And the process through solution, purification, and re-fixation marvellously exemplifies the spiritual process, and the 'eous character. was to plunge in the imagination to death, purification through the Spirit, and the re-creation of the 'new man.'

III. BOEHME'S IMPORTANCE AND INFLUENCE.

The philosophical value of Boehme lies in his suggestion that if men would only begin to apprehend themselves, and what they are, human apprehension there must exist a hidden and unmanifested element. If both are explored, they can appear only as absolute contrary, evil and good. Yet what is required is not to annihilate one that the other may exist alone, but to unite the strength (without the quality) of the evil (which, without its quality, is not evil but strength) to the quality of the good, making the former the unseen, unmanifested, basal power of the latter. For, while evil is manifested as such, good lacks the elemental substance. The Devil is 'the very presence of the evil proving. What is wanted, therefore, is not the destruction of one of the two terms, but such a change of relation between the two as shall virtually reduce them to one. This is the Hegelian triad of Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis; and absolutely on all fours with this is Professor G. Boole's formula (Laws of Thought), 'Universe of thought equals Unity,' most graphically represented by his suggested expression, x + not x = 1.

The real interest of the fact that Boehme lies in his clear and unmistakable teaching as to the nature of true regeneration and the true Christian life. Many who will fail to understand his cosmology will find him lucid and most helpful here.

In England, Sir Isaac Newton, William Law, William Blake, and others have been students of Boehme; in France, Louis Claude de Saint-Martin; in Germany, Hegel, Schelling, Schopenhauer, J. G. Gichtel, and many others.

LITERATURE.—The principal edition in English of Boehme's works is the edition of the Philosophical Works, translated by J. Jacob, 1840-47. There is also a German edition (1705). Another edition in English is Izaak Walton's edition of the Mystical Works (1678-89), and another in English by John Shuster, 1833. The most recent English edition is in the Writings of John G. Gichtel, 8 vols., published by J. C. Barker, 1909.


The Bogomils were a sect of dualistic heretics who declared the kinship of the Paulicians and Eutycheians (q.e.). Mainly to the former may be ascribed their peculiar form of Dualism, and to the latter their specifically ascetic element. Both these earlier movements took root in Thrace during the 2nd century, A.D., and spread from their native soil in the Eastern Byzantine provinces (Armenia, Mesopotamia, and N. Syria). They flourished most among the people of Slavic race, particularly the Bulgarians. Here they passed through a process of intermingling and local modification which issued in a system relatively new and strange,—whose adherents increased rapidly though secretly, and are known to have been called Bogomils in the beginning of the 13th century, if not from the middle of the 10th century. Bogomils were usually found in the frequent use by them of the two Slavic words Bog mütus, "Lord, have mercy." A more likely explanation derives it from Bogumill, "Beloved of God," in which case it may be taken to denote the idea of a pious community analogous to the "leper" (i.e. Friends of God) in the early Christian sects in the vulgar tongue under the Bulgarian Tsar Peter, who ruled from 927 to 968. This would seem to afford a surer clue to the name, and (if correct) puts back the active emergence of the movement to the middle of the 10th century. Basilissa Zizanija (died after 1118) is the main source of what is known about the Bogomils. His account is given in titulus, or chapter, xxvii. of the work Πανορμία Σωτηρίας which he devoted to the refutation of twenty-four different heresies. He gives an article on the forty-eight articles of the reigning Emperor Alexis Comnenus (q.v.) and a story of his daughter of the latter, shows how he came by his information. Alexis, having invited the physician Basilissus, chief apostle of the sect, to Constanti- nople, induced him, under an affectation of sympathetic interest, to make a true statement of his doctrines; meanwhile a sopher, hidden behind a curtain in the room, took down a verbatim report of the conversation, and at the end of the interview the work was raised. In this way


2. "This is the Greek interpretation, and is given by Euthymius Zigabenus (tituli xxvii. of Πανορμία Σωτηρίας)." Zöckler favours this and says it is thus "wohl Specialbezeichnung" der Herkunft der Secte, die sich wohl gegen "Freundliche Gottes" (θεολογία)." With this, too, would agree their own self-description as Χριστιανοί, Χριστοπολίται (Euthymius Zigabenus, Πανορμία Σωτηρίας in Migne, FG cxxxi. col. 451; Anna Comnenus, Alexia, lib. xv. (ib. vol. cxxxi. col. 1177).

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4. See "Liber des Bogomils in Bosnia and in Bulgaria at the beginning of the 13th century," in Revue des questions by Louis Lebret, pp. 479-517. Bogomils = Theophilius, and was (Bogomils = Theora) pope's second (assumed), name, his first perhaps been Judicella. These were also spoken of as Fandhagelata (θανδηγαλεία), i.e. pursers-funders, from fundo, "pursers" or "funders," with reference apparently to a habit of begging by their way from place to place like the Friars (see Euthymius Zigabenus, c. Φανθαγελαίας in FG, vol. cxxxi. col. 47).

5. Anna Comnenus, lib. xvi. 457 (FG, vol. cxxxi.).

Basilissus found himself ensnared and self-accused. His doctrine thus craftily obtained is set out by Euthymius (PG, vol. cxxxi.) under 52 heads, of which the main are as follows:

(1) The Bogomils accepted all the Mosaic books of the OT, but accepted as canonical the Psalms and the Prophets. In addition, they accepted the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, assigning a peculiar sacredness and authority to the Gospel of John. So far as Moses was used, it was as allegory to support their own views. A favourite book was the apocryphal "Visio or Ascensionis Isaiae."

(2) While accepting the Gospel-history, they did so not altogether in its literal sense—Christ's infancy, life, miracles, and reign were set in political clothing of higher facts—and they held, moreover, that its meaning had been falsified by the Church. Chrysostom, in particular, seemed to them a falsifier. Nor would they have anything to do with the "grammarians," whom they chanced as scribes and Pharisees.

(3) They taught a Sabellian conception of the Trinity, saying that all three names—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—apply to the Father; and that in the end, when Son and Spirit have done their work, they will merge into one in the true God. The Son was represented as human in form, though not corporeal. They pictured the Father as the ancient of days (θεοπάπα), the Son as an adolescent youth (θεοπάπα, δηθος), and the Spirit as a beardless youth (θεοπάπα, χειροκοπα). See Euthymius Zigabenus, c. Φανθαγελαίας.

(4) God's first-born son was Satanael (the Satan of the NT), the highest of the spiritual beings, his Father's universal vicegerent. Tempted by his pride, however, he sought to set up an Empire of his own, and drew after him a great company of angels. Cast down from heaven on this account, but not yet deprived of creative power, he made a new heaven and a new earth. They held that Satanael also made man, but could not do more than fashion his body. For life or spirit he had to fall back upon God, whose help he besought and obtained on condition that from the human race the places of the fallen angels in heaven should be refilled. So God breathed into man's body the breath of life. But Satanael, moved by envy of man's glorious destiny, repented of his promise. He seduced man to eat forbidden fruit, and from that time on man became subject to the principle of evil in humanity. This principle prevailed over the good principle represented by Abel, the child of Adam and Eve. By its aid he imposed himself upon the Jews as the Supreme God. Moses, under his influence, placed his Law—hence sin—his fatal gift. Thus all men, save a few, were led astray. Then the good God intervened. In the 5500th year after the creation of the world, a spirit called the Son of God, the Logos, the Archangel Michael, the angel of the Great Council (Is 9), came forth from Him, entered the world in an ethereal body by the channel of Mary, and proceeded to overturn his evil brother's kingdom. Satanael plotted and brought to pass his death unaware that, being bodily in appearance merely, he could not be affected by any physical pains. When, therefore, Jesus showed himself after the resurrection in his true heavenly form, Satanael
had to acknowledge defeat. His divine power departed from him. He lost the angelic syllable (Εε) in his name, and became Satan only. Christ then ascended into heaven and took the seat of power once held by Satanael. His own place among men was hereupon taken by the Holy Spirit, introduced by the Son as the Son by the Father. 1

(5) The twelve Apostles were in a spiritual sense the first creation of the Spirit; and the true successors of these, in whom alone He continues to dwell, are the Bogomils and their converts. As manifestations of the Spirit they spoke of themselves as parents of God. 2

(6) People of the true faith cannot die, but may be said 'tangani in sonno transmutari.' 3

(7) Their own place of assembly (synagoga) they called Bethlehem, because there Christ, or the Word of God, is truly born and the true faith preached. 4 All other so-called sacred temples are the home of demons. 5

(8) Accordingly their attitude to the 'Church' was hostile throughout. Quoting Mt 4: 11 ('and led him into the wilderness') and Deut 31: 9 (in Capernaum), they applied the term 'Nazaretli' to the 'Church,' reserving 'Capernaum' to themselves. 6 All the Beatitude were spoken concerning them, not the 'Church,' 7 and not to the latter has been given any power either to do any wonderful work. 8 As to the Sacraments of the Church, its Baptism is that of John, not Jesus, of the water, not the Spirit; and those who come to it are Pharisases and Sadducees. 9 For John the Baptist was a servant of the Jewish God, Satanael. They despoiled also the Church's doctrine and practice of the Lord's Supper. 10 It seemed to them a sacrifice to evil spirits. Their own conception made the Supper merely symbolical of communion with Christ as the bread of life and the wine of heaven—a consistent outcome of their Docetism. Equally consistent was their protest against the worship of the Virgin Mary, of the Saints, and of images. 11 When the Church attempted to rebuke the protest by appeal to the miracle-working virtue of relics, they did not deny the miracles, but ascribed them to evil spirits which attended the so-called Saints in life, 12 and were permitted to go on working after their death. Similarly the power of the exorcist over the demoniacal world was not denied in some cases, but an attempt to nullify the power was made. The exorcism is a symbol welcome to evil spirits, inasmuch as it was the cross by which they were fain to have compassed the death of Christ. 13

(9) On the ground that the demons, under Satanael, possess a certain power for an appointed time, and that it is permissible to secure safety from unjust treatment by doing them outward honour, they took part in Church worship. 14 But they had their own secret 'conventicles' and a definite mode of initiation. After the candidate had confessed, and after the fastings and prayer, the president laid the Gospel of John on his head, and together with the brethren invoked the Holy Spirit and repeated the Lord's Prayer. 15

A probationary period of strict abstinence followed. Then, if approved, he came a second time into the assembly, when, with his face toward the east, the Gospel of John was again laid on his head, the brethren touched his head with their hands, and sang together a hymn of thanksgiving. It is submitted by their enemies that the monk abode before the candidate was one month. 16 They were to keep the precepts of the Gospel, and fast 17 and pray, and be pure in life and compassionate and humble and truthful and loving to one another, and without covetousness. 18 Nor is there any evidence that the Bogomil hypocrasy and secret vice had any foundation in fact. The Bogomil practice, as well as standard, seems to have been far above the average level, and to have had no small effect in attracting those whom the corruptions of the Church repelled.

(10) The monk and physician Basilius seems to have been the first martyr of the sect. He did not recant the confession obtained from him in the manner already described, and was led away to prison. This was about 1111, at which time he had given up and the convertity of the Bogomils for 40 years. In 1119 he died at the stake. 19 Many others were 'ferretoed out' by the combined zeal of Alexius the Emperor and Nicholas the Patriarch—especially (it is said) from among the laity and the so-called Constantinopolitan clergy—on their 'errors under threat of punishment or promise of reward; some remained firm and went to lifelong imprisonment. 20 But the heresy lived on for centuries—the same in substance everywhere, though modified in detail here and there. A strong influence on its side was the monk Constantine Chrysomalus, whose writings were condemned by a synod at Constantinople in 1140. Another synod at Constantinople in 1143 deposed two Cappadocian bishops as Bogomils—a sign that the heresy had spread to Asia Minor. About 1230 the Patriarch Germanus complained of its widespread activity in the capital, and of the success with which its emissaries wormed themselves into private houses and made converts. In Bulgaria, most of all, it held its ground, and did so in the form of an organized Church-community. Distinct traces of this are met with as late as the second half of the 14th cent., and the smaller societies into which it separated are traceable to a much later time.

FRED. J. POWICKIE.

BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.—See HUS, HUSITES.

BOLDNESS (Christian).—Boldness (zappoia) is used in the NT to describe the perfect confidence which the Christian, depending upon Christ and His work, has in all his dealings with God. Three passages may be cited as illustrating the idea: (i.) Heb. 4: 16 'Let us therefore draw near with boldness unto the throne of grace'; (ii.) Heb. 10: 25, Eph. 4: 15 (ii.) Heb. 10: 19 'Ceust not away therefore your boldness, which hath given you great recompense of reward'; (iii.) 1 John 4: 18 'Herein is love made

The Bogomils fasted three times weekly—"secunda et quarta et sexta dies" (§ 25).

1. In the Hippodrome at Constantinople (see Anna Comnena, lib. xv. [PG xxxii. coll. 1181-6]).

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perfect with us, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment;” cf. 1 John 3:21. In (i.) the ‘boldness’ denotes the perfect confidence with which the Christian approaches God in this present world; in (ii.) the confident expectation, or joyful and hopeful assurance, which he has with regard to his future relationship with God; in (iii.) the boldness, conceived as existing in the future, denotes the absence of fear, or the simple confidence, which the Christian will experience in the day of judgment. Of the latter, boldness certain important facts require to be stated.

1. It was a new ingredient put into the religions consciousness by Christianity, and is a distinctive feature of the Christian faith. To come boldly to the throne of grace is a new and living way (Heb. 4:16). This can be seen by a comparison between the way in which man approaches God under the OT dispensation, and the way in which the Christian approaches Him under the new covenant. In the OT man approaches God with fear and trembling; he stands afar off ‘at the nether part of the mount’ (Ex 19:18); even Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake (Heb. 12:2); in the NT man approaches with boldness ‘the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem,’ God the judge of all; and Jesus the Mediator of a new covenant, and the blood of sprinkling which speaks better things than the blood of Abel, testifies that in this matter of boldness the Christian religion is distinct, not only from the Hebrew, but from all other religions. Fear and shrinking rather than boldness and confidence are, universally, the accompanying traits of the natural man’s approach to the unseen and Eternal. The Christian alone has boldness of access to the throne of God.

2. The ground of Christian boldness is Christ, and especially His atoning work; it is not any virtue or grace which the Christian may have in himself to recommend him before God, but that in Christ is the sole ground of boldness. In Christ the Christian has a great High Priest with whom alone he can boldly approach the throne of grace (Heb. 4:13-16, Eph. 2:18; cf. Rom. 5:2); in Christ’s blood he has a sacrifice for sin with which he can boldly enter the Holy Place (Heb. 10:19). In 1 John 4:14 is the love of God perfected in the Christian’s boldness, and perfect love casts out all fear; but the perfect love of God is, according to this Epistle, embodied in Christ and His propitiatory work. It is a new confidence, not for the Christian’s own purposes, but a confidence built on the ground of Christ and His work, and united to Christ and Christ’s work by faith, the Christian found a new standing—one of confidence and joyful assurance—before God, and exhibited it to the world.

3. Christian boldness is not inconsistent with humility and reverence before God. The Christian is bold when he realizes the perfect and sufficient right which he has in Christ to approach God, but humble when he realizes that this right is not in and by himself, but in and by Christ, who has given him such boldness and freedom of access he can feel nothing but grateful reverence. In the Christian consciousness, boldness and humility are met together, confidence and reverence have kindly fellowships within him. From the audacity which defies all authority, which fears neither God nor man, and which leads a man to be and to do whatsoever he will; such audacity is not boldness towards God (1 Jn 3:22); it leads away from God. It is irreligious and immoral in its tendency, and exercises itself in the sphere directly opposite and opposed to the sphere of Christian boldness; (ii.) From the courage or confidence which is due to an imperfect or incomplete conception of God. Where God is conceived as pure clemency or simple kindness, and as having a forgiveness so easy to grant that it amounts to an indifference to sin, He can be approached with a certain boldness which, however, is but the courage of a moral ignorance and spiritual blindness as to the true character of God, and is very different in religious quality from the boldness of the man who holds God to be so inconsistent with Himself, and so opposed to His nature, and so incapable of vengeance, that a sufficient sacrifice, be dare not approach Him. (iii.) From courage in the face of difficulty, or danger or opposition in the world. From such natural courage the spiritual boldness of the Christian differs in several respects. The sphere of their exercise are different. Natural courage exercises itself in the world of phenomena, Christian boldness is towards God and exercises itself in the world of spiritual realities. Then natural courage requires for its exercise danger or difficulty, Christian boldness is, on the contrary, the exercise for all difficulty of approach to God has been removed by Christ. Natural courage takes risk, Christian boldness feels no risk; it has ‘full assurance.’

5. But, while Christian boldness is in itself distinct from natural courage, it was doubtless the secret and source of the marvellous bravery which was shown by members of the Apostolic community in face of danger and death.* Perfect love casts out all fear, first the fear of God, and then of every other thing in God. God’s people are always ready to die for God, and so to be martyrs. From this it follows that a true Christian, and a Christian who has been living in the spirit of the new covenant, is naturally disposed to be ready to die for the sake of his Christian faith, when this is demanded by the truth of God. In this boldness the Christian is expected to be, and is expected by Christ. Wherever the Christian has the true Christian consciousness of the boldness of the Christian faith, the Christian is expected to be bold.

6. This article would not be complete without a reference to the boldness of Jesus. In the Fourth Gospel boldness is mentioned seven times as characteristic of the bearing and speech of Jesus (cf. Mk 8:9). Then it only need be mentioned that confidence and assurance were supremely evident in the attitude of Christ towards God. Notice His attitude at the grave of Lazarus, or as He draws near to the Cross.

For boldness in general sense, see COURAGE.

LITERATURE.—See articles on the following prophecies :—
A. E. Abbott, John on John the Baptist, 1917; the Comm., esp. A. B. Davidson and Westcott on Hebrews and Westcott on 1 John; and PCBE.

D. RUSSELL SCOTT.

BOMBAY.—The Presidency of Bombay, the most western of the provinces of India, takes its name from that of its capital city, which is believed to be derived from the title of the local goddess, Mambá or Mamáb Devi, interpreted to mean Mahá-Andô, the great Mother-goddess of the non-Aryan population. Her shrine, which once stood in the site now occupied by the Bombay city, was moved to the Bhéjdi Bázár in the native city, where she still receives the offerings of her worshippers. The Presidency, as now constituted, consists of scattered groups of districts lying along the W. coast of the Peninsula, from lat. 18° 55' to 26° 29' N., and includes an area of 188,745 square miles, and a total population of 25,424,235.

The religious conditions of a great Indian province have been discussed in some detail in the case of Bengal (see), and separate articles dealing with the more important divisions, sacred places, and castes in the Bombay Presidency illustrate so many phases of the local religions.

* "repurapu" is used of the boldness which the Apostles showed in bearing and speech (Ac 4:19); "representation" is used frequently in the Acts of the fearless preaching of the gospel.
beliefs that it is unnecessary to discuss them in detail (see, for instance, AMARNATH, BARODA, DWARKA, ELEPHANTA, ELLODA, GHIR despairing of the result, the Paltan of the Vaghre, SOMNATH; and, for castes and tribes, BAIHAG, BANJARA, BHILS, DHIVDISHANS (North), MACHAR, RAIPUT, RAMOSHI, YOGI). In this article, therefore, it is proposed merely to give a general sketch, historical and descriptive.


In the case of Bombay, perhaps more clearly than in other provinces, the varied environment of the people has influenced their religion. The Presidency consists of several regions widely differing in climate and vegetation, and liable to external influences, as well as in the ethnical origin, history, and character of their population.

(a) Sind.—Thus, beginning from the extreme west, we have the valley of the Indus, the climate of which, owing to its prevalent aridity and the absence of the monsoons—a condition relieved only by a great system of artificial irrigation—ranks among the hottest and most variable in India. By its situation it was especially exposed to the attacks of the Arabs from the west, which began early in the 8th century and gradually forced the desert to submission. The original population consisted of an Aryan race with a non-Aryan substratum, leavened by an important element derived from foreigners, including the Ephthalites or White Huns, and more especially after the armies of Islam appeared upon the scene. The permanent result of the Arab invasions has been that, at the present time, rather more than three-fourths of the population are Mosalmans.

(b) Cutch, Kathiawar, and Gujarat.—Farther east come Cutch (Kachchh), Kathiawar, and Gujarat: the first almost an island, severed from the mainland by the Rann, half desert, half morass; the second a peninsula, stretching westward to the Arabian Sea; the third a fertile plain, watered by the rivers Narbada and Tapti—the Garden of India, as it used to be called before its recent devastation by famine. This region was from the earliest times exposed to invasion from the north of India. The inscription of the Satrap Hrudrabana, engraved on the rock of Girnar in the Kathiawar Hills, of the establishment, in A.D. 150, of the Saka or Scythian dynasty, known as that of the Western Satraps. Kathiawar and Gujarat seem to have been the most southerly tracts which came under the rule of the Huns, and the theory advanced by S. E. Roberts (Arch. J. v. 114), that the well-marked Scythian element can be identified in the population of the Deccan, will not bear examination.

(c) The Konkans.—The remaining seaboard districts of the Presidency, included under the general name of the Konkans, are separated from the central region by the barrier of the western Ghats, range, which, until it was pierced by British road and railway engineers, formed a permanent obstacle to communication between the coast and the interior. This portion of the western seaboard was from the most ancient times the seat of a flourishing trade, and formed the centre of commercial and intellectual intercourse between India and the nations of the West. Perhaps as early as 1600 B.C. trade routes were established between its ports and those of the Red Sea. Communication with the Gulf of Persia and the cities in the Tigris-Euphrates valley certainly started not later than 750 B.C., and probably dates from a much earlier period. From the beginning of the Christian era, commerce was opened between Gujarat and Rome; a colony of Jews from Yemen is believed to have reached Kolâb in the 6th cent. A.D.; the Parthians, driven from Persia by the advancing armies of Islam, landed at Sanjan in the Thana district in A.D. 775. The long line of Christian missionaries to W. India begins with Pannijus (189-90);* in Gujarat this line continued to grow until the Portuguese, established in Goa in 1510, steadily undertook the conversion of the native races which fell under their control. This continuous intercourse between this part of India and the West must have profoundly affected the religious beliefs of the country. About the same time, with some measure of probability, has been attributed the growth of the conception of lively faith in a personal Godhead, which is a leading tenet of the Vaishnav sect. This, however, is strenuously denied by those who dispute the originality of the Vaishnav religion.

(d) The Deccan.—In direct contrast to the seaboard is the scantily watered, comparatively unfertile, plateau known as the Deccan (Dakkin, Skr. Dhakshina, 'that on the right hand,' 'southern'). While the barrier of the W. Ghats divides it from the coastal region, it is separated from N. India by the Vindhyas and Mahâdevo ranges, and in ancient times was specially isolated by the tract of forest country known to the ancient Hindus as Dandakâranya, which has been identified with Mahârashtra (see H. Brébner, 'IJanjara, the original of the Dakhin Mountains'). This early Hindu legend is said to have been occupied by fierce demons (Kâshmara), in other words, the non-Aryan tribes who resisted the pressure of the new civilization from the north, and were forced to take refuge in this most predominant element in the present population. In the Deccan the sturdy peasantry were much less accessible to priestly control than the less bulky races of the seaboard. In Gujarat the preservation of the original Hindu beliefs was due chiefly to the Rajput aristocracy, largely recruited from Huns and Scythians admitted to Hinduism; the wealthy trading classes devoted themselves to the building and endowment of temples; even at present among the laity there is found a sectarian fervour absent in other parts of the Presidency. The condition of religious thought in the Deccan was and is very different. Here there is a lower general average of wealth, culture, and religious devotion. The population is more scattered, and is absorbed in the care of the precarious crops which along the soil produce. Consequently, like the practically minded Jât of Upper India, the Deccan Kumbh or Marâtha, parmi sexurum cultur et infrequens, cares little for the Brahman, whom the wider political education of the Hindus (see p. 114), the influence of other literate classes has led to prefer the occupation of the layman to the segregation of his own fraternity in religious institutions (Baines, Census Rep. 1851, l. 125). The Marâthas are of opinion that the spiritually-minded Brahman should not interfere in secular affairs; and those who devote their lives to the study of Hinduism conceive the divine ordinances are held in great esteem; but otherwise, in the Marâtha country, there is no veneration for the Brahmic character (Grant Duff, Hist. of the Mahrattas, 5, 36). Siváji, the founder of the Marâtha State, steadily pursued the policy of appointing Brahmins to the highest civil posts in the administration; and the Peshwa, or Marâtha Mayor of the Palace, was always a Brahman. Thus the modern Marâtha

* It is possible, however, that the 'Indus' of Pannijus was really S. Persia. See Roth, 'India,' vi. 467; cf. Bernal, 'Sed Indianum omnem plagam Aegipii acscipiamus,' and see Lassen, in Arch. J. iv. 253; and Wormald, 'Eckhodt'schipschreiber,' ii. 63-65, 132-135; Moller, 'Lehrb. der Kirchengesch.,' i. 108. On the other hand, it is tolerably certain that Christianity entered India between 700 and 900 (Lassen, Ind. Alterthumskunde, i. 1118-1125; Aiken, 'The Dravidians of Gotta the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, 255-292; Hopkins, India Old and New, 193; Berg van Blijings, Ind. Indiënboek Op de Christlikheit Verhaken, 118-120.
Brāhmaṇ is reared to cherish the tradition that his forefathers directed the policy of the last independent. Hindustan in the Finnsian end looks with jealousy on the Government which has replaced it. Poona has become a centre of restless intrigue, to which much of the recent disloyalty in Bengal, and in particular the modern dedication and training of Marhaṇa can be traced. Next to the Kāśmir, the Marhaṇa Brāhmaṇs are perhaps the most capable Hindus in the Empire (T. C. Arthur [A. T. Crawford], Our Troubles in Poona and the Deccan, 1897, Reminiscences of an Indian Police Officer, 1898, p. 141).

Lingāyāt.—The independence of Brāhmaṇ authority, which is characteristic of the Marhaṇa, was possibly one of the main causes of the growth of the remarkable Lingāyāt sect, which will form the subject of a separate article. They have their own priests, and have long severed all connexion with the Brāhmaṇs. But the old leaven is still working, and they now exhibit a tendency to revert to Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, with which they claim their creed to be coeval, and are attempting to apply the fourfold caste organization of Manu to their social divisions (Enthoven, Census Rep. 1901, i. 387).

3. Extension of Brāhmaṇ influence into S. India.—The process of bringing that portion of the Peninsula which lies S. of the Narbada within the Brāhmaṇical fold probably began with the peaceful settlement of the new-comers on the west coasts. This may have occurred at an early period, when the Aryans had worked their way into the Sind delta and Gujarāt on the one side, and down the lower Ganges valley on the other. In Bombay the movement further south was effected either by the sea route or along the western coast districts, where the mountain ranges diminish in altitude and melt into the alluvial plains of Gujarāt, the valleys of the Narbada and the Tāpti. The advance into the Deccan was checked by the natural obstacles already referred to and probably occurred at a period long subsequent to the movement along the coasts. Prof. Bhandarkar, by an examination of the early grammarians, has shown some reason for believing that the Aryans had acquired a knowledge of the script by the 7th cent. B.C.; that up to this time their advance had been along the coast districts; but that by B.C. 350 they had become acquainted with the country as far south as Tanjore and Madura (DG i. pt. ii. 141). These conclusions cannot be regarded as strictly accurate, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Brāhmaṇism of S. India is of comparatively recent origin has been disputed by Hinda writers. But the theory of a comparatively late introduction of Aryan culture fits well with the existing facts, and it involved important consequences. Not only have the local Dravidian languages held their ground, but art and general culture have developed on original lines. Still more is this the case in the domains of religion and politics. The newcomers found well-organized communities and ancient kingdoms in occupation of the country. The forms of belief characteristic of the non-Aryan races retained their influence over the minds of the people. The early Tamil literature shows that the evolution of religion in the south took a shape very different from that which, in the case of the northern races, was more familiar to students of the development of Hinduism (V. Kanakasabhai, The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 1894, p. 227 ff.).

The application of Buddhism into the region south of the Vindhyā range was the work of Aśoka (c. B.C. 272–231; see Aśoka). Two copies of his fourteen edicts have been found on the W. coast; one, fragmentary, at Sopara or Srīprāraka in the Thāna District, N. of Bombay; the second, nearly complete, on the Gīrṇā hill, E. of the town of Junāgarh in Kāśmir (Smith, Asoka, 103). The discovery of three copies of the minor Rock edicts in the Chitālḍrāg District of Mysore shows that his authority extended as far south as that kingdom (Rice, Mysore, ii. 499).

The progress of the three great religious movements, Jainism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism, is recorded in a series of monuments, the rock-cut halls and temples of W. India, of the greatest historical and religious importance. When their story is carefully examined, it appears that they are spread practically without material breaks over the several centuries of the darkest, though most interesting, period of Indian history; and throw a light upon the rise of India as greater than can be derived from any other source. In addition to the facts claimed to attention, the western caves afford the most vivid illustration of the rise and progress of the three great religions that prevailed in India in the early centuries of our era and before it. They show clearly how the Buddhist religious rose and spread, and how its form became afterwards corrupt and idolatrous. They explain how it consequently came to be superseded by the nearly cognate forms of Jainism and the antagonistic development of the revived religion of the Brāhmaṇs. All this, too, is done in a manner more vivid and more authentic than can be either gained from an enumeration of the inscriptions now available (Fergusson-Burgess, Cave Temples, 160).

More than nine-tenths of the caves at present known are found within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. The view once held, that they are in some way connected with the monuments of Egypt, is now rejected; and their abundance on the W. coast is due solely to the fact that the region lies to the west of the formation of that region, with horizontal strata of amygdaloid and other cognate trap-formations, generally of considerable thickness and uniformity of structure, and with their edges exposed in perpendicular cliffs, favoured the construction of such excavations to serve as halls, temples, or monasteries (Fergusson, Hist. of Indian Arch., 1876, 107).

Many of these caves are described in separate articles (see AJANTA, KĀÑHERI, ELLORA, NĀSIK); and therefore it is only necessary to say that, as a whole, they fall into two groups, though naturally the same site was occupied by successive builders, and accordingly the distinction of schools of Buddhist belief is not always rigidly observed. The first group represents the Hinayāna school, the earlier form of Buddhism, and includes the caves at Junāgarh and other sites in Kāśmir, dating from B.C. 250 to the Christian era; those of the Konkans and Deccan, all S. of Bombay, dated between about B.C. 200 and A.D. 50; those E. of Bombay, in the range of the W. Ghāṭa, dated between B.C. 100 and A.D. 100; and those in the hills of NāsiK (wh. see), and the earliest of the Ajanta (wh. see) group, which are of various ages, ranging from B.C. 100, and including examples of the Mahāyāna, or later school, as late as the 7th cent. A.D.; those at Mārol and Kāñheri (wh. see) near Bombay, between B.C. 100 and A.D. 150. The second group, that of the Mahāyāna school, extends from the 4th nearly to the 8th cent. A.D., and includes the hall at Junāgarh, the later specimens of the Ajanta series, and those at Aurtangāzil and NāsiK.

These monuments bear eloquent testimony to the religious fervour, generosity, and taste of the rulers, nobility, and merchant princes who provided funds for their excavation and decoration. Their endowment had the effect of attracting a number of monks. The Buddhist pilgrim, Fāhien, who began his travels in A.D. 399, gives a lively account of the monastery at Kāñheri, and describes the magnificence of the festal decorations, the beauty of the relics, the costly illuminations, the rich endowments of the community (Beal, Fāh-hien, 55, 76, 178). Huen Ts’iang, a later pilgrim, who in A.D. 641 visited the capital (probably NāsiK) of the great king Pulakośin H.,
who came to the throne about A.D. 608, found some hundred religious establishments (saṅgharṣāna), containing many thousands (prakāśa), in about 527. But even at this time Buddhism was in a stage of decay. Possibly the picture which the same writer gives of the famous establishment at Amarāvatī (wh. see) is true of other foundations of the same period. For, as we have already said, there have been no priests (dwelling here) in consequence of the spirit of the mountain changing its shape, and appearing sometimes as a wolf, sometimes as a monkey, and frightening the disciples; for this reason the place has become deserted. It is possible that some other place has remained there.

5. Jainism.—The history of the rise of Jainism—a faith contemporary with the rise of, and resulting from the same causes that gave birth to, Buddhism—is similarly little known concerning the process by which it attained a high position in W. and S. India for several centuries. The Jains of the Bombay Presidency are at present represented by two classes: the first, comprising the merchants of Gujarāt, who are remarkable chiefly for their extreme tenderness to animal life, as is shown by the hospitals (pinjrapol) established in the chief cities for all sorts of creatures; and the Mārvarī Bahūṣ of Mārvarī in Rajputāna, who are generally money-lenders and immigrants into the Deccan. The second class includes a class of cultivators found chiefly in the Belgaum and Dharwar districts of the Karnāta or S. Maratha country. The first division is connected with the northern centres of the faith, in Rajputāna and Gujarāt, such as Mount Abī (wh. see) and Palitana (wh. see). The second group, that of the southern Jains, represents the relics of a belief which was once the State religion of a large part of S. India. In Mysore, according to Rice (some of whose conclusions have been disputed by H. V. Fleet), there is a large community of Jains. The pure form of Buddhism by the missionaries of Asoka, and here it continued to be the official religion of certain dynasties and kings throughout the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Here the three rival faiths, Buddhism, Jainism, Brāhmaṇism, appear to have existed side by side. In the 5th and 9th centuries A.D. an active revival of Brāhmaṇism in the form of Linga-worship resulted from the missionary labours of Kumārila and Saṅkarāchāryya, which raised Saivism to a position of superiority amongst religious sects. In the 7th century, the 12th century, the Vaiṣṇava sectarians gained ground, and, through the teaching of the reformer Rāmānuja-chāryya, dealt a deathblow to Jainism. After this the adherents of the Vaiṣṇava and Saiva doctrines seem to have effected some kind of compromise, of which the form Harīhaṇa, uniting the cult of Hari (Vigūṇa) and Hara (Śiva), was the outer symbol. The almost contemporaneous growth of the Lingāyat sect, which popularized the Saiva cultus, led to the final decay of Jainism as a leading faith in this region, while the later forms of Vaiṣṇavism absorbed all that remained of Buddhism (Rice, Mysore, i. 450 ff.).

6. Development of Brāhmaṇism.—It would be an error to suppose that Brāhmaṇism suffered a complete collapse during the ascendancy of Buddhism and Jainism. The excavators of many of the Brāhmaṇa remains, however, both religious and social, have found traces of both Saivism, and in the great cave at Bādāmī a Vaiṣṇava temple of the 6th cent. A.D. still survives. Some of the Saiva caves go back to the 2nd century. But it is only in the 4th cent. that they become common, and nearly all the Hindu caves of later date belong to that sect. The work of Brāhmaṇical cave-excision seems to have almost ceased in the 8th century. The methods by which the original Buddhist models were adapted to the Brāhmaṇical cultus are described by Fergusson and Burgess (Temple, 369 ff.). The most important architectural development was due to influence from S. India, and resulted in the construction of the remarkable Kailāśa rock-temple in the reign of the Rāṣṭra-kūta king Krishnā (Kṛṣṇa), about A.D. 760 at Ellora (wh. see; Smith, Early Hist., 2nd ed.). The Jains also undertook the excavation of cave-temples, but at a later date than those of the Buddhists or Brāhmaṇs, none of these Jain works being apparently dated earlier than the 7th century. The most important are at Ellora (Fleet, 490 ff.).

7. Modern Hinduism.—At the Census of 1901 the Hindus numbered 19,916,438 (78.4 per cent of the total population). Here, as in other parts of India, the line between Animists and Hindus cannot readily be determined. The list of the sects and classes of Hindus shows the prevailing characteristics of Hinduism; a polytheism replaced by an enlightened pantheism, and that absence of dogma which is the best asset of Hinduism. This, however, applies only to the more intelligent classes. Apart from the forest tribes, whose creed is purely Animism, the lower stratum of the people still preserves its primitive animistic beliefs, obscured, and to some extent modified, by the vencer of Brāhmaṇism. Bathing in holy rivers and pilgrimages to the tombs of deified heroes and saints are the chief modes by which purification from tabu and spiritual advancement are believed to be attained. The sacred stone haunted by some spirit, the holy tree or other natural object, the abnormal shape of which indicates that it is occupied by a spirit, the ecstatic possession of the village seer or medicine-man, the various devices by which the spirits of the household dead are brought into communion with the living, or the malignant ghosts of the murderer or his victim, and of the cow, are on the one hand, and the ecstatic trance, controlled—these are the chief elements of the popular cultus. The forces of evil are ever in conflict with those of good, and there is little or no trust in a benign, fatherly Providence.

Sectarianism is imperfectly recognized in the statistics. So far as the Census returns go, the Saivas or Sańñartas, with the kindred Pā spies, Saṅkarāchāryya, and similar sects, number about 3 millions; while the Vaiṣṇava sects, such as those of the Rāmānuja, Vallabha-chāryya, Madhābabha-chāryya, number only half a million. In addition to these, affiliated to the Saivas, come the Lingâyats, numbering 800,000. Many influences may have affected the accuracy of the returns; but, at any rate, the vast majority of the Hindu population were ignorant of the sect to which they belonged, or did not care to record it.

The most important and interesting development is that of the Vaiṣṇavāchāryya sect of the Vaiṣṇava group, to which Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa) is the chief object of worship. The immorality of the Mahārājas or heads of this community has attracted much attention since the notorious case decided by the High Court of Bombay (Karsandas Mulji), History of the Sect of the Maharajacs, 1860).
8. Jains.—Jains, who number 532,050 (2.1 per cent. of the total population) are here, as usual, divided into Digambaras, who worship naked idols and their spiritual preceptors (gurus); Svetambaras, who dress and adorn their images; and Dhunshiyas, who are opposed to the worship of idols, venerate their preceptors, and dress in white, wearing a linen mouth-band to prevent possible injury to animal life. In Gujarat, the headquarters of the Jains, the Svetambaras are in excess of the other sects.

9. Animists. — As has been already remarked (§ 7), the enumeration of Animists, who in 1901 numbered 91,815 (9.4 per cent. of the total population), is incomplete, and merely includes those members of some forest tribes who are most completely, in beliefs and customs, separate from Hindus. Of these tribes the most numerically important are the Kolíc, Binó, Varí, Thákur, Dubá, and Kájkhet. They are most numerous in the Districts of Pánch Maháls, Thar and Párkar, Thána, Surat, and Khíndesh. A full account of the Binó is given in a separate article, and that on the Northern Dravídians gives a general sketch of the forms of Animism which prevail among these tribes.

10. Muhammadans.—Muhammadans in the whole Presidency number 4,367,285 (17.9 per cent. of the total population). There is a decided tendency to increase, not so much as the result of any special propaganda, but rather because they have been less exposed than Hindus to the stress of plague and famine. For the interesting class of Bolioras or Bohras, see sects (Muhammadan), Thá Krójas (Pers. Khwájah, 'honourable'), are remarkable as tracing their origin to Hašan Saábób, who in the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D. founded the Order of the Šidáwí or Šidá, 'the devoted ones,' known to Europeans as the Assas- sinás, (Aráb. Asásíní, 'eaters of the intoxicating hemp drug'), of whom and of their leader, known as Šáikh-ul-Ájabal, 'The Old Man of the Mountain,' many marvellous tales are told (Máro Polo, ed. Yule, i. 132 ff.; EBr i. 722 ff.; art. Assasínás). Their spiritual leader is the Agá or Klíán, the descendant of a refugee from Persia, who commands great influence among his followers. Except in Gujarát and Sindh the Shi'ite element is small, and in many districts is confined to the Bolioras and Krójas (for a full account of their origin and beliefs, see sects, BG IX. pt. II. 36 ff.). A more recent development is that of the Ahamdíyah sect, followers of Mirzá Ghulám 'Allí of Kádámí in the Gúrdásapur district of the Panjáb. The founder repudiates the necessity of jihád, or war against the infidel; traces a parallel between himself, as Míssiah or Imám, and the Founder of the Christian faith; claims that his advent was foretold, and that he is charged with the duty of laying the foundations of general goodwill and peace upon earth. On the whole, the Muhammadans are divided into various sects according to their individual views of the influence of Christianity upon Islam (Enthoven, Census Rep. i. 69; Rose, Census Rep. Panjáb, i. 143).

11. Jews.—The Jewish colony in the Presidency numbers 10,800. Like those further south in Cochin, they are divided into a 'white' and a 'black' section. The former claim to be the descendents of the original colonists, whom Dr. J. Wilson, on the ground that none of their names is later than the Captivity, and that all their Scriptures are of early date, claimed to represent the Levite tribes. It is now generally supposed that they came from Yemen in the 6th cent. of our era. Their own traditions fix their exodus in the 2nd cent., while other accounts place it as late as the 15th. The 'white' Jews do not eat, drink, or intermarry with the 'black' section, who are believed to be later converts from Hinduism. The Bombay Jews call themselves Bunít-Isrá'íl, 'children of Israel,' in preference to Yáhúdí, which is the general designation of the race in N. India. In their houses, on the upper part of the right door-post, is placed a box containing a tablet inscribed in verse from the OT, so fixed that through a hole the word 'The Almighty' (El Shaddai) can be read from the outside. Their synagogues contain parchment copies of the Pentateuch (BG XI. 85 f., xiii. 273 ff.).

12. Christians.—Christians number 204,901 (1.11 per cent. of the total population). They fall into several groups. The most numerous are the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the old Portuguese settlements now included within British territory, who were originally converted from Hinduism by missionaries from Goa. Those of good birth were admitted to communió with the Portuguese. Though the names of all the Christians of this description are Portuguese, it is only among the upper classes that there is any trace of the foreign element, even, it is now admitted, the name of Indo-Portuguese, which is sometimes given to them, is scarcely acknowledged among themselves; and though the higher families speak Portuguese as the home-language, the rest habitually use either Kónkání- Maráthí or Bengálí. The Christian settlers in Bombay are entitled to follow the hereditary occupations of the castes to which their Hindu ancestors belonged, while the upper have taken to the learned and clerical professions.

In spite of rumours that have occasionally been heard in the last half century, those who have lived amongst these classes give evidence of the reality of their adherence to the faith of their ancestors. There is a remarkable difference between Christians of this description and those of Goa. Both are Roman Catholics by persuasion, and both bear Portuguese names, and are ruled by the supervisors who control the Jews and Parsees beyond this the likeness ceases. The Native Christians that come from Goa are mostly domestic servants, an occupation never undertaken by Christians from other districts (Baines, Census Rep. i. 51).

Including recent converts, the Roman Catholics in 1901 numbered 106,655—not far short of half the total Christian population. The remainder are more recent adherents, whose adoption of the faith is the work of various missionary societies, those attached to the Anglican communion numbering 35,614. While the Roman Catholics have slightly fallen in numbers between the last two decennial enumerations, the total Christians has increased from 158,765 to 204,961, the rise being greatest in those districts where the pressure of famine has been most severe, an indication that their numbers have been largely recruited from famine wails supported in missionary orphanages.

Literature.—The best authorities are Sir J. Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer, 27 vols. (1873-1904), of which the most useful are those dealing with the general history (vol. i. pts. i. and ii.) and those describing the population of Gujarát (ix. pts. i. ii.); and the Census Reports: J. A. Baines, 1882; W. W. Drew, 1892; S. E. Enthoven, 1839. The following works should be consulted: J. Wilson, Indian Caste (1877), useful but fragmentary; Major E. J. Gunthorpe, Mems. of the Criminal Law and Police (1858); A. W. H. Gurney, Gazetteer of Sind (1876); J. Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (1815, 2nd ed. 1864); A. K. Forbes, Indo-Malá, or History of the Province of Goa (1757); Dosáábát Fránnjí Karaká, History of the Parsis (1884); (Kárándoseáz Múniyí, History of the Set of the Mahárájas (1855), and History of the Assasínás (1855). For the religious architecture of the Portuguese see J. B. Burgess, The Carc Temples of India (1889), and numerous memoirs by the latter writer in collaboration with H. Cousens in the Reports of the Anthropological Survey of W. India. These Progress Reports, vols. i. to ix. in the Imperial Series, numbered i. xxII., xxIII., xxIV., extending to 1900, contain generally useful descriptions of the older books, such as Sir T. C. Hope, Surat, and Baroda, and other Cities of Gujarat (1859); J. Ferguson and P. T. Ford, Architectural Remains in the Thanesar and Múnpur (1866). Among the early travellers, the following, published in the Hakluyt society series, may be referred to (the dates are
BON CHOS.—BONES

W. CROOKE.

BONES.—It may help us to understand the important place occupied by bones in primitive psychology and religion if we recall the nature of their development. 'Osseous tissue...consists essentially of an animal matter impregnated with calcareous salts' (q.v.). They are of vital significance. Thus the soul of primitive man is 'skeletal.' When certain period of embryonic life there is no bone in any part of the body. Microscopic examination shows that the calcareous salts are deposited in the intercellular substance ('ib. p. 557). Minute passages in a bone allow its permeation by nutritive fluid, so that 'throughout life, or at all events in early life, its tissue is the seat of an extremely active vital process' ('ib. p. 311). These facts were, of course, unknown to primitive thought, but they are in some measure paralleled by the careful studies of processes of special significance. Thus we find the words for 'soul' and 'bone' etymologically connected among the Crooquis (otken, bone, atisken, soul), and the Athapascans (yoni, bone, iyane, soul) (Arnett in Amer. Jour. Phys. Anthrop. 1904, p. 257). The story of Eva's origin, and the phrase 'bone and flesh,' used of relationship, are also significant. Many popular beliefs witness to the same idea; the bones of a murdered man are said to have given out fresh blood when handled by a murderer as long as twenty years, or even fifty, after the murder' (Trumbull, The Blood Covenant, 1887, p. 146). Conversely, the life supposed to be still resident in bones can be renewed by anointing them with blood (Jevons, Introd. Hist. Rel., 1886, p. 32). Tylor collated the way in which practices of essentially similar relatives are cared for, and talked to, as though still conscious (ii. 150 f.). He gives them as cases of the fetish-theory, but they are ultimately to be explained as products of primitive psychology. Funeral customs in general usually supply illustrations, even though more or less obscure, of the same standpoint. A good example out of the great multitude available is afforded by the elaborate burial rites of certain Australian tribes (Spencer-Gillen, pp. 590-546). The body is left on a tree-platform till the flesh has disappeared from the bones. The skeleton, except an arm-bone, is then buried, without being actually touched. The arm-bone, in which the spirit of the dead is supposed to be present, is wrapped up in paper, bark, and figures in complicated ceremonial. These combine with the breaking and burial of the arm-bone. 'When once this ceremony of breaking the bone, which they call ambringa-jinta, has been performed, and the bone deposited in its last resting-place, the spirit of the dead person, which lives in the body, will return from it and depart' ('ib. p. 357). The story of Eva's origin, and the phrase 'bone and flesh,' used of relationship, are also significant. 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of Lucilla of Carthage, who habitually kissed a martyr's bone before partaking of the Eucharist (cf. DCP, s.n. ‘Lucilla’). Newman quotes Tho-
doret, with apparent approval of his theory of the virtue of the bodies of martyrs: ‘And though each body be divided, the grace remains indivisible; and that small, that tiny particle is equal in power with the whole martyr, the bath never been dispersed about’ (Development of Chr. Doctrine, p. 374). This can be accepted as a true statement of primitive theory, especially in regard to the bones, as being the parts most easy to preserve; it is paralleled in the Greek practice, and the supposed bones of their respective heroes (Rhode, Psyche, i. 162). Primitive thought, however, applied the theory on a wider scale, and included animal as well as human bones. ‘Among the Kalang of Java, whose totem is the red dog, bride and bridegroom before marriage are rubbed with the ashes of a red dog's bones’ (Frazier, Totemism, p. 33). We frequently meet with the belief that the bones of animals slain in the chase must be carefully dealt with, to secure their resurrection and the future supply (Frazier, On the Sudden Resurrection of the Dead, p. 13). If a dog is thought to be aware of the fate of its bones, and the future success of the hunter depends on its proper propitiation (ib. p. 405).

From various customs in regard to bones, Frazier infers that ‘it is a rule with savages not to let women handle the bones of the dead, and that the animal is thought to be aware of the fate of its bones, and the future success of the hunter depends on its proper propitiation’ (ib. p. 405).

Among the many other usages in which bones figure may be mentioned the bonfire (originally ‘bone-fire,’ cf. Jevons, p. 150, and Skoat’s Dict. s. v.), the practice of fastening the bone of a murdered man on to the spear that is to avenge him (Spencer-Gillen, p. 554), and even the use of a cleft bone by the Masurians treated by Doughty (Arabia Deserta, 1888, ii. 360).

**LITERATURE.—**This has been given in the article. See also under art. Psychology. H. Wheeler Robinson.

**BONFIRE.—See Fire.**

**BONI HOMINES** (corrupted into Bononii or Bononii).—See Perfecti.

**BOOK OF LIFE.**—The science of the Semitic East was based upon the axiom that the con-
stitution of this lower world corresponds to that of the heavens above, as seen in the cosmos and its cycle. The whole course of events upon the earth, it was believed, was prefigured in the cyclical phenomena of the higher spheres. On its mythological side, therefore, the doctrine could postulate the existence of celestial tablets on which were inscribed both the wisdom of heaven and the history of earth.

The books (tablets) of wisdom.—(1) Babylon.-According to Babylonian science, the pro-
cess of the world realizes itself in signs, which arise out of the primal sea; and this world-ocean, accordingly, is regarded as the seat of Divine creative wisdom. The mythical representative of the primal sea was the animal-figures of the higher spheres. On its mythological side, therefore, the doctrine could postulate the existence of celestial tablets on which were inscribed both the wisdom of heaven and the history of earth.

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the secret places, and the purloining of the books of the sanctuary.' The priests, as bearers of revelation, are called 'scribes of the book of God.' A memorial-stone in Abydos and Osiris for the purpose of executing their Divine commands (Ernan, Egyptian Religion, p. 80; A. Jeremias, Im Kampfe um den alten Orient, i. 67). With this agrees the statement of classical writers, who represent Thoth as the founder of theology and political economy, of the sciences and the arts. Clement of Alexandria enumerates forty-two 'Books of Thoth,' of which the first ten, or those of the prophet, treat of the law of and of the gods, the following ten contain regulations regarding sacrifices and feasts, and the third ten the mystical cosmogony; the next four embrace astronomy and the science of the calendar, two contain hymns about the gods and the kings of primeval times, while the last six deal with the science of medicine. Dragsch (op. cit. 449 f.) is of opinion that he could not find these 'Thot-Tracts' in Talmudic books in a hieroglyphic text of the temple of Edin.

(3) Persia.—The books of the Avesta also claim to constitute a Divine book, and it appears to the present writer that they may be brought under our present category. According to Hals, Avesta means 'knowledge,' i.e. Divine knowledge; its root, like that of Veda, being vid. Ahura Mazda together with Asha formed the word of bliss by the agency of Vohu Mano (i.e. logos, corresponding to Marduk, the son of Ea), and received it from the Divine teaching amongst men (cf. Gathà, Yasna xxix.). According to Vendidad II., Yima, the first man, was chosen for the task of preserving the celestial truth upon the earth. The religious system of Zarathustra purports to be an attack upon error, and a return to the truth and knowledge issuing from the original wisdom revealed by Ahura Mazda (cf. Gathà, Yasna ii. 13, xiii. 3, lii. 2, xxxii. 2). In Gathà, Yasna xxviili., he who knows the secret doctrine is praised as a true teacher; personified as Yima, he dedicates it to Mazda (i.e. God). According to Seneca (FIG i. 510), Berosus says that in Chaldaean science 'all things take place in harmony with the movements of the stars.' Cf. Job 38:23 'Knowest thou the knyght of the heavens?' The parallel clause, on the principle that the Chaldeans learned from the Persians, as reads, 'Or canst thou set their dominion upon the earth?' See also Qurân, xliv. 14: 'The revelation of the Book is from God . . . for in the heavens and on the earth are the signs for believers. Likewise in your own nature, and in all manner of beasts in every place . . . and in the succession of night and day, and in the supplies which God sends from heaven and with which He gives life to the earth when dead, and in the change of winds.' Cf. xxxvi. 16: 'For by the stars are the things set in order: men, His creatures, and such as serve Him.'

(4) India.—The early Aryan religion of India and the Indian systems of religion allied thereunto to consider the Veda ('knowledge') as the pillar of the world, and a mere theory expresses a theory, for the hymns of the Veda are partly of a secular character, and first acquired their religious significance from their association with sacrificial worship. It is an article of belief that the Vedas were composed by the ten rāgs, or wise men of the world's first age. Even the Upanisads ('secret doctrines'), the spirit of which is altogether characteristic of India, lay claim to a direct connexion with the primordial wisdom of the Vedas; while the Law-book of Manu (Manuṣya Dharmasastra) professes to be a revelation which the first man Manu received from the Deity. The doctrine of the ages of the world (yuga) given in the Mahâbhârata and in the Law-book of Manu asserts that in the Golden Age the Veda existed in a perfect form, and that in each of the three succeeding ages it was changed by the power of Vohu Mano, and therewith one quarter of perfect righteousness, has been lost.

(5) China.—The State-religion of Confucius, as established by the Han dynasty (B.C. 206 A.D. 220), embraced the sacred writings, or 'webs of wisdom,' and four shu, 'books,' in which the primordial wisdom, from the period of the mythical emperors of the remote past, is believed to be codified. This is quite in accordance with the attitude of Kung-tse, the great reformer Confucius, who record of 'the wooden clapper whom Heaven had made use of' to redeem the people from their degeneracy by resuscitating the institutions of ancient days.

(b) Islam.—In Islam, Muhammad is regarded as the 'Seal of the Prophets' (Qurân, xxxiii. 40), the last infallible messenger of Divine revelation. In the Muhammadan faith, therefore, the Qurân ranks as the book of heaven. The Mahalism prevalent among the sects looks to the coming Mahal as prophet, who will complete the work of the original revelation from all error. Only in a few sects has the prophet lost the distinction of being 'the Seal of the Prophets,' and sunk to the level of a mere forerunner.

With this Oriental conception of the book of the primordial revelation of God, it is closely connected the tendency of the Jewish Synagogue towards the theory of the verbal inspiration of Scripture.

2. The book of destinies.—In Oriental science the analogue of the cosmos is the cycle. The conception of space is equivalent to that of time (cf. 'edus, 'kinds of time').

The revelation of the Deity in the cosmos and the cycle is seen in the starry sphere, and especially in the movement of the heavenly bodies. A Babi name for these bodies is šír šâmē, šíršt šâmē, the writing of heaven.' According to Seneca (FIG i. 510), Berosus says that in Chaldaean science 'all things take place in harmony with the movements of the stars.' Cf. Job 38:23 'Knowest thou the knyght of the heavens?' The parallel clause, on the principle that the Chaldeans learned from the Persians, as reads, 'Or canst thou set their dominion upon the earth?' See also Qurân, xliv. 14: 'The revelation of the Book is from God . . . for in the heavens and on the earth are the signs for believers. Likewise in your own nature, and in all manner of beasts in every place . . . and in the succession of night and day, and in the supplies which God sends from heaven and with which He gives life to the earth when dead, and in the change of winds.' Cf. xxxvi. 16: 'For by the stars are the things set in order: men, His creatures, and such as serve Him.'

In the teaching emanating from Babylon the heavenly bodies, as arah, are called, and five planets that move in the zodiac are in a special sense the interpreters of the Divine will. The zodiac forms the book of revelation proper, while the fixed stars, grouped in constellations which are regarded as 'correspondences' to the phenomena of the zodiac, are, so to speak, the commentary on the margin.

Cf. H. Winckler, Forschungen, li. 104. In Arabic the constellations lying outside the zodiac are called bayanâypt, or 'beams of the zodiac.' According to Qurân xxv. 6 f., the mysteries of the Divine will lie in the zodiac. With reference to the 'interpreters' (ضمير), cf. Nieder, Sie. ii. 30, who reproduces 'the Chaldean doctrine.' The name of the temple-tower E-rûf-timân-kâit would seem to signify 'House of the messengers of the commands of heaven and earth,' and the same name may apply to the planets; cf. A. Jeremias, 'Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie' (Im Kampfe um den alten Orient, ii. 5).

In the cosmic mythology of Babylon the revelation of heaven, which is made manifest in the cycle of the world, is known as tav simât, 'tablets of destiny.' These are borne upon the breast of the ruler of the world's destiny. Hence we should probably assume the existence of two heavenly tablets, not only 'the earth axis of gods,' but also 'the life of men' is written thereon. In the myths concerning the war against the chaos-dragon
and the restoration of the world, the victim and demerit receives the tablets as his reward (see below). In the calendar of 776 B.C., which the ḫwil, having won the battle, has power to open). In the Bab. Creation Epic they were, during a previous eon, in the possession of Kingu, the partner of Tiānat. The narrative relates how Tiānat delivers them to him with the words: 'Let not thy decree be changed; the word of the mouth stands firm.' Then Marduk receives them as the reward of conflict and victory. Elsewhere it is En-lil, the cosmic representative of the zodiac, who appears as the holder of the tablets of destiny. Or they are summarily held by Re (or the Divine record of destiny). In an exorcism-text (King, Assyrian Magic, No. 22) he is called 'the bearer of the tablets of fate,' and in other passages 'the writer of the All, who holds the style of the tablet of fate' (Kwzl. 52). The day for the determination of destiny is New Year's Day. On this day is reconstituted the cycle of the year, which represents in miniature, as was believed, the cycle of the cosmos. The conqueror of the power of darkness is, as 'the one who determines destiny,' the possessor of the tablets of fate. In the purak šituditi, the chronicle of the events from the birth to the 11th of Nisan, the destinies of the year are determined with the assistance of the gods, whose statues are conveyed in wheel-barges to the sanctuary of Marduk. This mythical conception seems to have become imbued with a specific historic time, in the act of casting lots by the king (the Assyrian king says: puru abur, 'I cast the lot'), i.e. in a ceremonial inquiry regarding destiny.

The same notion survives in the practice of inquiring after one's destiny on New Year's eve, and also in that of taking the twelve holy nights (one for each month) as times for dreaming of one's destiny. The Bab. spirit of the idea is particularly preserved in the Talanian ritual, to which reference was made in the preface to the book. The New Year's festival is the occasion on which the Divine determination of destiny is made.

In applying the doctrine of the celestial tablets of destiny to individuals, Bab. texts make mention of one particular tablet on which is inscribed the duration of life, the happiness of mankind (and on the other hand the curse, or shortening, of life). The construction of tablets of this kind is specifically assigned to the Taladian (the name of the temple within each zodiacal sign) of the chamber of destiny. Thus Ashshur-ina-pel in a hymn (cf. Jeremiah, art. 'Nebo, in Roscher) says to Nebo: 'My life is written before thee.' His brother Samesamunilk speaks thus: May Nabû, the tablet-writer of E-sagil, write upon his tablet the years [of life] [that up to the present I have inscribed] for long duration.' Nebarchadrazar says: 'O Nabû, declare upon thy tablet, which fixes the puluukku of heaven and earth, the long duration of my days; write it for my posterity.' Antochus Soter expresses himself thus: 'O Nabû, by thine august stylius, which establishes the puluukku of heaven and earth, may my salvation be made sure, through thy holy decree.'

The same conception has doubtless given rise to the tablets of good works, in which, according to IV R. 11185, entries are made; also to the 'table of sins' mentioned in ritual texts from Babylon, which are to be 'broken in pieces'; and to 'the tables of transgressions, misdeeds, anathemas and imprecations, which are to be cast into the water' (cf. H. Zimmer, Beiträge zur Kunstwiss der bab. Religion, pp. 22, 125). We may also here mention a text ( Conj. Texts, xii. 29 f.) which contains injunctions regarding sacrifice, prayer, and friendship, though it perhaps belongs rather to the group of tablets of Divine wisdom than to the tablet of destiny (3) look at the table: The fear of God brings forth grace, Sacrifice gives increase of life And prayer (cancels) sin.

The idea of a celestial process of reckoning in connexion with the most important festival of the Babylonian calendar, the inception of a new cycle, exhibits the renewal of the world on a small scale, had an influence upon Jewish religion after the Exile. Thus, in the tractate Arakhlin, 10, it is written:

'The ministering angels inquired thus of God, "Lord of the world, why do the Israelites, on New Year's Day, make an offering of Atumon, utter no song of praise (557) before Thee?" God answered them, "When the king sits upon the throne and passes judgment, and the Books of Life are open before Him, then may the Israelites feel themselves disposed to sing a song of praise before Me—at a time when it shall appear fitting for them to give themselves to repentance."

In the New Year's tractate Rôsh Hašhánâh, 10b, it is said, 'Everything is decided on New Year's day, and the judgment is sealed on the Day of atonement.' In this case the 'judgment' signifies the fortunation of the year, as the context refers, amongst other things, to the fruits of the field.

Allied with the above in idea, though of a different character, is the conception of a reckoning kept in heaven of men's good and evil deeds, and of their lot in life and death. This may have been suggested by the public display of the names of citizens were enrolled. But we must not summarily dismiss the theory of a link with the book of destiny, for even the drawing up of such lists was brought into connexion with New Year's Day, the feast of destiny. According to Jerus. Rôsh Hašhánâh (Mish. eders, 12a 590 b. D.), knows of three registers—of the good, the bad, and the undecided, respectively—which are unrolled at New Year. Jubil. xxx. 20 (cf. xxx. 22) speaks thus: 'He is enrolled in the tables of heaven as a son of Enoch; his name are written down before the majesty of the exalted one'; 105 the Book of Life and the Books of the Saints.

The same thought is adopted in these Christian Apocalyptic writings which have been influenced by Judaism. According to the Apocalypse of Enoch, in the second year of heaven and write the deeds of men upon the rolls of a book; while Apocal. Pauli, 10, says that at the evening hour in heaven all things that men have done during the day are written down by the angels.

Within the canon of Scripture we find mention of the heavenly book, as the book of destiny, in the two outstanding apocalyptic writings, viz. Daniel and Revelation. In Dan 7 the seer beholds the books opened before the great a'anim in the Ancient of Days. In face of the assembly is fought out the battle against the beast which uttereth great words—a characteristic feature of the conflict with the dragon. The warrior and victor is the heavenly man. After his victory he is brought before the Ancient of Days, 'and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall be set up, forever.' The conqueror receives as his reward the sovereignty of the world in the new age, and the power of determining destiny. Here too, therefore, the books are books of destiny.

* Again, however, in ch. 80, Enoch appears as 'leader of the shepherds of the people; and, in the Ascension Liturgy, of the registers of the heavenly Jerusalem.

† Such is the conception which the present writer has proposed once more to draw special attention (cf. his Der AT im Lichte des alten Orients, on this passage). The connexion with the
This comes out still more clearly in the companion picture of Revelation, where the conflict with and the victory over the power of darkness are transferred to the historical appearance of the crushed and risen Christ. It is He who has conquered the dragon who has cast the destines of the world, and His Parousia will bring about the final victory over the dragon, and usher in the new and glorious world.

'These are written more to the commune in heaven.' God sits upon the throne, and to right and left, in two semicircles, sit the twenty-four elders, in priestly robes and with crowns on their heads. He sits on the throne in His hand a book-roll having seven seals, of which the four inner indicate the seven sections of the roll. ‘Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?’ This simply means: ‘Who is worthy to sway the destinies?’ The Christ who is to be glorified comes forward. In this vision His victory and exaltation are already described in the imagery and colouring of the ancient Oriental myth of the conflict and victory of the year-god, who as the reward of his success receives the book of destiny, i.e. the command of the world, and who is therefore loudly praised in the heaven of heaven (see Jeremias, Babylonisches im AT, 13 ff.): ‘Worthy art thou to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof.’ A similar signification attaches to Rev. 5, where the Book of Life is in the possession of the Lamb. In 5 we have the seven prime saengers in the convoluy and in form the song resembles that accorded to Marduk, who after his victory over Tiamat received fifty names of honour (cf. ‘the name above every name’, 1 2), as also that given in the Egyptian myth to Horus in the hall of the gods after his victory over Set, the representative of the power of darkness: ‘Welcome, Horus, son of Osiris, the courageous, the justificed, son of Isis and heir of Osiris.’

Mention of a book of destiny in which are written the destinies of the individual is made in Ps. 138 7. ‘Thine eyes saw me when I was yet in the womb, and there was written in thy book all the days that were to be;’ cf. also Ex. 322 ‘Blot me out of the book which thou hast written’; and Ps. 69 27 ‘Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, that they be not written with the righteous.’ The last-mentioned passage might also come under a different heading, that, namely, of the heavenly list-making already touched upon (p. 794); and it is this group to which we must refer Is. 4, which speaks of the names being written in the book of life, as also Mal. 3 17 with its mention of a ‘book of remembrance’ before Jehovah, in which are written those that fear Jehovah and have respect to His name.

The two ideas of a heavenly book of life and a heavenly register of names find expression also in the NT. The book of life in which the destinies of men are inscribed is referred to, not only in Rev. 5 and 21, as already noted, but also in Rev. 13 and 17 the ‘book of life’ in which names are written from the foundation of the world; cf. 3 1 5 in which the usual out of the book of life (one of the seven variants of the promise given at the close of the messages to the Churches, to assure him that overcometh in the strife that he shall be saved in the transformation of the world).

‘The book of destinies, in minute form, so to speak, is spoken of also in Ezk. 3 6, and Rev. 124. The two passages are essentially the same in char- acter. Ezekiel must eat the roll of a book, and it was in his mouth as honey for sweetness. The roll contained the intimation of God’s will, which the prophet is required to convey to the captives in Babylon, and the Spirit carries him thither through the air. In Rev. 10 the Lamb is made to lift up the little book, with which the angel carried in his hand. It is to take the taste like honey in his mouth, but to cause pain within. In it are written the destinies ‘concerning many peoples and nations and tongues and kings’ which he is to proclaim.

The heavenly registers are suggested by Lk. 196. ‘Rejoice, son of man, which the angel carried in heaven’; Ps. 4 ‘the rest of my fellow-workers, whose names are in the book of life’; and Hb. 12 the general assembly and Church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven.

Alfred Jeremias.

Borneo.—See Indonesia.

Boundary.—See Landmark.

Bourguignism.—See Sects (Christian).

Boy.—See Children, Initiation, Puberty.

Boycotting.—This is a modern name for a practice as ancient as civilization itself. The name is derived from the experiences of one Captain Boycott, a landowner in the employment of Lord Erne, an Irish landowner who in 1880 came into conflict with the agrarian societies in the district in which he lived, in County Mayo, Ireland. It is a method of social ostracism, informally applied by public opinion, and may be carried to almost any length. The term, which has been adopted in a wide sense into French (boycotte) and German (boykotten), is used as implying any measure of avoidance of or holding aloof from those judged, by organized or unorganized public opinion, unworthy of social intercourse. It may vary from the schoolboy’s ‘sounding to Coventry’ to the extreme measures adopted in Ireland during the days of the land agitation. In so far as boycotting is the expression of individual aversion, the law can take no cognizance of it; but when it is decreed by an association, or organized body of men, it becomes a criminal offence under the law of conspiracy, and in Ireland has been treated as such. A boycotted person in Ireland was cut off from all intercourse with his fellow-men, so far as he himself, or people supplied to him, or supply goods to him, associate with him, or help or assist him in any way, under penalty of being subjected to the same treatment; and this treatment was decreed for landlords and their agents who, in the opinion of the local agrarian association, had treated their tenants harshly.

The boycott, as it has been said, is as ancient as civilization itself. The outset of the outlaw from primitive social communities was simply subjected to the extreme form of boycotting, and no other security of life nor chance of justice. Ostracism in the Greek world was a survival of primitive tribal law dressed up in a constitutional form. Excommunication by the Church in the Middle Ages, since it affected civil as well as ecclesiastical privileges, was a tremendously powerful weapon against the interests of the Church; but in modern times, with the separation of Church and State or the subordination of the Church to the State, ecclesiastical excommunication has been deprived of much of its terror, because it no longer affects civil rights. Excommunication, however, is the privilege of every society or association, which may expel or discipline those of its members it considers unworthy; and conflict with the State can arise only when civil rights are affected or the
The Boy Scouts is a kindred organization. Lieut.-General Baden Powell, C.B., is its founder. Its beginning was practical, in 1889, in Mafeking, S. Africa. The town was under siege, General Baden Powell commanding the defence. That men might be released to strengthen the firing line, it was decided to organize a corps of boys. The boys were, as far as possible, selected as orderlies, and carried messages, often under fire. Very good reports are given of their usefulness and courage. The plan was acclimatized in Great Britain, for purposes of moral training. But it is 'peace-scouting' that is taught. Mr. E. Seton-Thompson, founder of the British Boys' Brigade, is widely recognized as the first leader of that organization in the United States, especially among the Indians. Now there may be seen in and around most towns groups of Scouts, marching, signalling, camping. Statistics are estimates; for the movement is elastic. When a 'patrol,' a squad of five or seven, is trained to efficiency, its members are encouraged to enlist patrols of their own. These are usually linked into 'troops,' or are sometimes independent. They may be connected with Churches or Boys' Brigades. The ideals held up are: 'to help the King and to the King's aid, to help other people at all times.' Observation of Nature, self-reliance, and chivalry are inculcated. The manual of the movement is Scouting for Boys, by the General. Its sub-title is 'A Handbook for Instruction of Citizens of Great Britain. It describes its scope. The Scouts are put upon their honour to be clean and kind in language and in habits. Clubrooms in winter and camps in summer are used for the ends in view.

The Life Brigade is, in idea, an offshoot of the Boys' Brigade. Its aims are identical, and so are some of its modes. But it strongly opposes the militarism of the earlier body. It organizes girls as well as boys, but without the material element. Like the other, it uses ambulance work, gymnastics, music, etc., to teach its members to themselves, and for training in Christian principles and character. It thus provides bright, healthy nucleus-centres of good citizenship. It is extending, especially under those who hold strong views on the subject of peace. Its watchword is 'Life-saving.' Its president is Rev. Principal J. B. Paton, D.D., Nottingham.

The answer of the promoters of the earlier work to their critics is that the military element is formal, not essential; that there is less and less of it proportionately as the corps grow, and that there is of it in 'defence, not defiance.'

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JOHN DAVIDSON.

BOYS' BRIGADES.—Organizations of boys, military in form, moral in purpose. Their ultimate origin is remote. Boys have played at soldiers ever since figments began, and have been moulded by their play. For many years, up to 1880, Mr. John Hope, an Edinburgh lawyer, carried on a corps of 'Cadets,' which regularly numbered some hundreds of boys. They had uniforms, arms, and a band. Mr. Hope's purpose was to enforce Protestant principles and abstinance from drink and tobacco, and generally to cultivate manliness. This pioneer corps deeply influenced many generations of boys.

The Boys' Brigade proper was instituted in Glasgow, in the presence of Sir W. A. Smith of the Volunteer force there. He was a teacher in a mission school, where discipline was difficult, and hooliganism incipient. He adopted the military metaphor, as did General Booth, with some differences. In 1883 the first Company of thirty boys was formed, and drilled in martial exercises, and in the Bible. A red rosette was the first uniform, but caps, belts, haversacks, etc., were soon introduced, and dummy arms. So successful was the movement that before the end of 1908 there were 70,000 Scouts in 1,500 Companies, with 1,400 such Companies, with 1,400 officers, and 60,000 boys. The world-figures, at the same time, were 2,300 Companies, including over 10,000 officers, and 100,000 boys. There are, besides, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and Jewish adaptations of the idea, whose figures are not included here. The objects of the brigade are: 'the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, and the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends towards true manliness.' The Bible is class central. Every boy must attend it, or lose membership in the Brigade. In many companies there is development in the direction of ambulance work, gymnastics, music, etc. The more fully organized corps have become many-sided Clubs for boys.

THOMAS TEMPLETON.

BRAHMÁ.—See BRAHMANISM, p. 810.

BRAHMAN.—The philosophical system of the Vedánta adopts as its aim the search after Reality, the ultimate. One of the greatest teaching. The loftiest conception of Brahman speculation is there set forth, and handed down from generation to generation. It is, however, only the climax of a long intellectual development, the beginning of which may be traced in the Rigveda. They kept look-out, the most ancient poetry of early India. And for the religious and philosophical history of that country the word brahman possesses at least an equal significance with that of the term Aṣṭādhyāyī for Christianity. There is contained in it, as Roth says, the religious development of India during thirty centuries.

It is difficult to grasp the original meaning of the word; for as early as the Rigveda it appears endowed with various meanings, and cannot be identified precisely with any of our conceptions.

victim is deprived of contract privileges. The State, which has uniformly set its face against all authorities which intervene between it and its subjects, has always regarded boycotting with suspicion; but in a modified form the right to boycott is inherent in the social nature of man. It is a feature in the forms in which public opinion expresses itself, and is liable to all the excesses and lack of uniformity to which public opinion itself is liable. Organized boycott alone is of sufficient importance to require State interference; or at least is alone sufficiently definite to permit of responsibility being brought to bear upon it. In the economic world the boycott has been extensively used by Trade Unionists (cf. the Economic Journal, vol. i. 'The Boy as an Element in Trade Disputes'). When accompanied by violence, the boycott is a criminal offence at common law in the United States; and even where there is no violence or intimidation, many States hold that the boycott is criminal; and at the present time (1909) a case which will decide this question is pending in the United States Supreme Court. The Consumers' Leagues in America and similar associations elsewhere to apply an organized boycott to the products of sweater industries, and to the establishments in the retail trade where the employer does not show sufficient consideration for the welfare of his hands.

The Indian thought is hardly adequately expressed either in the definition of devotion, of which manifestations being as long and satisfaction of the soul, and reaches forth to the gods, or in general, 'every pious utterance in the service of God'; or in that of Denussen, 'aspirations and cravings after the Divine.' It is Hang's merit to have himself discovered in the fourth century B.C. the whole meaning of the Christian ideas of 'devotion' or 'prayer' as being wholly foreign to the Indian brahman, and that the entire sacrificial act was no more than a kind of magic, which compelled the gods to gratify the wishes of the worshippers.

The word brahman, from which brahma is etymologically derived, means as early as the time of the Rigveda. Accented on the first syllable (brâhman), it is neuter; oxytone, i.e. with an accented ultima (brâhman), it is masculine. The root denotes the object or the thing; the masses line the person who is endowed with or possesses the brahman. With no little probability research infwines now to the view that the fundamental meaning of the word is neither 'devotion' nor 'prayer,' but 'magic'; and that its origin is to be sought in the word which expresses the general idea of magic, thought, from which it was gradually developed into an expression for the loftiest conception formulated by Hinduism. On the assumption that the word denotes 'magic,' 'witchcraft,' Osthoff has connected it with the Sanskrit word brâhman, 'Irish bricht, 'magic,' 'magical spell,' and has endeavoured to find the real fundamental idea in the meaning 'formula,' 'fixed mode of expression.' To these words the ancient Islamic and ancient Norwegian heart, 'poetry,' 'art of chanting'; and the Celtic heart, the ceremonial word, 'magic,' the 'ceremonially conceived' word, of which Jacob Grimm lays stress as the essential requisite of the magic, if it is to be effective.

The etymology of brahman is obscure. Besides the uncertain possibility of a derivation from the rare root bhr, 'to speak,' earlier writers referred to the root bhr, 'to grow,' from which barh is taken, and thus connected brahman with the Persian barqeh (see BALES). But, as Osthoff shows, this combination is improbable, since words derived from the same root are generally in a primitive sense exhibit an l (e.g. Prussian po-balzo), and brahman, if derived from barh, could not be related to bragh.

Hang has collected the numerous explanations of these letters of the word brahman as meaning: (a) food, food-offering; (b) the chant of the Sâma singer; (c) magical formula- or text, mantra; (d) duly completed ceremonies; (e) the chant and sacrificial gift together; (f) the recitation of the hât priest; (g) great. The first of these interpretations is not confirmed by the numerous verses of the Rigveda in which brahman occurs, and must be abandoned as erroneous; while in favour of the others various arguments may be advanced.

What we see the Rigveda, brahman appears not as a possession common to all men, but as the religious property of a narrow circle. It is still far from being extanted to a position of superiority over gods and priests. Rather it is to gods, and to the chancers and pias of the ritual that it owes its rise. It is 'new,' had 'kitherto not yet existed, or come into being from the fathers. It originates from the seat of the pia, springs forth at the sound of the music of the sacrifice, begins really to exist when the Soma juice is pressed, when the sacrifice is performed.
mistaken, insomuch as they are opposed to an important passage of the Rigveda,—byahspatiin sadaiva sadyadhyakte, . . . dama a didivrahyah hiruyoyovaram spema,—which treats unmistakably of the establishment of a sacrificial fire on the hearth, caste into which the brahman or priestly man, which in itself is entirely unexceptionable, and cannot be regarded as late, the question whether Bhṛṣpati in the Rigveda is an abstraction or not must be answered in the negative. If Bhṛṣpati is a name for the fire, the reference in every case into which the rṣita or the rṣi can cast the ancestral fire on the south of the place of sacrifice where the Brahman sits. Sometimes, it is true, Indra and Bhṛṣpati are brought into close connexion, the former as the king the latter as his pujaṇa; but the inference is clearly that we are as little compelled to regard Bhṛṣpati as an abstraction as Indra. Indra-Saṁya corresponds to the Kṣatra, the moon to the Brahmān. It is asserted in Rg. x. 90. 13 that 'the moon is born from the Brahma,' and statements to the same effect are found in the Aitareya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads.† We meet with the comparison in Dhammapada, No. 837, where ādīco corresponds to the saṃuddho khattiya, and cañḍama to the jāti brāhmaṇa, and similarly in Kṛgavaniya, xi. 84. When, therefore, ethnographers take up the doctrine that the rṣita or the rṣi, its work in the darkness, continually changing its aspect, is quite natural for the southern fire, which witnesses magical art and is usually represented as a half-moon, to receive the name of the planet Jupiter, just as the name of the Aśvins, which is parivāra, and the inference was forgotten, was transferred to a constellation.

Bhṛṣpati is the heavenly brāhmaṇa, the prototype of the earthly. He awakes the gods by means of the sacrifice, and, according to one passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, bears the sacrifice to men who had become faithless. An examination of all the passages in which the masculine brāhmaṇa is found shows that it denotes in general a distinct class, if not a caste, with their dependents, and is frequently used in direct connection with special offices; in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, for instance, we are to understand by brāhmaṇa a definite class of priests, co-ordinated with the hotṛ, adhvaryu, or udgātra. In one passage only, where Agni is addressed as Brahmān, who takes his seat on the seat of men, does the latter appear to rank higher than the hotṛ.‡ With these exceptions the bearers of the brāhmaṇa office are found in the Rigveda which would assign to the brāhmaṇa duties distinct from those of the hotṛ or adhvaryu. We read nothing either of a special priest of magic or of the brāhmaṇa of the later ritual, whose function it was to apply his superior knowledge to the superintendence of the sacrifice as a whole, and to make atonement for the mistakes of the individual priests. Thrice the word ved is used of his action. But just as the general practice of magic is older than the particular forms of sacrifice known to the other officials of the Indian ritual, which was raised above the sphere of ordinary magic without ever losing its association with it. There is no ground for supposing that the brahmān named in the few passages referred to, and co-ordinated with the hotṛ, adhvaryu, etc., is other than the precursor of the brāhmaṇa of later times. There is no doubt,' writes V. Henry (La Magie, p. 37), 'that the earliest brahmāna of India was nothing more than the sorcerer and medicine-man, the retailer of the remedies and charms of the Atharvaveda or Bhāramaṇa.' Here again, also, the conservative character of Indian development shows itself: it does not break with the past, but retains it even under changed conditions. Although the hotṛ, adhvaryu, and udgātra, with their higher, verbal, or magical accomplishments, were placed in the forefront, and the artificial and dramatic routine of the sacrifice overshadowed the primitive magical rules of the brāhmaṇa, the ancient pūjārī of India was nevertheless not banished from the sacrificial ground, but retained his place as 'physician of the sacrifice,' lingering in the neighbourhood in order to make good all its defects by virtue of his secret magical art. His mere presence, more than the hymns of the hotṛ or the chants of the udgātra, by means of the magical fluid with which he is endowed, preserves for the sacrifice the benefit of the inner sanctum, and maintains the sacrifice in effective order.

A later age credited him also with wider literary knowledge. There was provided for him a special book of ritual, and the Atharvaveda, the magical practices of which harmonized closely with his character, was devoted especially to him. It was even required that he should be acquainted with all the Vedas.† His position, moreover, south of the place of sacrifice, near to the southern fire which was dedicated to the fathers and the demons who employ magical practices, is a further indication of the original character of the pūjārī; and it was only gradually that there came to be assigned to him a higher literary rank.

All members of the Brahmāna caste, according to their qualifications, were, as it seems, eligible to undertake the duties of a hotṛ, udgātra, adhvaryu, brahmāna, or purohita. Apparently, however, one or the other office was held by preference by certain families. We know that the office of the brahmāna was claimed in the most ancient times by the Vaisyas, and the Vaisyas, as early as the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 6. 1. 41, and Taitt. Saṁh. iii. 5. 2. 1 ff., that the Vaisyas were originally in sole possession of certain formae which were essential for the performance of the duty.§ It is worthy of notice that to the god Varuṇa, who is closely associated with the brahmāna, more numerous hymns are dedicated by the Vaisyas in their maṇḍala than by other poets. The pre-eminent efficiency of their brahmāna is emphasized by the hymn Rg. vii. 34. The Vaiśvāstras praise their brahmāna as protecting the Bhāratas. Bloomfield has attempted to show how the Atharvans came to put forward their especial claim to the office.¥

We recur now to the abstract form of the office. The attempt to find a unity behind the multiplicity of the Vedic gods, to discover an all-comprehending first principle, makes its appearance as early as the hymns of the Rigveda, and is there linked with the names of Prajāpati, Visvakarma, and Puruṣa. It is first in the Satapatha
Brahmanism. That is why we find the former brahman exalted to the position of the supreme principle which is the moving force behind the gods. The thirty-three gods, it is said in Satap. Brah.. xii. 5. 3. 29, 'have Brhaspati as Purusha, but Brhaspati is Brahman, therefore the meaning is, That which exists is Brhaspati, but Brhadha is Brahman.' Brhadha is identified at one time with the wind, at another with the praajas (see BREATTH), and at another with the sun. In a hymn, which has been preserved only in fragments, the epithet of 'born first in the east' is applied to him, and he is designated as Purusha, that is as creator and controller of the universe, who brings the gods and the universe into being. Here, however, he is only the firstborn of creatures (prathamajja), not yet 'self-existent' (vishvambhah). We recognize still the connexion with the view of the Veda in passages like Satap. Brah.. x. 2. 4. 6, which represents yonder sun as resting upon the seven-syllabled Brahman, and adds: 'the Brahman is seven-syllabled, he is one syllable, yajus two syllables, sman two syllables, and what is left over is the remaining month in which he is seven-syllabled; therefore this is the entire seven-syllabled Brahman.' And in another passage Brahman is identified with the syllable o, which is the essence of the whole Veda. In some parts of the Vedanta system devoted to the Brahman, like the Brhat Samhit.. and the Upanishads, one finds, as Donnells shows, Prajapati holding a position above the Brahman of which he is creator, while in others Prajapati, as 'Bhrama Svayambhena,' creates this universe, and in a third series the mind (manus) which creates Prajapati originates from the non-existent, and is itself identified with Brahman in the cosmogony of the later books of the Satap. Brah.,. Brahman has been exalted to the position of the supreme first principle, which, itself without beginning, creates the universe: 'Brahman in truth was this universe at the beginning; it created these gods.'

This thought was taken up by the Upanisads, which made it their aim to search out the Brahman, and to impart the knowledge of it. Here religion passes into the wide arena of that philosophy which, in the Vedanta system devoted to the Brahman, has consistently and fully expounded the doctrine of Brahman, and has taught the unity of Brahman and the universe.

By the side of the all-comprehending Brahman, which in its philosophical aspect affords a ready abstract form in the centre of Indian thought, later times conceived of a personal Divine creator Brahman. At the present day he appears to be a god to the adherents of practical Vedanta, and plays no part in the popular life. Crooke points out that only one text of that kind is found in the Upanishads. He says: 'And he has four faces, and holds a drinking vessel in his hand, he is usually represented also with four arms. His wife is Sarasvat.., a logical result of the ancient connexion of Brahma and Vishnu. But though his personality is now obscured behind the more vividly conceived Vishnu and Siva, the form of Brahman is of great antiquity. Belief in him pervades the entire Mahabharat.., as Hultzmann shows, in its later as well as in its earlier portions. Brahman is omniscient; he is acquainted with the past, present, and future, and without any external sense of touch, he infuses himself into the body of a living being, and into the material world as well as into the mind of a being. From him proceed the castes, the regular orders; and he is usually exalted above the gods, although there are no wanting passages which subordinate him to Vishnu or Siva. He is a popular figure also in the Pali texts. He appears, for example, before the Buddha in order to move him not to withdraw from the world; he is looked up to in heaven; he is recognized by the Buddha himself. He is, however, not adorned with more serious traits, which afford evidence of his connexion with the conception of the Brahman. The history of this connexion has not hitherto been investigated; and little therefore on the subject can be advanced. In the Kashmiri elements of the Dharmasastra, Brahman is referred to as 'the great Brahman, the unapproachable, the observer of all things, the lord of all, the father of all beings past and future,' etc., and he is described as the one who can answer the question as to the ultimate fate of the four elements. Brahman draws near, and a bright light goes before him, announcing his approach. He is, however, not the Brahman to Kavadiga that the gods are mistaken in regarding him as omniscient, and that only the Buddha can answer that question. Here Brahman is the idea of the supreme, corresponding to the Tathagata; but in other passages, as in the Brahmanajatak.., this author is not Brahman, but is apparent, but the relation of the micro dhuravanta saruparampikan with Brahman to the Brahmanical conception is still more immediate. It would be too great a task within this limited space to undertake an essay devoted to the elaborate creations of Buddhism, with its numerous Brahman heavens and Brahman gods, to extract the ancient kernel out of the wealth of fancy has thus luxuriously overlaid and concealed from view.


A. HILGERANDT.

BRÅHMANISME.—I. DEFINITION AND DIVISIONS.—The word 'Brahmanism' seems originally to have been used, and popularly still to be understood, to denote the religion of those inhabitants of India who regard Brahman as their Supreme God, in contradistinction to that of the Buddhists, and, in more recent times, of Mohammedans. But this is founded upon a misconception. Brahman was never universally worshipped (cf. preceding col.); and his acknowledgment as the Supreme God is not even, so far as it is known, less a prominent, characteristic of Brahmanical religions and sects. The characteristic mark of Brahmanism is the acknowledgment of the Veda as the Divine revelation. In Brahmanism, as thus defined we must distinguish two forms of religious development. The earlier one is the religion taught in the Brahmanas (the ritualistic books forming the greater part of Vedic literature); it is, strictly speaking, a part of Vedic religion. The later forms of Brahmanism are a new departure from the former, and only in a certain extent developed from the religion of the Brahmanas. From them they appeal to the Vedic Scriptures, more especially the Upanisads (perhaps even forging new ones), in order to build up a theology of their own, while in their cult they worship partly Vedic deities,—changed, however, in character,—partly deities of post-Vedic origin or growth. In these forms of Brahmanism there is an important non-Vedic element, which, however, cannot be said to be non-Brahmanical; for the beliefs and practices of which this new religion is made up were shared by Brahmanas, and, to some extent at least, modelled by them. This element may be called 'Hinduistic.' When it became all-important, and when the influence of the Brahmanas on its formation grew less and less, Brahmanism merged into Hinduism,—by which term we understand the modern phase of the religious development of India. The religion of the Brahmanas is but a continuation of that of the Yajurveda Sanhita, and thus comes within the broad limits of Vedic religion (q.v.). We must take cognizance of it here, in so far as it influenced the growth and development of later
Brahmanism. The Brāhmaṇas are almost entirely concerned with sacrifice. Indeed, the most orthodox school of Vedic theologians, the Mīmāṁsakas, go the length of maintaining that the sole aim of revelation is to teach the doctrine of sacrifice (karma). The Mīmāṁsakas are the representatives of the Karma-mārga (‘way of works’), the doctrine which declares that the highest end of man is to be realized by works, i.e. by sacrifices and other observances taught in the Veda. There is an extreme view, however, fairly well presents the meaning of the Brāhmaṇas to us, i.e., to be more accurate, of the greater part of every Brāhmaṇa. But this does not apply to the last chapters of, or appendixes to, some Brāhmaṇas called Aranyaka, or to certain independent treatises within the Veda itself, called Upānīyaveda, i.e., which are the latest works of Vedic literature. For these texts contain philosophical speculations which for the most part are entirely unconnected with sacrifice; and on these texts another school of Vedic theologians, the Vedaántins, have based their theosophical systems. The Vedaántins are the oldest representatives of the Jñāna-mārga (‘way of knowledge’), or the doctrine which declares that the samādhi bonum is to be obtained through knowledge. There is a third ‘way’, the Bhaktya; and it is only in early Vedic literature that there are no works of devotion to, or devotion of, God leads to the highest goal. This doctrine was developed later than the ‘way of works’ and the ‘way of knowledge’, but it became the most important one for practical religion, especially in more recent times.

Thus, Hinsa themselves have divided their religions into these three classes, according to the three ‘ways’ explained above; it is therefore necessary that we too should take cognizance of their classification, which, on the whole, well presents the facts and the historical development of religious thought in India.

II. RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS.

1. The first form of Brāhmaṇism, as already stated, is mainly a religion of ceremonies and observances; it is chiefly concerned with sacrifice, compared with which devotion and moral duties are of so little importance to the authors of the ritualistic books that they scarcely ever mention them. Of course, the religion of the priests belonged, strictly speaking, to that exclusive class only; it was not the religion of the people at large, or even of that of the Brahmans; but it was established by the latter, in theory at least (and is so generally down to recent times), to be the most sacred, the revealed religion. Its influence on the religious development in India should not be underrated; in order rightly to understand the latter, we must have a clear notion of the nature of the Vedic sacrifice. It is not offered to a god with the view of propitiating him or obtaining from him welfare on earth or bliss in heaven; these rewards are directly produced by the sacrifice itself, i.e. through the ceremonial observances connected with it. These connected ceremonies constitute the sacrifice, and which are more of the nature of magic than of worship. Though in each sacrifice certain gods are invoked and receive offerings, the gods themselves are but instrumental in bringing about the sacrifice or in completing the course of mystical ceremonies composing it. Sacrifice is regarded as possessing a mystical potency, superior even to the gods, who, it is sometimes stated, attained to their Divine rank by it. The efficacy of sacrifice is further supported by scattered many statements about this mystical potency—sacrifice in the abstract. The general notions contained in them have been combined by Martin Haag in a description of sacrifice which we shall transcribe from the introduction to his edition of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Boujary, 1863), p. 73 f.

‘The sacrifice is regarded as the means for obtaining power over this and the other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures. He who knows its proper application has it done for him, and he is looked upon as the real master of the world; for any desire he may entertain in the world, the most atavistic, can be gratified; any object he has in view can be obtained, which was the object of the yajña (sacrifice) taken as a whole is conceived to be a kind of machinery, in which the part consists of a small piece must be supposed to be the object of a sort of great chain, in which no link is allowed to be wanting; or a staircase, by which one may ascend to heaven; or as a montage, emerging from all the constituent parts of the body. It exists from eternity, and proceeded from the Supreme Being (Prajapati, or Brahmā) along with the Trāyīdah, i.e. the three-fold sacred form of the sacrifice (the Śākta sacrifice, and the Vajra, or sacrificial formula). The creation of the world itself was supposed as the result of such a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being. The Vajra exists as an invisible thing at all times; it is like the latent power of electricity in an electric machine, which is only the apparatus in order to be elicited. It is supposed to extend, when unrolled, from the Ahavaniya, or sacrificial fire, into which all oblations are thrown, to heaven, forming thus a bridge or ladder, by means of which the sacrificer can communicate with the world of gods and spirits, and even ascend when alive to their abodes. The term for beginning the sacrificial operation is “to spread the sacrifice”; this means that the invisible thing, representative of the gods, which was lying dormant, as it were, is set in motion, in consequence of which its several parts or limbs unfold themselves, and thus the whole becomes extended. The sacrificial words, the ritualistic formulae stand in relationship with all the sacrificial implements, the sacrificial place, and all the sacred verses and words spoken during its actual performance. The sacrificer being of being of a body like that of men, certain ceremonies form this head, other, the oblation as an altar, etc. The most important element in a sacrifice is that all is done without fail, and that consequently there should be nothing in excess, and nothing done by mistake. This harking from the whole form of the sacrifice constitutes its rūpa, i.e. form. The proper form is obtained, when the mantras which are repeated are in strictest accordance with the ceremonies, or the oblations are repeated, if the sacrifice lasts for several or many days) when they have the characteristics of the respective days. If the forms be vitiated, the whole sacrifice is considered as an unavoidable on account of the extremely complicated ritual, the sacrificer will be deemed guilty by a god as much as in the person of the Brahman priest. Each mistake must be considered a good by a prāyaśchitta, i.e. penance, or propitiatory offering.’

It is obvious that the dignity of the gods could not but be high, in the opinion of those who had such exaggerated notions about the nature and importance of sacrifice. And, as a matter of fact, the gods descended from the high position they once had held in the esteem of the Vedic poets, and came to occupy quite a subordinate, ring ding position. The degradation of the once popular gods is a marked feature of later Brahmanism, and we can trace its effect on the development of Indian religion in many important facts, as will be explained in the sequel.

The religion of the period of the Rigveda did not lack germs which, duly developed, would have raised the conception of the Deity to a higher level. Not only, during its last stage, had a Father-god, Prajāpati, become the object of speculation and adoration, but even before that time it had become a habit of the poet-priest to ascribe the attributes, functions, and powers of several gods to that particular one whom he was for the time invoking. This tendency to identify many gods with one has been called by Max Müller ‘kethonism’ or ‘kethonismus’. It is conceivable that kethonism might, in the end, have led to monotheism, or at least to a purer form of religion than the old Vedic polytheism. But in the Brāhmaṇa period the priests cared less to exalt the personal gods than to convey to the sacred dignity of the impersonal sacrifice. The conception of the Deity as embodied in the Vedic gods was first debased by the ritualistic procrucification of the priests; and the degradation of the gods was consummated by their identification with the object of their sacrifice. But the same cause which diminished the dignity of the ancient gods gave rise to a new idea of God as Controller and Lord of man and the universe. The constant occupation of the priests with sacrifice and the symbolic interpretation of the meaning of the rites and ceremonies produced those ideas,
described by Hang, about sacrifice as a paramount power, the essence, as it were, of the whole world; and such ideas prepared the Indian mind to admit a belief in a Supreme Deity. A movement appears in full vigour in the Aranyakas and Upanisads; in these works we behold a spectacle unique in the history of religion, viz. the search for a Supreme God after the popular gods and goddesses.

During the Brāhmaṇya period the theologians had always been searching for those cosmical, physical, and psychical phenomena and forces which, as they thought, were symbolized in the rites and appurtenances of sacrifice. Thus they arranged the sacrificial system in a mysterious knowledge of these potencies, and a rough kind of estimate of their importance. The earliest parts of the Aranyakas and Upanisads contain several attempts at a systematic arrangement of the physical and psychical forces, first in connexion with some part of the ritual, and then in various other allegorical directions. There is a gradual advance in these fanciful attempts at classification; the several items are arranged according to their dependence upon one another, till that one is reached from which all others are to be derived.

It is impossible to sketch, even in outline, these attempts, which frequently contradict one another; but it may be remembered that the Cosmical Deity and the Immortal, which is beyond the sun, where the blessed go who no more return to the earth. The name given to this mysterious power is Brahmā (g.v.), which originally may have meant 'prayer' [but see above, p. 797, near top], but already in the Atharva Veda and other Vedic texts (see Muir, *Origin and Growth*, ii. 256) of the class called the Brahmanas, a primitive deity, who is identified with the Supreme God, the Upholder of the world. Brahmā is the infinite, the unchangeable, the eternal, the absolute; it is pure Being, on which all that exists depends, and from which it derives its reality. Brahmā cannot be apprehended by the mind, although the Vedic writers stated that all known attributes of things must be denied of Brahmā, which therefore cannot be described only by negations (nāti nāti, 'no no'). In Brahmā is reached the ultimate end of the series of cosmical and physical powers—its First Cause.

This advance in speculation seems to have proceeded step by step with another, concerning the series of psychical phenomena and powers, the ultimate member of which came to be designated as Atman (g.v.). Atman originally meant 'body' or 'person,' and also as a reflexive pronoun, it came to denote the Self, as the principle which constitutes the identity of an individual, that on which the whole of the physical and psychical functions of an individual depend, and from which they derive their reality. Atman is therefore the transcendental Self or Soul. Frequently it is identified with the space within the heart. Brahmā and Atman mark the greatest heights which speculation reached; the one in the cosmical order of things, the other in the psychical. To compass both these views of things, a new practice was developed, the relation subsisting between them, is the chief object, the ever-recurring theme, of the fully developed speculation of the Upanisads. Brahmā is declared to be the innermost essence of all things, animate and inanimate; it abides in them unknown to them, and controls them from within; all things therefore are brahma (it is 'intra' as well as 'within'). Brahmā, as immanent in us, is declared not to be different from our atman. The Upanisads insist on the non-difference of the Brahmā and Atman; but it may be doubted whether thereby absolute identity is meant, so that the Atman would cease to be a distinct individuality other than that joined to Brahmā. On this point there is great diversity of opinion among the interpreters of the Upanisads—the Apanisads or Vedantins.

These philosophies are founded on the Upanisads their true teachings, and to show that they formed a self-consistent system. The older view seems to have been that followed by Rāmānuja, who maintained, that as soon as Brahmā, still retain some kind of individuality of their own when joined to him, and that the world has the same relation to Brahmā as the soul has to the body. The younger view, expounded by Śaṅkara has, however, become the prevailing one among philosophers; it maintains that Brahmā alone is real and everything else is an illusion (maya), and that the souls reaching Brahmā are completely merged in him and cease to exist individually. The advocates of both views advance specious arguments in their favour from the Upanisads themselves. The truth seems to be that the authors of the Upanisads held various opinions on the points which form the basis of the different schools of Vedanta.

However this may be, the great achievement of the Upanisads is to have established the firm belief in a transcendental, impersonal, and un-moral God mysteriously identical with our Self. This new idea of a pantheistical Deity has nothing in common with, and cannot therefore have been developed from, the popular notions of the Divine nature as represented by the old Vedic gods. Brahmā, in particular, is outside the category of good and bad; it is an un-moral deity as it is an impersonal one.

The theosophical movement, which found expression in the Upanisads, was not restricted to India, but spread to the West, though one great sage, Yāṣavalkya, had a great share in establishing the final doctrine of Brahmā. Nor were these speculations the exclusive property of priests or Brahmans; for kings are mentioned who 'knew the Brahmā' and taught their knowledge to Brahmans; and even women took part in the discussions about the nature of Brahmā. It cannot be doubted that the ideas of Brahmā and Atman formed the principal interest of the philosophical and religious men of the period of the Upanisads; they became one of the chief factors which brought about the new phase of theosceological religion, for 'Brahmānism' and 'Brahmānists' are names which the theosophical ideas taught in the Upanisads, has been made, of the most flourishing and profound religions in India, the philosophical basis of their teachings.

3. Another factor which greatly influenced religious life in India, and contributed in a high degree to give it its peculiar character, was asceticism (jīva, 'person'). The ascetic is one who lives a life of power, sometimes by 'work,' sometimes by 'space.'

In the Rig Veda (s. 136) ascetics (manus) are mentioned as the protectors of the various magical powers. And later, in the Brāhmaṇya, we meet with them under the name of kramāṇas, who are mentioned in conjunction with Brahmans as their rivals (cf. Patañjāli, *Aphorisms*, ii. 412. 2). We get a distinct view of these ascetics in much later times, when a certain practice was reduced and reduced to a kind of system. The principal methods were the following: silence, various postures of the body and of the limbs, fasting.
regulation of the breathing, self-mortification, and contemplation. By such means, which are denoted by the word yoga (q.v.), the ascetic (or yogin) strove to propitiate a god and to induce him to grant the boon he solicited (varada), or he attempted to gain superhuman powers. At all events he acquired merit by these means, which were looked upon by all as a merit. It deserves to be noted that in the Epics the Rṣis of old are generally regarded as holy men, not so much on account of their offering sacrifices as on account of their severe penance; they are superhuman yogins, not deified priests. We see therefore that the religious ideal of the Epics was no longer that of the Brāhmaṇas.

This change will also become evident, if we consider the four āramanas (q.v.), or stages into which the religious career of the Hindus was divided about the end of the Vedic period. The first stage is that of the brahmachārin, or disciple, who learns the Veda; the second, that of the grhaśtha, or married householder; the third, that of the vānaprastha, or old man, who retires to the woods and lives there the life of a hermit; the last, that of the sādhu, or ascetic. Now the bhikṣu is an ascetic by profession, who is never to return to common life, but most of his ascetic practices he has in common with the yogin. The high value set on asceticism is acknowledged in principle when ascetic life is made the last stage of the religious career which has been the period of the Brāhmaṇas, ‘religious’ men seem to have passed the last part of their life as hermits in the woods; for their use were destined, as the name indicates, the Aranyakas (q.v.), which formed the last chapters of, or were appendices to, the Brāhmaṇas. In later times, however, the ārama of the hermit fell into disuse, and now it is practically abolished; while at the same time the ārama of the ascetic gained in importance, and was chosen by all those who adopted a religious life. This changed relation between the ārama indicates that the ascetic ideal finally supplanted the older ideal represented by sacrifice.

There have always been two kinds of yoga. The one, now called hāthayoga, is practised in order to obtain magical powers; the other, rāja-yoga, for the attainment of spiritual perfection. In the latter, the higher yoga, dhyāna (‘contemplation’) is regarded as the most effective means for attaining the desired ends, while the other ascetic practices are enjoined as a preparatory course only. By dhyāna is meant a process of mental abstraction, intuition, we may call it, on the strength of which the wildest fancies have been accepted as truths. The Jaina Umasāvītī lays it down in his Tattteethādhyājyam Śutra, i. 37, that by means of dhyāna the structure of the universe becomes known. But the chief use to which dhyāna was put was the discovery and comprehension of religious truths, and it is therefore regarded by orthodox as well as by heretical thinkers as the noblest of all religious exercises.

The refined yoga of the later systematical philosophy, the Sāṅkhya of Kapila—a theory, if not invented for the purpose, at least well adapted to account for the efficacy of yoga in general, and of contemplation in particular. We might call it a system of natural religion; for it was regarded as a Śrīvidya—a title which is given to works of an authority inferior only to that of the Veda. Hence the Sāṅkhya theory of evolution, combined with the doctrine of the Upaniṣads on Brahman and the Powers (ātman), has been put in requisition to solve religious problems and to explain the relation between God and the world; it has thus exercised the greatest influence on later Brāhmaṇa theology. In conclusion, the bearing of asceticism on ethics must be pointed out. In India, ethics is not regarded as an independent branch of philosophy or of religion, but as preparatory to the exercise of the highest religious practice, dhyāna, which leads to emancipation. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the fundamental moral precepts should have first been formulated in the Smṛti; nor that they should have five great vows binding on all bhikṣus. Four of these five vows, viz., not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, and not to commit adultery, are common to all orders of ascetics, orthodox as well as heretical. Whatever may have been the actual state of morality in India at the time under consideration, it is evident that the principal moral laws had been clearly grasped, notwithstanding the indiscipline of the priests to ethics.

The sumnum bonum is defined as emancipation (mokṣa, mukti, nirvāṇa). In the Upaniṣads, emancipation, union with Brahm, is frequently mentioned and praised as the end to be desired; but it does not yet appear in the same light as in later times, as the only real good. In the Upaniṣads there is some evidence that the asceticism which henceforward becomes the most characteristic and dominant feature of Indian philosophy and religion. Theoretical pessimism was first taught in Brāhmaṇical philosophy by Sāṅkhya-Yoga; it is also the keynote of Jainism and Buddhism—religions in which human suffering, the logical outcome of pessimism, always associated with it, is the doctrine of liberation as the sumnum bonum. But mundane existence, this phenomenal world, the Saṁsāra, in which the soul is born again and again, is essentially bad, and if the soul fettered to the Saṁsāra experiences infinite pain and no happiness that is not vitirated with and inseparable from suffering, then indeed the true aim must be the definite release from the Saṁsāra, i.e. the reaching of a state subject to no change and suffering. This absolute state is reached in mokṣa, mukti, nirvāṇa, or nirvikāra. To teach the way to mukti is the aim of most of the philosophical and religious systems of India after the Vedic period; they profess to open a way to salvation for those who are wearied with the continual suffering produced by mundane existence.

III. MYTHOLOGY.—The religious and philosophical ideas, the rise of which has been sketched in the preceding part of this article, were at the same time so many factors in the mythology of the Brāhmaṇa period. This mythology is not the exclusive property of the priests or of the Brāhmaṇs; it may be described as the sum of those myths and legends which were current among the Indians of higher culture, and which found expression in general Sanskrit literature, chiefly in the Epics and the Purāṇas. It inherited, from the preceding period of the Veda, the principal gods. Theoretically they remained what they had been believed to be before, but practically there was a marked change. As looked in the hymns of the Rig Veda were forgotten, and those who were retained generally lost much of their pristine dignity, owing to the exclusively sacrificial interests of the priest as explained above; only a few were promoted to a higher position. Besides these, some new gods were received into the Hindu pantheon. The majority of the Vedic gods lost their share in popular worship without ceasing to be considered powerful deities. This brought about a changed theological conception. The gods were no longer anthropomorphous in their character was greatly developed, since it was not to the priests, but to poets and legend-mongers that the care of mythology was now entrusted. (2) The gods generally became departmental divinities to a
much greater extent than before. This fact is most striking in some instances where gods have attributed to them definite functions with which in the Rig Veda they had but a very slight, if any, connection. Thus Varuna became the ocean-god, while in the Rig Veda his connexion with water seems in like manner appears as the rule. Savitri is not a proper sun-god; in later mythology he is identical with Surya, and represents the heavenly luminary. Soma, whose character as moon-god in the Rig Veda is still controverted, is acknowledged as such in Brahmanical mythology, and Yama in like manner appears as the ruler of the nether world. This tendency to distribute the departments of nature among the gods, clearly discernible in most cases, prevented the gods from becoming little more than holy names after they had ceased to be worshipped by the people.

The Vedic gods who continue to be generally acknowledged in the Brahmanical period are Agni, Indra, Savitri, Soma, Varuna, Yama, and the Asvins; and, in addition to them, Prajapati, Visnu, and Rudra. The three last named, who become the.dyocratic Gods, were occasionally considered towards the end of this article; we shall treat first of those other gods borrowed from the Veda, and next of the principal new gods who originated or came to the front in post-Vedic times.

Agni is, in the Rig Veda, the personification of the sacrificial fire; he, therefore, was the god of the priests and the priest of the gods. The Vedic conceptions of Agni are partly retained and occasionally revive in later mythology. Thus he represents Brahmanhood just as Indra represents the Linga, or warrior-class; he is the leader of the gods, who are therefore agni-puragama. The common synonyms of agni, ‘fire’, in classical Sanskrit, viz., vahna, hatavahana, hatadasana, are derived from Vedic conceptions of Agni. But, on the whole, the function of Agni in the Veda is that of personification of the element of fire. Therefore he is spoken of as having wind for his charioter (vyatasastrati), and smoke as a banner (abhamakuta). The various aspects of fire occasionally appear as traits of Agni’s character, as will be seen in the legends related of him. Some forms of fire, especially as the terrible and destructive element, seem to have been worshipped under other names. According to the Satapatha Brahmana, Agni was called Bhava by the Vahikas, Sarva by the Eastern people. He was adopted also by Rahula and Rudra. This seems to indicate that the popular worship of Agni was early transferred to deities of the Rudra type. It may be questioned whether there were any temples of Agni, and whether he had worship except in Vedic sacrifices.

Agni is present in every fire; therefore it was possible to relate legends of many Agnis and to make out genealogies of them (Mahabharata, iii. 219–222, and differently Vayu-Purana, i. 29). This accounts also for the fact that contracts were made in his name, and not that of the unincorperated, insensible god, was a witness to the contract. Fire, in a mysterious way, resides in all creatures; it is recognized as the cause of digestion. Therefore Agni is an omniscient god. The following legends will give an idea of Agni’s position in later mythology:

Agni was created by Brahma, and invested by him with his functions. But Agni was, on account of his mysteries, comparatively little known as a deity. Agni was not wont to hold his offices, but Agnits dissuaded him from retiring, and was therefore adopted by him as his son (Mahabharata, iii. 217). Agnitas son was Bhringa, from whom the race of Agnis, mentioned above, is derived.

The Veda, Brhad-purana, or the race of Bhringas, is said to have kindled Agni for the establishment and diffusion of fire on earth; but in the Mahabharata the relation between Agni and Bhringa is very different. Bhringa had been sent by Brahma from the fire at Varuna’s sacrifice. His wife was Pulomak. When she was pregnant, the Raksiya Pulomak visited her during her husband’s absence, and falling in love with her wanted to carry off. He assumed that he had been betrothed to her before she married Bhringa, and he called Agni his own. She discovered that Bhringa had first chosen her, but that she had been bestowed on her father by Bhringa, who with Vedic rites made his wife. Then the Raksiya, in a fit of rage, cast a bair, called the flight Pulomak miscarried, and the child dropped from her, whence he was called Chakrapana. At the same time the Raksiya resolved to ask of Agni for Pulomak, to which Agni had made Pulomak known to the Raksiya, Bhringa pronounced on Pulomak as a wife. The Raksiya should develop as a great king (Mahabharata, i. 5 ff.); see, further, art. Bhringa.

The references of Agni from the world, his hiding in the ocean, in the earth, in plants; especially the Sani (used in fire-rubbing), is as yet a mystery spoken of in the Mahabharata. Some animal always betrayed Agni to his father, and he hid as a curse upon the betrayer some defect which characterizes it. Agni accordingly asked whether these speculations formed part of a general belief. The same may be said about his parentage, or rather origin, which is various, so that his deeds become incredible. He is one of the eight Vauses, their leader, just as in later Vedic texts.

Agni’s wife is Svaha, daughter of Daksha. He jointly with Siva was father of Skamna, as will be related below. We hear occasionally of other offspring of Agni, among which the best known name is that of the sage Agnivaish. In one case, however, he became connected with epic history through his descent to the dynasty of Mahimati on the Narmaid.

Durjodhana, king of Mahimati, had by Narmaid a beautiful daughter called Sudarshana, with whom Agni fell in love. In the guise of a beautiful maiden he asked Narmaid for the hand of his daughter, but she would not consent, and her father not consenting, he withdrew from the sacrificial fire. He then made himself known, and received the maiden on condition that she should always live near the king. Agni’s son by Sudarshana was Sudarshana, who as a householder vanished (Mahabharata, iv. 103). In another place the story is told differently. Nila, king of Mahimati, had a beautiful daughter who used to stand near the sacrificial fire and look to it. Her mother became enamoured of her, and the fire would not burn unless agitated by the sight from her lips. One day the god, in the guise of a Brahman, visited the girl, but she was discovered, and the king was ordered to be executed. Then Agni revealed himself to him, and Nila gave him daughter in marriage. The god henceforth aided the king in battle, so that his deeds became incredible. It is said that Sahadeva the Pujavan on his digesya, or conquest of the world, could not overcome Nila till Agni allowed the king to submit. Another local legend in which Agni plays the principal part is the burning of the Kshapya forest, which is connected with the main story of the Mahabharata, and is there (i. 222 ff.) told thus. Agni had feasted twelve years, during king Svetasis condition, on fire, and after wandering among the kings of other men; he accordingly grew feeble, and complained about it to his father. Agni’s father was Bhrgu, the first king of the Rudra type. This seems to indicate that the popular worship of Agni was early transferred to deities of the Rudra type. It may be questioned whether there were any temples of Agni, and whether he had a worship except in Vedic sacrifices.

Asvins, two of the gods who were first created, and are therefore agni-puragama. The common synonyms of agni, ’fire’, in classical Sanskrit, viz., vahna, hatavahana, hatadasana, are derived from Vedic conceptions of Agni. But, on the whole, the function of Agni in the Veda is that of personification of the element of fire. Therefore he is spoken of as having wind for his charioter (vyatasastrati), and smoke as a banner (abhamakuta). The various aspects of fire occasionally appear as traits of Agni’s character, as will be seen in the legends related of him. Some forms of fire, especially as the terrible and destructive element, seem to have been worshipped under other names. According to the Satapatha Brahmana, Agni was called Bhava by the Vahikas, Sarva by the Eastern people. He was adopted also by Rahula and Rudra. This seems to indicate that the popular worship of Agni was early transferred to deities of the Rudra type. It may be questioned whether there were any temples of Agni, and whether he had worship except in Vedic sacrifices.

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Anuła, Pārvāka, Kuśāṇa, Yāhūvāyu, Jātavāyu, Hiranyarote, etc. (Amarakokha, i. i. 1. 48 ff.). See, further, Adolf Holtzmann, Agni nach den Vorstel-

lingsen des Mahābhārata, 1878.

Indra (Sakra) in Brahmanical mythology is the ruler of the heavens. He is sometimes represented in a powerful form resembling a warrior or, more usually, a powerful ruler (cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, v. 211).

Indra's weapon is the thunderbolt (vāyūra); the rainbow is called 'Indra's bow.' He rides on the elephant Airavata in a heaven palace (bhavan) driven by his charioteer Mātāli. His capital is Amāravati, his palace Vaijayanta; his park, situated on the north of Mount Meru, is Nandana; in it grows the Pārijata tree (which was torn from it by Kṛṣṇa and planted in Satyabhama's garden). He is the regent of the East. He is usually called Sachi or Pañoloni, daughter of the Asura Puloman, whom he slew. His son is Jayanta.

Indra has a thousand eyes, which may be interpreted as the stars of the firmament; but in legendary mythology they are explained differently. Indra seduced Gautama's wife Ahalyā, and therefore the saint laid upon him the curse that his body should be covered with a thousand marks resembles the female organs; when Gautama re- lented, he changed these marks into eyes. According to another story, the thousand eyes originated when Indra was gazing on the heavenly nymph Tilottama (Mahābhārata, i. 211).

Many stories are told of Indra, some of which have developed from Vedic myths. His most famous story is the slaying of Vṛtra, which is variously told. According to one version of the story (Mādhyānta Purāṇa or Tāṇṭārīya Purāṇa), Vṛtra was a son of Vāyuva or Trivikrama, and was worshiped by the gods, but he favoured also the Asuras, to whom he was related through his mother, Hiranyakāśipu, the leader of the Asuras, brought him over to his party, and dismissed his karta Yasiṣṭha, who thereupon cursed him to the effect that he should be killed by a being not existing yet (Vivūna in the Vāyuva story). In the shape of a man-lion, Tāṇṭārīya, a giant, attempted severe vengeance; but heavenly nymphs sent by Indra and the Sun god, Vivasvat, clung to him. Thus aroused him to great wrath, and he began to utter powerful words, by virtue of which his size increased immensely. With one stroke he destroyed all the offerings, and with the third he drank up the energy of Indra and the gods. Reduced to weakness, the gods asked the help of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Lord, who in the guise of the golden fish, from which the thunderbolt was produced. With this weapon, which belonged to Indra, Viṣṇu at once confounded the giants and struck Trivikrama. From the corpse rose a mighty Asura, named Vṛtra, who became Indra's enemy, but was at last killed by him with the thunderbolt (cf. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, v. 220 ff.).

According to another version of the same story (Māhābhārata, v. 19), Indra killed Vṛtra in the twilight with the froth of the sea. For the Brahmanas had conferred upon Vṛtra the boon that he might slay Indra by any weapon, dry or wet, in the daytime or at night. According to a third version (ib. iii. 100), Vṛtra is not connected with Indra; he is the leader of the Asuras who offers his life freely to the gods. It is in this emergency that Dāivata yields up his horse, from which Indra was accustomed to ride; Indra, in the shape of a lion, leaped onto this horse, and killed Vṛtra in the battle with the gods. It is in this emergency that Dāivata yields up his horse, from which Indra was accustomed to ride; Indra, in the shape of a lion, leaped onto this horse, and killed Vṛtra in the battle with the gods. Thus Indra's victory over the Vṛtra was not a cruel one, Siva's energy, which entered the demon and weakened him, was of no avail.

By the killing of Vṛtra, Indra was polluted with the helminth sin of Brahmanicide (brahmahati), and he fled in great terror to the end of the world. Upon his entering was the Vṛtra himself in the fibre of a lotus. The gods then placed Nābhusa, his son, on the throne of Indra. But Nābhusa at last came to reason in his inordinate desire of Sārama, the wife of Indra. The gods discovered Indra's retreat, and Bhūmapati cleansed him by the horse-sacrifice and dedicated him to himself. According to a fourth version (ib. xii. 251 f.), the cause of Vṛtra's defeat was a dreadful fever, Siva's energy, which entered the demon and weakened him, was of no avail.

In some legends Indra appears as the opponent of other gods. When the Raś Chayavana was giving the Āsins a share of the soma-flotation as a reward for having made him young again, Indra tried to prevent the Āsins from sharing it, and created a huge monster Mada (intoxication). In great fright Indra then yielded, and Mada was distributed over women, wine, and thunderbolts. Indra and the other Asuras were cast into the sea, and there was born a giant named Sūrya, who, as the sun-god, was the manifest form of the sun. Asura Indra tried to protect the Āsins from the Mada, and created a huge monster Mada (intoxication). In great fright Indra then yielded, and Mada was distributed over women, wine, and thunderbolts. Indra and the other Asuras were cast into the sea, and there was born a giant named Sūrya, who, as the sun-god, was the manifest form of the sun. Among his other exploits, Indra used his thunderbolt to give life to the waters. Thus Indra's victory over the Vṛtra was not a cruel one, Siva's energy, which entered the demon and weakened him, was of no avail.
times they are all merged in one, who is called indiscriminately by their names—Sūrya, Savitri, Mitra, Aryaman, Pāsan—besides bearing such names as Aditya, Vivavast, Vikartana, etc. He continued to be a popular god even after the rise of the supreme gods: temples were dedicated to him, and he is also called Dakṣa. The Veda, the oldest of the two, contains hymns in his praise. He is also called Śaternatha, and he is thus called Dakṣa. Thus Vivavast, the sun-god, and Vivavast, the wife of Dakṣa, became the husband and the wife of the sun-god, and they were assigned by him to the order of night. By this Vivavast had become the slave of his sister Dakṣa. For the sisters had washered as to wash the divine husband. The moon was white or black, and Dakṣa by fraud had won the bet, which stipulated that the loser should become slave to the winner. Thus Dakṣa, living in the servitude of his sister, was compelled to obey their commands. The promise, however, to set him free, if he brought them the aurata (which in this account is confounded with the soma). After many adventures Garuḍa came to the place where the aurata was kept, vanquished the guardian-god, extinguished the fire which was burning round the aurata, overcame all obstacles, and succeeded at last in carrying off the aurata-soma. In vain Indra hurled his thunderbolt at him; it brought down only one feather of the bird. Indra then entered into friendship with him. Garuḍa placed the aurata on the ground strewn with kusa grass, and invited the assembly of Brahmans to partake of the custom to do before meals, Indra carried off the aurata. Garuḍa was rewarded for his deed by Vīṣṇu, who chose him for his service as the bird on which he rides, and assigned him his standard to rest upon.

This myth represents part of which can be traced back to the Rig Veda, leaves no doubt that the sun is meant by Garuḍa, and consequently darkness by the snakes, his food. Apparently Garuḍa was never regarded as the equal of Sūrya, who therefore engrossed the whole sun-worship; still Garuḍa's claim to worship was recognized by making him the servant and companion of Vīṣṇu, who from being a solar deity had been promoted to the rank of a Supreme God. Garuḍa is also called Surajā, and it may be remarked that there is a goddess called Surajā. Garuḍa is frequently figured on ancient sculptures. He is also identified with Tārakeśa, originally a distinct mythical being, figured either as a bird or as a horse, and apparently representing the sun. Garuḍa seems, therefore, to be a combination of different divine forms of the sun represented as a winged being.

Soma, the moon-god.—As a departmental god, Soma represents the moon; but since he is identified with the Vedic god Soma, who especially represents the sun, this identification represents the two deities as the same. It is not improbable that the latter are also ascribed to the moon-god. Hence he is the sovereign of the stars as well as of the plants and of the Brahmans; and in poetry his rays are said to consist of amrita. Though he was a deity of great holiness, he seems scarcely to have received popular worship as a separate god; at least no temples seem to have been dedicated to him. (The famous shrine at Somānātha was sacred to Siva, and so was Somatirtha in Śrenagura; see Stein, Kalhana's Chronicle of Kāśmir, i. 450), and it is not ascertained whether he was introduced either from the eye of Atri, son of Bhrāma, or, together with other precious things, at the churning of the ocean. He married the 27 Nakṣatras, daughters of Dakṣa, i.e. the 27 mansions of the moon. But he preferred to have beautiful wives. Dakṣa fruitlessly blamed him for his neglect of duty towards them, and at last he cursed him to the effect that he should die of consumption. So the moon began to wane, and at the same time it became fatter and weaker. Then Dakṣa mitigated his curse to the effect that the moon should alternately wane and wax every month. At full moon only a trace of his illness remains; it is the dark spot on his disc in the shape of a hare. His curse was brought to
about by boating at Prabhāsā, where the Sarasvati falls into the western ocean.

From Soma sprang the Soma-savāni, or lunar race of kings. Soma carried off Tārī, the wife of Brahmapati, though Brahma had restored her to her husband, the teacher of the Asuras and the enemy of Brahmapati, together with the Asuras’ wife, Soma in the conflict between gods and demigods. At last Soma was compelled to give up Tārī. After some time she gave birth to a boy whose parentage was doubtful; but when he had grown, the boy revealed himself as Soma. The boy was named Budha (the planet Mercury), who afterwards married his, daughter of Manus. Their son was Puru, who was the lineage of Indian kings.

The moon plays an important part in the ancient belief about the life after death. The souls of the deceased are supposed to go to the moon, and assembling there cause her waxing. At full moon, the moon sends some spirits on to the world of Brabu (dreams) and sends the rest as rain down to the earth to be born again (piṭrīṇa). Their stations on both paths are variously stated (see Denissen, System der Vedānta, 1883, pp. 392, 409, 475).

Vāyu (Vātā Mārata) is the divine personification of wind, the fourth element of the Indians, which, it should be noted, constitutes as much the principle of life; Vāyu has therefore power also over the animal world. He presides over the North-west. Since the invisible element of wind does not easily lend itself to anthropomorphism, scarcely any myths are told of Vāyu; nor do wind gods receive popular worship. He was too much of an abstraction to appeal to the religious feelings of the people. But there were popular wind-gods, variants of Vāyu as it were, who in epic language were therefore styled sons of Vāyu or Mārata. One of them is Hanumān, the valorous monkey of the Rāmāyaṇa, who jumped the ocean and brought Rāma tidings from his bride Sītā; he is now the tutelary god of all village settlements. The writer of the present article believes that he is connected with the monsoon (dādara) winds. Another son of Vāyu is Bhima of the Mahābhārata, the second of the five Pandava brothers. There are traces in his character which seem to indicate a demonic origin. He is frequently brought into relation with the Rākṣasas; he not only fights them, but he marries the Rākṣasi Hidjīpa, by whom he has a son, the famous Ghodotkacha. He is a ravenous eater (vyakoṭara), and is of great fierceness; he tears open the breast of his enemy Dūṣasana and drinks his blood. He may have been held god as the god of storm, but this storm-wind is a far different spirit of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata (see Miur, op. cit. v, 250 E.). Another cure brought by the wind is the destruction of rain in drought. For Vāyu is the god of storms (see Usanas and Miur, Mahābhārata, xi. 2: the wrath of the Kṛta, the wind of Vamana, who had fallen into a well and there invoked them in an interesting hymn).

With epic history the Aevins are connected in the Mahābhārata as the fathers of Sahadeva and Nakula, the twin sons of Mādhra; and in the Rāmāyaṇa they are the fathers of the monkeys Dividda and Mainu.

Finally, we must mention Brāhmapati, who, in the hymns of the Rig Veda, is invoked as a god, the impersonation of the power of devotion; in Brāhmanical mythology he is not a god in the proper sense of the word, but rather a divine sage. He is the teacher (guru) and household priest (puρāṭaka) of the gods; he is identified with Vichaspati (‘lord of speech’), and with the planet Jupiter. According to Mahābhārata, iii. 217 ff., he is the son of Angras, and from him is descended the family of Agnis. His wife is Tārā (see above). In the epic he is a rival of Kāvya Usanā or Sukra, teacher of the Asuras, who is identified with the planet Venus.

* An incident which is thought to show some resemblance between Neptune and Varuna is related in Mahābhārata, iii. 214 ff. Varuna gave a horse to Rākṣasa, to which Gāṇi demanded of him as the prize for his daughter Sāryaṇī.

About the Aevins, which is the name of the authors of the Aevins, as they are known in ancient Hindu literature. The names of the Aevins are given as Vasaras, Mahābhārata, v. 98). Mention is made of a bow of Varuna, from which originated the gūrdvā, the bow he gave to Arjuna. Wine (sūrva) is called vārūṇi, i.e. ‘belonging to Varuna’; and the goddess of wine, Vārūṇi, who appeared at the churning of the ocean, is regarded as Varuṇa’s daughter or his wife.*
Most of the gods treated of hitherto have this in common, that, though fully recognized in mythology, they lost more or less of their importance as popular gods. It was different with two old gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and with the youngest of Vedic deities, Ājīvika. They advanced to the position of the great leaders in the modern Vedic pantheon, the highest objects of worship. Before we treat of the rise of these three gods, we must complete our description of the Indian pantheon. First we shall treat of the post-Vedic gods of similar rank to the old gods, but in a later period, then of minor divine beings, and of saints.

2. Post-Vedic gods.—(A) Those of high rank.—To the post-Vedic period must be assigned Ku-māra, the war-god (called also Skandā, Kārttikeya, Guha, Mahāśeṇa, etc.). He is first mentioned in the Chhodūyaga Upaniṣad, vii. 20, 2, where he seems to be identified with the sage Sanatkumāra. His origin, however, must be looked for in popular belief, which seems to have varied a good deal in details respecting the war-god, as will be seen in the sequel. Kumāra is regarded as the general (sena-pati) of the gods. His introduction as a new god was probably due to a change in the government of Indian States. Originally the king was both ruler in peace and leader in war, but afterwards the office of general became distinct. When this generalship was recognized, it was thought necessary, as we may assume, that there should be in heaven too a senapati as well as a king. And since the senapati frequently succeeded in supplanting the king, and the latter was often justly in being jealous of the former, it is but natural that Indra should at first try to suppress Kumāra, as is told in the narrative of the latter’s birth.

The myth of the birth of Kumāra is variously related (Mahābhārata, iii. 225 ff., ii. 44 ff., XIII. 1, and Gāndhārī Vāma, 236). The first story is that the gods, both as Śiva and as Agni, his mother as Umā, Gangā, and quite a number of minor deities. These rival claims to his parentage had to be settled, and this was effected by the assumption of a sort of joint parentage, and by making some of the female deities his nurses or adoptive mothers.

The most generally adopted account of Kumāra’s birth is as follows: The gods were afraid that from the embrace of Śiva and Umā a child would be produced whose world would not be able to bear, and therefore they entreated Siva not to embrace his wife. He agreed, but walked abroad, and this was taken by Agni and thrown into the Gaṅgā. But the latter could not retain it, and threw it on the earth, where it grew into a third form of Kumāra. There it was transformed into a fine boy, who was found by the six Kṛttikas (the Pleiades). As each of them desired him to be her son, he was assumed successively to both breasts simultaneously. Hence he is called Kārttikeya and Śrīmukha. (In point of fact, the name Kārttikeya seems to be derived from Kārttika, the first month of autumn, when, on the cessation of the monsoon, the roads became practicable, and kings were wont to set out on war expeditions. According to another version, the Kṛttikas were formerly the wives of the seven Rājas (for the Indians knew that there was a seventh star in the Pleiades, though they usually counted but six). Agni fell in love with the wives of the seven Rājas, and Siva, his own wife, becoming aware of it, assumed the form of one of the Rājas, and kidnapped Agni, and with her he then brought Agni’s semen to a golden lake, and threw it on the earth; but its natural fate was to be destroyed. Before this fate was to befall him, it was used to assume the form of Arumati, the faithful wife of Vasistha. The remaining six Rājas foresaw their wives, who were transferred to the sky as the Kṛttikas.

The feats of Kumāra which are most generally known are the killing of the Aśura Tāraka, and the splitting of Mount Kaurava. When Tāraka had finished his games and was oppressing them, they asked Brahmā for a leader, and were told by him that only from the seed of Siva would arise a saviour to deliver them from the enthroned Aśura. Siva, however, was still an anchorite, practising severe austerities. But Pārvati, the wife of Śiva, was summoned, and this was called upon to cause Siva to fall in love with Umā (or Pārvati), the beautiful daughter of Himalaya. He succeeded in his inordinate desire, being induced to yield to sensual temptations, and this was followed by the opening of his eye on the forehead of Siva, who was in great wrath when he became aware that Kāma had dared to disturb him in his ascetic exercise. Siva was, however, won by the graces and merits of Pārvati; and finally married her. These incidents form the subject of Kālidāsa’s famous poem, Ku-māramantra. The rest of the story, telling how Kumāra was born, has been mentioned above. He was afterwards installed general of the gods, engaged in battle with Tāraka, and killed him.

On another occasion, the Daitya Bāpa, son of Bālū, attacked the gods from the mountain Kraukūsha, but he took shelter in the mountain. Kumāra, after vanquishing the latter, placed the mountain with its javēlī, split it in twain, and killed the demon. Thus an opening was effected for the free passage of the heavenly army. This passage of the mountain is variously stated by different authorityes (see Wilson, Vīra Purāṇa, 1865, ii. 141 note). The wife of Kumāra is Parvati, a daughter of Brahmā. Her desire to get a husband superior in strength to the rest of the gods was, according to one account (Mahābhārata, ii. 228), the original cause of the birth of the war-god. Kumāra rides on the peacock, the son of Sūrya.

The strange myth about the birth of Kumāra appears to be best interpreted on the assumption that in different parts of India there were several popular godlings of the war-god type, and that these have been combined into the one Kumāra, the war-god common to all Indians. But this process of amalgamation has left traces, which cannot be mistaken, elsewhere than in the strange myths related above. For there are three variants or alter-egos of Kumāra, viz. Viśākha, Śakā, and Nāgamanva. The first of these is known to have received popular worship (Patañjali, ad Piṅgale, v. 3. 99); he originated from a wound which Indra, as the leader of the gods, sustained in his head. From the same wound issued a great number of Kumāras, and Kumāris, goblins, who spirit away little children (Mahābhārata, iii. 228, where two more brothers, Sīru and the goat-faced Bhurāsākha, seem to be assigned to Kumāra). The war-god has a great retinue of monstrous followers, male and female, of whom long lists are given in Mahābhārata, iv. 45 ff. He was probably in the beginning conceived as the representative of a whole class of uncanny spirits somehow connected with water, fire, and vegetation; but afterwards, as a sort of heir-apparent, he assumed the position of a war-god, equal in rank with the ancient gods. His worship seems once to have been fairly general; at present he is worshiped chiefly in the south, where he is known under the name of Subarānyaka.

Another son of Siva, or rather of Pārvati, is Gāṇesā. Originally he seems to have been conceived as the ‘remover of obstacles,’ as his names Vināyaka and Viśnukrūma indicate. As such he is figured with an elephantine head; he carries a club in one of his four arms, and in the other holds a new-born mouse, of his tusk, which has been broken off; he rides on, or is attended by, the rat, the animal which finds its way to every place. As ‘remover of obstacles,’ he is invoked at the beginning of all books, and thus in a secondary way he became the god of learning, especially of priests and clerks. He is the latest of all Brahmanical gods, for he is not mentioned in the Rāmdānya and some of the older Pārīśīya; and he was absent from the original Mahābhārata. He is first mentioned in Veda saṃhitā, i. 250, 290, 291, and is often taking possession of men, and thus hindering their success, but furthering them when propitiated. The name Gāṇesā or Gāṇadhīpa designates him as the leader of the Gaṇas, or followers in the retinue of Siva. Yet he is not, as a rule, represented as leading the Gaṇas, whose actual leader is Nandi. But there is a class of demons, Vināyakas (see Peters堡 Teitz, s.v.), who probably were represented by the new god Gāṇesā. It does not seem to be noted in this connexion, that, in the Rig Veda (xxii. 1, 1), Brhaspati is addressed as gānoda sankapāt; and Brhaspati, who is identified with Vāchaspatai, is something like a Vedic counterpart of Gāṇesā as a god of learning.

Gāṇesā is the son of Siva and Pārvati, or rather of the latter, for he was produced from the ungenitals with which the goddess
had anointed herself. With the water of her bath they were conveyed to the mouth of the Ganges, and were thereby imbued with the head of an elephant. She named this head four armed Viśravas, and gave him four eyes, four ears, and four tusks, and the head fell off when Parāsati in the pride of her heart invited the planet Saturn to look at her baby, and that Viśv after wards danced with delight over the head of the Brahmān head, which was figured with one tusk only (ekadanta). The loss of the other is very easy to understand. It was cut off by Rāma by order of Sītāputradāna, i. 60, by Rāvana; according to the Brahman Viśvāsūla, i. 40, by Parāsura; and he lost it, according to the Harpadī, xvii. 28, through a bet with King Kumāra as to who should go most quickly round the earth. Besides the particulars of his figure mentioned already, he has an exceeding number of adornments. Above his head, for example, is a tusk, a rosary, an axe, and a sweetmeat; in some pictures he carries a manuscript in one hand, and a globe or Vaiśravana, the 'lord of treasures' (vītāsā), 'king of the Yakṣas,' and 'regent of the north,' is already mentioned in the Atharva Veda as chief of the 'good people' (puyajjana), or 'other people' (itarajjana), and as concerned with 'concealment' (vyāpakajjana), according to the Timskunde, etc.

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and in later Vedic texts he is mentioned as king of the Yakṣas, and in the Teiturīya Aranyak, i. 316, as lord of wishes and as possessor of a wonderful car (yavākala). In later mythology he is the king of the Yakṣas as well as of the Kinnaras and Guhyašakas, while the Rākṣasas are the subjects of his half-brother, Rāvana. According to the Rāmacarita (vii. 34), he is the son of Viśrava, and grandson of Pālaśa, Prājapati. Viśrava had two wives, Desvarṣiṇi, daughter of Bhūvardeva, and Kākṣi, daughter of Sumallī. By the former he had one son, Kākṣi, Indra, by the latter Vīravas, Vaiśrava, and Śūryavas. Vīravas gave Kubera for his residence the town Lākkā, built by Viśravas on Mount Triśūla in the southern Ocean, and Kubera had with him as a capital and own capital. Kubera then, by the advice of Vīravas, took up his residence on Mount Kālīka, and became the regent of the north. But his connection with the south, to which the above legend refers, was perhaps suggested by the name of the southernmost river of India, the Kāviyar, for Kētavana or Kērubena occurs already in the Atharva Veda as a patronymic derived from Kubera. In support of this conjecture it may be mentioned that in the text known as the town Triśūlīkapi (Viśravasvah), explained as Triśūlkapālī, according to Lassen (Ind. Altertumskunde, 1873, i. 106) = 'town of Kubera,' for Trīśūla is also a name for a river. Kubera's town is Alakā, his park Chātiranathā; he has nine treasures (nākā). He rides on a man (nāravaghava); this curious item seems to indicate some near relation to men, and the same is suggested by his epithet or name Vṛddharman, which probably refers to his quality as bestower of riches (vriddha). His son is Nalakūlā, whose wife Rambhā was ravished by Rāvana (Rāmacarita, vii. 26). Kubera, as we have seen, was believed from very early times to preside over the guardians of treasures, who, it would seem, were originally called yakṣa, and later—to distinguish them from the devilish rakṣa, the disturbers of sacrifices—had been named yakṣas. As chief of the Yakṣas, he was supplanted, as far as popular worship is concerned, by Maniḥbhadra, who is already mentioned in the Rāmacarita (vii. 15), but who appears chiefly in popular tales.

A god who is very frequently referred to in classical Sanskrit literature is the god of love, Kāma (Mānmati, Madana, Kandarpa, Śuvara, Ananga, etc.). Originally Kāma is 'desire,'—not of sexual character, but of good fortune, and as a personification of desire he is invoked in Atharva Veda ix. 2; but in another hymn of the same Veda (iii. 25) he is already conceived as the god of sexual love, in which function only he is known to later mythology. His parentage is variously stated, but usually he is regarded as the son of Dharma and Laksāni. His wife is Rati, the impersonation of sexual enjoyment; his friend and companion, Maniḥbhadra, the first son of Kāma, is also a Yakṣa. The sons of Kāma are occasionally mentioned, Harṣa and Yāśas.

The ideas entwined about Kāma may be gathered from his emblems and attributes. He carries a bow formed of flowers (puṣpadāpā), the string of this bow consists of dews, and the arrows of flowers (kuṇmadhara). There are five such arrows (paṇḍavākṣa), allegorically representing the infatuating powers of love (dōṣa, mokha, etc.). He has on his banner the dolphin or a fish, denoting procreative power (śukṣma, or maṭyaśūlī); or he carries a flower in his hand (puṣpadakṣa). He is often spoken of as ātmanāh or chittajñanam, 'born of the mind,' and was therefore called anuvāya, 'bodiless.' This latter quality is accounted for by a well-known myth mentioned above in connection with the war-god. Siva reduced Kāma to ashes; he will get a new body, according to Kumrāsāvanā, i. 42, at the wedding of Siva and Parvati, and will become a yakṣa. But, according to the Harpadī, xv. 1873, 34, he will be born as Pradyumna, Kṛṣṇa's son. The baby had been stolen by Sambha, whose wife Śyākayati brought him up. The latter, however, was Kāma who had assumed the form of a woman in order to deceive the Asura, and thus to cause his destruction by Pradyumna (Khāra). As a god, Pradyumna is a representative of Kāma, to be more accurate, a god of love popular in those tracts of India where the worship of Kṛṣṇa prevailed. Kāma has also been identified with Śiva, according to the Buddhists; hence, in later Sanskrit, Māra becomes a synonym of Kāma.

Some of the goddesses of Brāhmaṇical mythology have already been mentioned in connexion with the gods whose consorts they are: Śvāhā, wife of Agni, Sachi, wife of Indra, Saṅhī, wife of Śūrya. The most important goddess, Pārvati, will be considered when we come to treat of Rudra. Kāma's wife or consort, Laksāni or Śiva's wife, the personification of love; seems originally to have been an independent deity impersonating beauty and wealth. She rose from the ocean when the gods and demons churned it for the production of amṛta, and then she was made over to Viśvav. But we meet also with a word, which, at any rate, is of Vedic origin: she is the daughter of Bhūrī and Kṛyā, or has been produced from the lotus which grew out of Viśva's forehead; she is the wife of Prājapati, or of Dattātrey, or of the sun-god, or of Dharma to whom she was afterwards devoted, and to whom she was finally devoted, as the consort of Śiva. She is conceived as a very beautiful woman, and is intimately connected with the lotus, the most beautiful flower of India; she is called after it Padmā or Kamalā; she is enthroned on a lotus, and holds one in her hand. As Fortuna, she is the fickle goddess, who stays nowhere long; according to Mahābhārata, xii. 225, 228, she lived once with the Dānavas, then with the gods, and with Indra. From an abstraction the goddess in the Rig Veda she became the goddess of wisdom and eloquence, and as such she is most frequently invoked by the poets in the classical Sanskrit literature. She has been identified with Vāch, 'speech,' and as such she is the wife of Brāhma; she is further identified with Bhṛāti, a separate goddess invoked in Vedic hymns. She is also called Śraddhā, whom the inhabitants of Kashmir regard as the goddess of that land, and called Śraddhāsinī or śraddhāśuddha (Stein, Kolkolen's Chronicle of Kashmir, ii. p. 286). Poets speak of the hostility of Laksāni to Sarvasvati; for wealth and learning seldom go together.

The principal river-goddess of India is the Gāgā, who has lent immortality, as it were, to
many smaller rivers which are fabled to be miraculously connected or identical with her. The Ganga is said to have a male and a female form (the milky way), on earth as the most sacred river, and in the lower world as the Patalaganga; she is therefore called Tripathagā, 'going in the three worlds.'

King Bhagiratha, the great-grandson of Sūrya, induced the celestial Ganga to come down from heaven to earth and from the earth to the lower regions, in order to purify the ashes of the departed. In the Veda, where she is personified, she is called Bhāgirāti. Siva caught the river up in his matted hair to check the impetus of her fall. The river then entered Jambudvīpa (the land of the Asuras) as a raging torrent by its right bank, and was discharged by her left bank into the sea. The daughter of the earth, then, is called Bhūmidevi. These legends are told at length in the Mahābhārata, where the ancient and the most recent descent is given in the Mahābhārata, Book xx. Gāṇa is also said to come forth from the toe of Viṣṇu. In the Mahābhārata (I, 887) she is the first wife of King Sāntam and the mother of Bīṣma. It has been said above that Kunāra is considered to be her son. Mythologically she is the eldest daughter of Himālaya and Menā.

In conclusion, it may be added that there are several other sacred rivers or river-goddesses: e.g. Yumāṇa (Kāliṇī) is the daughter of Sūrya, and so is the Taṇḍātī (a younger sister of the goddess Śiva); Nārmāḷī (Reva) is a daughter of the moon.

The enemies of the gods are the Asuras, Daityas, and Dānavas. In the Rig Veda, Āsura is an epithet of Vārūṇa and other gods, which has been rendered 'mysterious being.' But in later times they are a small and the antithesis of the rājas, the masculine, and the word is derived from sura with a privative, while in point of fact the word sura is artificial, and has been abstracted from āsura. The Asuras are the elder brothers of the gods, both being sons of Prajāpati. They continually waged war with the gods, and frequently got the better of them; some of them even acquired the sovereignty over the whole world, till at last they were slain by Indra, Vīśnu (hence called Daityārī, or some other god. They dwell in the nether world, in magnificent palaces. As enemies of the gods, they are regarded as wicked demons; but, as mere rivals of the gods, they are not necessarily bad. So they have for their teacher and spiritual guide a great saint, Suṅkra, the son of Bīrga, who has been mentioned above in connexion with his antagonist Bhṛgaut, the teacher of the gods. The Asuras occasionally appear in a better light in epic stories, and still more frequently in popular tales. In popular belief they seem to have come to be looked upon simply as superhuman beings, very much like the Vīyādārvas; e.g. in the Taittirīya-sūtras (Book iv, Chapter iv, verse 4), they are represented as being of pure spirit, and as seducers of women, and possessing a mysterious power over them. In the Mahābhārata they frequently appear very much like the Yākṣas, and their king Airāparnava or Chitraratha is a friend of Kubera (whose park is called Cōṭhrāratha). But usually they are represented as devils, and as being condemned to live in living in Indra's heaven; from them the Sanskrit name for 'music,' gāndharva, is derived. It may be mentioned that the sūtra morjana is called 'town of the Gandharvas' (gandharvamahārāja).

The mistress of the Gandharvas are the Apsaras, heavenly nymphs of wonderful beauty. They too belong to the court of Indra, and they are employed by him to seduce saints when they become a danger to his sovereignty through their severe penance. The effect of their successful interference is usually the birth of some great man or woman; e.g. Menāka seduced Viśvāmitra and became mother of Sakuntalā. In other stories some Apsaras incur the displeasure of some god, and by his curse is born on, or banished to, the earth, where she marries some great man. Thus Uṛvāṣi became the wife of king Pūruravas; their adventures form the story of Kālidāsa's play Piṣkramoreti. The most famous Apsaras are Tilottama, Rūmbhā, Uṛvāṣi, Gvyātika, Menāka, and others; but there are millions of them, and they are held out as examples of virtue and as symbols of beauty. The Yaksas, as a class of superhuman beings, are of post-Vedic origin, though the word yaksī as a neuter occurs in the Rig Veda (on its meaning see Vedische Studien, ii, 126 ff). As yaksā means 'magical power,' yaksī probably means etymologically 'being possessed of magical power'; and this was without doubt the meaning of the feminine yaksini. The original conception of the Yaksas would therefore be much the same as that of the Greek Nymphai, neither intellectually nor etymologically and actually means 'possessing spells or witchcraft.' The Yaksas are brought into close connexion with the Rākṣasas, as stated, above under 'Kubera,' though the Yaksas are generally not unfriendly to men, and the Rākṣasas are. Still there are instances of wicked Yaksas and of kind Rākṣasas.) Both Yaksas and Rākṣasas are also called panyajaran—a name of the subjects of Kubera in the Atlantisa Veda. It has been assumed above that there were originally two sorts of Yaksas; the first, the Rākṣasas, who were identified with the Yaksas, and the other are the well-known disturbers of sacrifice usually called Rākṣasas; thus the apparent confusion between Yaksas and Rākṣasas would become intelligible.
Very much like the Yakṣas are the Guhyaśakas. They too are followers of Kubera; they guard treasures and live in mountain caves. Mythical beings with other characters are the Kinnaras, divine songsters, who have a human body and the head of a horse, while the Kimpuruṣas have the body of a horse and a human head. Both Kinnaras and Kimpuruṣas are followers of Kubera, and they are frequently identified with one another. The Kinnaras are occasionally confounded with the Gandharvas.

Other classes of mythical beings who are frequently mentioned, but not described in detail, are the Chāṇaras, divine panegyrist; the Siddhas, and the Vidyādhāras.

The Vidyādhāras deserve a fuller notice. In the older popular tales, especially in Pāli literature, the Yakṣas are the principal superhuman beings; in the younger popular literature (represented by the Bhaktacūḍāmaṇi) they are supplanted by the Vidyādhāras, the most human-like of all inferior divine beings. They live under kings and emperors (chakradhāras) of their own, in towns on the northern mountains, just like men, with whom they have much intercourse and even intermarry. Many of them possess divine properties and acquire sovereignty over them. They possess superhuman powers, especially the faculty of moving through the air, and of assuming their vīḍāya, or witchcraft, any shape at will (whence they are also called Khechara, and Kamarūpīṇa).

The Vidyādhāras seem to have been at the height of popularity during the early centuries of our era; there is a Prakrit poem by Vimalasūri, the Padmācharita, which belongs to that time; in it the Rākṣasas, the Yakṣas, the Monkeys, etc., of the Rāmāyana are declared to be different tribes of Vidyādhāras.

Among the malicious superhuman beings the Rākṣasas are the most prominent. In the Rig Veda they are mentioned in the neater form rākṣas as fiends who disturb the sacrifice and injure the priests. They are possessed of enormous power, especially at night, when they prowl about (rātṛīśahāra) and devour their victims (kṣraṇīyā, kavaṇa); they are of hideous appearance, but are able to assume different shapes. The Rig Veda speaks of them as the "spirits" and yānudhānas ("ghosts"), but in later literature, Yādudhāma is synonymous with Rākṣasas. Originally equal in rank to the Yakṣas, the Rākṣasas have become more conspicuous than in ancient mythology, apparently through the influence of epic poetry. They are regarded as the sons of the king of the Rākṣasas, his brothers, etc., as the powerful enemies of Rāma; thus the Rākṣasas were invested with a new personality which they retained in the imagination of the Hindus. In the Mahābhārata, Bhīma’s son Ghatotkaca is a Rākṣasa who fights on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. He and Vībhīṣaṇa, the virtuous brother of Rāvaṇa, and his successor on the throne of Lanka, are instances which prove that the Rākṣasas, like the Asuras, were not always looked upon with unmitigated horror.

Piśācas are not unlike, and occasionally are confounded with, the Rākṣasas; they are hideous and bloodthirsty monsters who haunt wild and desert places. In the Rig Veda there is once (1. cxxxii. 5) mention of a Piśāca, a spirit supposed to be connected with the will o’ the wisp; the Piśācas as wicked spirits frequently occur from the Atrharva Veda downwards. It may be remarked that a Praṅk dialect, in which the original Bhaktacūḍāmaṇi was written, was spoken after the Pāli.

Bhūta is the most general term for spirits; thus Bhūtabhūta, the ‘language of the Bhūtas,’ is synonymous with Paṁbhiṭtā. But frequently they are mentioned as a separate class, in juxtaposition with other classes of wicked spirits. The ghosts of the deceased, who are not received among the nanes. They play a more important part in Buddhist literature than in the Brahmancial Sanskrit literature. In later times, especially in popular works, they seem to have been supplanted by the Vidhānas, wicked goblins who haunt cemeteries and animate dead bodies; they belong to the last phase of the development of demonology, inaugurated by the Brhatkatha, in which the Vidyādhāras are the leading figures.

(3) We shall here speak of them. The most important figures in Brahmancial mythology are the famous Rṣis of old, the traditional authors of the Vedic hymns, and ancestral founders of the Brahmancial gotras or gentes. These holy men, saints or sages, were looked upon as possessing superhuman powers which made them almost equal, and in some cases even superior, to the gods. We may distinguish three classes of Rṣis: devārṣis, i.e. Rṣis of the gods or living among them, e.g. Nārada; brahmarṣis, i.e. priestly Rṣis, e.g. Vainantu, and Viśvānu; and πaṁbhriṇis, Рṣis of the common people; and visvāṃtris. Besides, the Rṣis belong to different periods: some lived in the beginning of the world and took an active part in creation, as Dakṣa, Kāśyapa, Marichi; others belong to a more recent period, as Manu, Vivasva, Valmiki, etc. An ancient group are the seven Rṣis (identified with the seven bright stars of Ursa major); but the names are differently given. The oldest list is: Gautama, Bharadāvaja, Viśvāṃtrī, Jamadagni, Vasishtha, Kāśyapa, and Ātri. A common one is: Bhīṣma, Kāṇḍu, Viśvāṃtrī, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Ātri, and Agastya. From the Mahābhārata we get a different list: Marichi, Ātri, Aṅgiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pusāyana, and Vasiṣṭha. The stories and legends of which the Rṣis are the heroes, or in which they play an important part, are very numerous, especially in the Epics and the Purāṇas, far outnumbering the myths told of the gods.

The ideas entertained about the Rṣis have changed considerably in the course of time in correspondence with the changing rank of the Veda. Originally they owed their exalted position to the fact that they were believed to have revealed the sacred lore, the whole of Vedic religion, which, it will be remembered, is concerned chiefly with sacrifice. But in the epic period the sacrifice was no longer the only religious function of the Rṣis; by tapas or yoga, ‘asceticism,’ in the opinion of the people at large. Therefore the Rṣis began to be regarded less as experts in the sacrificial art than as great ascetics, who by means of severe austerities and deep meditation had acquired superior human power and such sanctity that their utterances were infallible and their curses must take effect. In popular opinion they are yogins rather than priests; they are saints and sorcerers at the same time; but, of course, elevated to the highest rank.

3. The three Supreme Gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—occupy a peculiar position in the Hindu pantheon, highly exalted above the rest of gods and divine beings. A detailed description of them would be out of place in the present article. In a sketch of Brahmancial mythology only the causes and processes by which they were promoted to the highest rank can be dealt with.

Brahmā, the creator of the world, is the Prājapati, Pitāmaḥ, the father, grandfather of the Vedas and the Bhūtānayas. He had his origin and basis in speculation rather than in popular cult, and therefore he did not appeal, in spite of his sublime character, to
the religious feelings of the masses. Hence the worship of Brahmā has become all but extinct, and the worshipers of Viṣṇu, in whatever form they adore their favourite deity, form the overwhelming majority of the Hindus. Notwithstanding these sectarian tendencies, the three Supreme Gods are regarded, in principle, as of equal dignity and importance. This kind of theodicy is found in the doctrine of the Trimūrti has been acknowledged since about the 5th cent. A.D. There were contradictory elements already in the conception of the Prajāpāti of the Brahmānas. For sometimes he is identified with the universe, and described as the mind or soul of the world. Sometimes he is regarded as a secondary deity subordinate to Brahmā (Muir, op. cit. v. 391 ff.). The same holds good with the Brahmā of later mythology: Brahmā proceeded from Brahmā, the First Cause; and, on the other hand, he is, in a vague way, identified with it, whence he is called Svayambhū (‘self-born’) or aja (‘unborn’). The generally received opinion, as given in Manu i. 5 ff., comes to this: Svayambhū rose from primeval darkness, created the waters, and deposited in them a seed; this seed was Svayamvara, a man born as Brahmā or Hiranyagarbha. But, according to another opinion, contained already in the famous Purana Utkata of the Rig Veda (x. 90), the Puruṣa was in the beginning, and from him the world originated.

The deity rising from this Puruṣa is called Nārayana, identified with Brahmā (‘time’). The name which is also coupled with Puruṣa is Śatāpatha Brahmāna. Thus Nārâyana is identified with Brahmā (in the above quoted passage of Manu). But usually Nārâyana is identified with Viṣṇu, and thereby Brahmā’s claim to paramount superiority was contested. There was still another cause which detracted from Brahmā’s significance as creator. For part of the creation, notably of men, gods, and divine beings, was transferred to secondary Prajāpāti: Daśa, Marichi, Atri, and other Rṣis whose progeny is detailed in cosmogonic myths and legends of the Purāṇas. Thus many causes were at work to reduce the importance and dignity of Brahmā and to deprive him of active devotion. The reason which the Hindus allege in explanation of this fact is Brahmā’s incest with his daughter Vāch (‘speech’), by which the creation was brought about. Still the idea of creation and of fate is personified in Brahmā, and in this character he is universally acknowledged by all classical writers down to the 18th century.

While Brähmā–Prajāpāti retires step by step from the superiority over all gods ascribed to him in the Brahmānas, the reverse development obtains in the case of Viṣṇu. In the Rig Veda he is not one of the prominent gods; there he is chiefly extolled for the three steps with which he encompassed the universe. But it should be remarked that in the Rig Veda he is intimately associated with Indra as his friend and companion, while in classical times he is regarded as the younger brother (Indraṇu). As this kind of relationship is little in keeping with Viṣṇu’s paramount rank, it must be regarded as a relic of the preceding period, when Indra was still greatly superior to Viṣṇu; and, at the same time, it seems to indicate a dim consciousness of the fact that a part of Indra’s character or functions had been transferred to Viṣṇu. For Viṣṇu becomes in classical mythology what Indra had been before, namely, the slayer of demons, the Daityāgiri. On the whole, however, the possession of this same office of the same as before; he is regarded as the equal of the other gods, not yet their superior. But the Brähmānas record only the views of the priests; popular opinion may have differed from theirs, although ignored by them as not worthy of notice (cf. Muir, op. cit. iv. 156 ff.). It should, however, be observed that Viṣṇu is generally identified with the sacrifice—an honour which he shares with Prajāpāti. He seems gradually to have usurped some positions formerly occupied by Prajāpāti, and thus to have arrogated to himself the superiority which Vedic speculation had assigned to him. Thus Viṣṇu, according to Manu, identical with Brahmā, but afterwards Viṣṇu is Nārâyana. In the Satapatha Brāhmana it is said that, ‘having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpāti created offspring’; and, according to the Taittirīya Brāhmana, he became in a second form of a boar raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean (Muir, op. cit. pp. 27, 39, 52 f.). But common opinion ascribes these feats to Viṣṇu in his tortoise and boar avatāras.

Here we meet for the first time with the theory of incarnations, which in the course of time passed into a generally adopted doctrine, and enabled Vaishnavism to absorb popular cults by declaring the objects of their worship to be avatāras of Viṣṇu. Probably the tortoise and the boar were originally popular theo- morphic deities worshipped by the masses (including Brāhmaṇic families), and were afterwards elevated by the so-called Brahmāns to a higher rank by assuming them to be forms of some recognized god. Traditionally, the incarnation of a tortoise and a boar is considered the case of the boar and tortoise avatāras of Prajāpāti. For in the Taittirīya Brāhmana, as we have seen, Prajāpāti assumed the form of a boar and raised the earth, and was then favoured by Viṣṇu for his deed. Here it is supposed, that this boar was transferred to Viṣṇu in the form of a boar with Prajāpāti. Something similar occurs in the case of his tortoise avatāra; for it is first said that Prajāpāti took the form of a tortoise, and then the tortoise kaṭakkha is identified with Kaṭaka, one of the secondary creators. We observe in both cases a certain indecision; the theomorphic god was at first hastily identified by members of the priestly class with one of their great gods. Afterwards, perhaps, when the theory of avatāras was firmly established, it furnished a ready means of legitimizing popular pilgrimages and heroes. Thus the fish avatāra of Viṣṇu and that of the man-lion may have been accounted for the same reason to the idols of such shapes had been the objects of popular worship.

The fifth avatāra of Viṣṇu as a dwarf (Vāmana) is of peculiar interest. For in this incarnation Viṣṇu conquered the world by three steps, for which feat he is chiefly extolled in the hymns of the Rig Veda, although neither there nor in the Brahmānas is he said to have done this in the shape of a dwarf. That notion may have developed in the same way as the notion of the lion as a giant steps, the body of the god may well have appeared dwærfish; or there may have been some popular god figured as a dwarf, with whom it was thought convenient to identify Viṣṇu. At any rate, the fact that the principal feat of Viṣṇu was not ascribed to the god himself but to an incarnation of him, proves that at the time this opinion became current Viṣṇu had been promoted to a much higher rank than belonged to the Vedic Viṣṇu who, strange to say, was then regarded as an incarnation (viz. the dwarf) of the Supreme Viṣṇu who was radically not different from him.

The next avatāras—Rāma, Jñāndagnyā, Rāma Dāśarath, Kṛṣṇa, and Buddha—are of a different kind, and belong to the modern times. Vaishnavism has become a dominant form of Indian religion, and when the universally received doctrine of incarnation made it possible to impute on independent cults a Vaishnave stamp. Rāma Jñāndagnyā is the hero of legendary story, the other Rāma of epic history. But it is a well-known fact that in the original part of the Rāmasya, i.e. in Books ii.—vi., Rāma is not yet conceived as connected in any way with Viṣṇu; but after he had become, through epic poetry, the favourite of the people, he was at last made the avatāra of Viṣṇu by being declared to be the incarnated Viṣṇu. In Kṛṣṇa, a Rajput hero has condescended to a shepherd-god (Govinda) into a new deity; he appears first in the Ch idadeya Upaniṣad (iii. 17, 6)
as a human teacher who knew the Brahman; in the Mahabharata he is already acknowledged as Visnu in a distinct godhead. In Brahmanism, even as early as the period of the Vaisnavas, he is described as a human hero. The worship of Krṣṇa-Vāsudeva must have been highly popular about the beginning of our era, for it gave rise to the curious Jaina doctrine of the 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Bhadadevas, and 9 Pratvāsudevas, who play such an important part in the iconology of the Jains, even as early as some of their canonical books. And in later times the worship of Krṣṇa and that of Rāma are the two prevailing forms of Vaiṣṇavism. The recognition of Badalina as an avatāra of Visnu is a proof of this. But he has also been a popular hero (as) assimilating energy even with regard to a hostile sect.

Most of the creeds which have been merged into Vaiṣṇavism were of un-Brahmanical origin; i.e., they did not grow out of Brahmanism, but were in the end brahmanized. The gods, godlings, or heroes, whose cult was the object of those creeds, were probably grhadevatas, or ṛṣidevatas, worshiped by families belonging to various castes and classes, inclusive of Brahmins; their identification with Visnu, which probably was due chiefly to Brahman, elevated them to a higher plane, and annulled their Brahmanical character. But the Brahmanically legitimized these Vaiṣṇavite forms of religion as Brahmānical, or as in harmony with the Veda, was the adoption of Brahmānical theosophy as their theological foundation. Visnu (Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva) was declared to be the same as the Brahman of the Upanishads; the creation and destruction of the world were explained in accordance with the Vedānta and Saṅkhya philosophies. The ascetic ideal is still acknowledged, and knowledge continues to be regarded as an important means of reaching emancipation; but a new way of salvation is now proclaimed, the ‘way of love’ (bhakti-mārga [q.v.]): love of, devotion and entire submission to, God is the shortest and surest way to union with Him. One of the earliest and most perfect products of this movement is the famous Bhagavata-Gītā (q.v.), which forms part of the Mahābhārata; it has become a canonical text for all Vaiṣṇavite sects. A later authority for them is the Vedānta Sūtra, which almost every founder of Brahmanical sects feels obliged to interpret in such a way that its instructions shall be in perfect harmony with his own doctrines.

Rudra-Siva became in the Brahmanical period a Supreme God, the highest god according to the Saivites as Visnu is the highest god according to the Vaiṣṇavas. The Vedic god and the Vedic godhead is the father of the Maruts or Rudras (wind- or storm-gods), but no distinct coeval function is ascribed to him; he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity who by his shafts brings disease and death on men and cattle. A plurality of Rudras, the host of Rudras, is frequently mentioned in the following period, and has never been forgotten; in classical mythology the number of Rudras is eleven, but in addition to them Rudra is surrounded by hosts of spirits, called his ganas and pramanathas. He thus appears as the leader of troops of beings greatly inferior, yet similar, to himself; it may therefore be assumed that from the beginning he was the representative of a class, or rather classes, of evil spirits, and that the many Rudras whom the Satarudrīgas mentions have all been gathered round one of robbers’ and demons’ godlings. Rudra, who is present in woods, streams, desert places, etc. A similar process seems to have gone on in the later Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas; for other terrific gods, notably various forms of Agni, containing the destructive element, have been combined with the original Rudra. As mentioned above, the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa states that Agni was called Ṣava by the Prāchyas, and Dheva by the Yāhikās; but in the Atharva Veda, Bhava and Sava are the names of a distinct deity, which in later times has become the Vaiśānayya Sākhita, Bhava and Savva occur as names of Rudra, and in classical literature they are common synonyms of Śiva. It is therefore a plausible conjecture that other names or epithets of Śiva, besides Dheva and Savva, originally denoted distinct deities who were blended with him into one great god, Mahādeva. Thus his epithets Nilagriva, Sītikathan, Nilalohita, of which the two first names occur already in the Satarudrīga of the Vaiśānayya and Tattīrīya Satarudrīga, have come to be blended with him into one great god, Mahādeva. Hence a fire-god merged in Rudra.

Girīva and similar epithets of Rudra in the Satarudrīga, which have become names of Śiva in later mythology, seem to indicate that he was identified with the mountain-sprite, or that he absorbed, as it were, into his character the anonymous mountain-goblins born of the imagination of hill tribes in India and other parts of the world. Rudra-Siva is therefore intimately connected with the mountain spirits, and his name has been transferred to all Dravidians, which prepared them for the adoration of Bhātēvāra, the lord of ghosts in general (bhittan), and especially of those who haunt cemeteries. Connected with the latter are the sorcerers, yogins, who practise their awful rites in places haunted by such spirits, and were imagined thus to acquire power over them. Śiva is also the master of the yogins as Yogīvarā, and hence is believed to practise yogā. The garland of skulls which Śiva wears, the corpse on which he is seated, the terrible shape in which he is adored as Mahākāla, the destructive god of time, death as well as the vanquisher of death (Mrtyunjayā)—all these items are so many indications that Śiva was regarded first as the ruler, and then as the representative of the vast and various powers of death that are created in the imagination of the superstitious by the fear and awe inspired by everything relating to death and the dead.

Though the concept of Rudra-Siva seems to have had an almost unlimited power of adapting and thereby absorbing, kindred spirits and godlings of the popular creed, still gods of a well-defined personality or of distinct functions were not subject to this process of assimilation, however like they might be to Śiva in character and perhaps even in origin. Thus Kumāra and Ganesa, notwithstanding their striking affinity with Śiva, have not been merged in Mahādeva.

It will have been remarked that most of the elements which coalesced with Rudra were malicious spirits; still Śiva is not an exclusively malignant deity. Probably it was thought that as leader and king of those spirits he might be appeased, and thus the harm apprehended from his subjects be averted, just as a chief of robbers is bought off by blackmail (Rudra is called ‘lord’ of robbers); such is the original meaning of the word. Therefore he has given auspicious names as Ṣrī (cf. Pāṇini, iv. 1, 49) and Śīva, ‘the Gracious’; the latter has become the most usual name in classical mythology.

Finally, mention must be made of a prominent feature of the Śiva-rite, which is lost in the form under the name of the śaiva or phallic. It can hardly be doubted that phallic worship was once a widespread popular cult in India, but how it came
to be connected with Śiva we are at a loss to understand. But a curious mythological parallel may be drawn between the name Kumāra, which means the impersonator of death as Mahakāla, but he is also the vanquisher of death as Mṛtyunjaya; similarly he impersonates the generating power worshipped in the Śiva, but he also destroys the god of sexual love, Kāna. Siva's consort, Kumāri or Māṇḍāni, is known by many names, as Devi, Uma, Gaṇā, Parvati, Durgā, Bhāvanī, Kālī, Kapalikī, Chāmuulī. Unlike the wives of other gods, she is a very prominent figure in classical mythology, and may be said to be scarcely inferior to Siva himself. Her equal, the Dakṣa-śivā, is treated in the dual form of this divinity, the Ardhanarīśvara, of which one half is male and the other female, representing the right side of Siva and the left of Devi. The great number of names of this goddess and the diversity of her character (benign, apī, cruel, horrid) render it probable that, like Siva, she is a combination of many deities. One of her names, Kumāri (Kanyakumāri in Tatāyāma Aranyakā, 10, 1, 7),—after which the southernmost point of India, Cape Comorin is named,—is that of the time of the Peripus, —seems to be given her as a female counterpart or equivalent of Kumāra, probably as the representative of the Kumāris who ensnare little children. Malignant spirits are of both sexes: the representative of female spirits must be a particular class of Indubras, identified with a male deity. Therefore, if Kumāra be the representative of the Kumāras, Kumāri may be assumed to be the representative of the Kumāris. Similar may have been the origin of Ambikā, who in the Vaiṣṇavīja Sambhāla is called the sister of Rudra, but in later mythology is Siva's wife; for Ambikā means 'little mother' and there are superhuman beings, both benign and malignant, called 'mothers' (matāras), who are connected with Kumāra; therefore Ambikā may be assumed to be the representative of the mothers, just as Kumāri is that of the Kumāris.

As Siva is Lord of the Mountains (Girīṣṭ), so is his spouse Lady of the Hills (Pārvatī). According to classical mythology, Siva married Uma, daughter of Bahu, but in the Kena Upanishad, where she is first mentioned (iii, 25), Uma Haimavati appears as a heavenly woman, conversant with Brahman. Apparently she was originally an independent goddess, or at least a kind of divine being, perhaps a female mountain-god, an aspect of the Himalayan and was later identified with Rudra's wife. A similar mountain-goddess had her home in the Vindhyas; she was of a cruel character, as might be expected from a goddess of the savage tribes living in those hills. Her name is Vindhyavāsimi, and she too is identified with Siva's wife. Other names of the latter indicate some connexion with Agni (as was first pointed out by Weber, Indische Studien, i. 237, ii. 188 f.), for Kālī and Karālī are names of two of these connections of Agni (Mrṇḍalī Upanishad, i. 2, 4); and these seven tongues of Agni may be assumed, with some probability, to have been originally female demons representing fire as the destructive and voracious element, since they are also names of Durgā as the object of a bloody sacrificial worship. Finally, a plausible guess of Weber with regard to Durgā may be mentioned. He is of opinion that this goddess is connected somehow with Nīrīti, the Vedic goddess of all evil, by which assumption the terrible character of the latter is explained. Agni may be the god of the people, he can scarcely be doubted that several goddesses or female demons from different parts of India, and worshipped by different classes of people, have in the course of time been combined into one great goddess, the spouse of Śiva, who was adored as his Lakṣitī, or 'energy.' In the case of Siva and Devi this syncretism, this impersonal divinity, has been a most powerful factor in the formation of Indian gods is beyond question; but the same factor has also been at work, as we saw above, in the case of the sun-god, of Kumāra, and perhaps of Ganeśa.

The cult of Rudra-Siva and of his consort, originally, perhaps, chiefly the property of tribes, loosely or not at all connected with Brahmanical society, has in course of time been fully brahmanalized, in the same way as the cult of Viṣṇu and his avatars, by being based partly on the doctrines of the Upanishads, partly on the syncretistic systems of Saiva philosophy. Thus the worship of the two Supreme Gods, Viṣṇu and Siva, under a great variety of shapes, represents the highest form of religion of Brahmanical India; but at the same time some sects claiming to worship the Supreme Siva and Sakti, without any worldly ties or entanglements, and with a purity, simplicity, and gross immorality, and thus exhibit religion in its most degraded form.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that we have left out of sight the great un-Brahmanical religions. Buddhism and Jainism, which are treated in separate articles; yet it cannot be doubted that they have in many ways influenced Brahmanism. Buddhist ideas, especially, have been adopted and adapted by Brahmanical thinkers and religious men, and they survived in their religious systems and in the Brahmanism itself declined and decayed in India.

Besides the elements of religious life described in this article, there were other social forces at work which had a great influence upon the development of Brahmanism, viz., the system of caste and the organization of the family. But as these subjects have an interest of their own, distinct from their religious aspect, they must be treated in separate articles.

The Upanisads themselves are the deposit of the first great movement in the direction of pure spirituality. The Vedânta, and Yoga-philosophies and the theistic sections known as Bhâgavatâs, Pâśupatâs, and Pâńcharâtras followed; and the Bhagavad-Gîtâ is the expression of a similar movement in Kṛṣṇa-worship. The modern Bhâkti movement, both North and South Sāmâjik (from their literature in the various vernaculars, had similar ends in view. But the impact of Europe, and especially of Christianity, started new currents of religious thought of great force during the 19th century. Of these the earliest is the Brâhma Sâmâj, founded by Ram Mohan Roy; and other movements of less importance. Towards the close of the century there came a great revival of orthodox Hinduism. The Brâhma Sâmâj is not only the earliest of the group, but is also a much more direct and legitimate result of Christian influence than the others.

2. History of the movement: antecedents. — Ram Mohan Roy (Râmahomâna Râi) (1772–1833), who founded the Brâhma Sâmâj, was the son of a Bengali Brâhman landowner, and received, in addition to his general Bengali education, a thorough training in Persian and Arabic, which brought him into contact with Muhammadan thought. Consequently, when he was only fifteen years of age, his outspoken condemnation of idolatry led to his having to leave his father's land and to establish himself as a landowner, and settled at Benares to master Hinduism, and, finally, through the study of English and intimacy with an Indian civilian named Digby, became acquainted with Christianity. Thereafter, in 1804, he gave expression to his religious convictions in a pamphlet in Persian, Tuhfátul Ma'ârâkhîdtîn, 'A Gift to Deists.' It is a brief and arid argument against all formal religions, and in favour of deism. For some ten years after this he held a financial position under Government, and gave most of his energy to his duties, amassing a fortune for himself the while; yet he continued his religious inquiries and discussions in his leisure, and suffered a good deal of persecution in consequence.

In 1814, now a man of forty-two, he left the service of the Company and settled in Calcutta. For twelve years the Vedânta-sûtras and other Upanîsads, in Bengali and English. Then followed, in 1820, The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness, being a catena of passages from the teaching of Jesus. It is as deplorable as it was inevitable that Christian missionaries should have condemned this most remarkable work, pregnant as it was with prophecy for the religious future of the Hindu people.

Ram Mohan early made the acquaintance of the Serampore missionaries, and indeed gave them both advice and help in the translation of the New Testament into Bengali. Questions arose as to the meaning of certain passages, and collaboration ceased; but one of the missionaries, the Rev. W. Adam, sided with Ram Mohan, and finally became a Unitarian. In consequence of this a Unitarian Congregational church (now first introduced into Hinduism), consisting of the reading of the Scriptures, a sermon, and the singing of hymns, is quite sufficient proof. Prayer seems to have had a very subordinate place, if it had any place at all, in the service; but that is sufficiently explained by Ram Mohan's deistical turn of mind, and by the absence of prayer from the Hindu philosophical systems. Already the forces of reaction were organizing themselves against Ram Mohan. To fight the BrâhmanSaâkha, Ram Mohan's social crusade, the Dharma Sâkha, or Religion Association, was formed, and a newspaper was published to support the orthodox cause.
Very soon after the founding of the society a site was bought in Chittapore Road, and a building, specially designed for the use of the Samaj, was erected. It was opened on the 23rd of January 1830, a date which has since been observed by all Brahmanas with great enthusiasm. The Trust Deed of the building is rather a remarkable document. The following extract will be read with interest:

'To be used... as a place of public meeting of all sorts and denominations of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly sober and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the One... Unsearchable and Invisible King who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name designation or title peculiarly or applied to any particular Being or by any man or set of men whatsoever and that no graven image statue or sculpture carving painting picture portrait or likeness of anything shall be admitted within the said building... and that no sacrifice... shall ever be permitted therein and that no animal or living creature shall within or on the said premises be deprived of life... and that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object animate or inanimate that has been or is... recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of... and that no sermon preaching discourse prayer or hymn be delivered made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Above and reverence and adoration of the Unsearchable and Invisible King. Charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religions persuasions and sects.'

Religion was the chief, but by no means the only, interest of Ram Mohan's active mind. He was an eager social reformer, and worked hard against polygamy, and in favour of the marriage of Hindu widows. But no social question stirred him so much as sati, the burning of Hindu widows. For the abolition of this inhuman custom he wrote and spoke and toiled for many years, and finally had the joy of seeing it put down by Lord Bentinck on the 27th of December 1829, six weeks before the opening of the Brahmapuri building.

Now that the battle against sati was won, and the Brāhma Samāj not only established but comfortably housed in a building of its own, Ram Mohan thought he might safely carry out his long meditated plan of a voyage to England or India. He had written to his friend Digby about this project as early as 1817. Many reasons would unite to urge him to go. Realizing to the full the meaning of the introduction of Christianity and of European thought and influence, India was naturally the most eager to see with his own eyes the land and the people which were destined to help so largely in the rejuvenation of his own. There were also a number of questions on which he hoped to influence the Government at home, notably the granting of naturalization to Indians for service in the East India Company. The Old Emperor of Delhi, now a pensioner of the Company, wished him to plead his cause with the home authorities, and with this in view gave him the title of Rājī. Ram Mohan undertook the task.

Before sailing for England in November 1830, Ram Mohan appointed three trustees to look after the Samaj; Mahāraja Ram Nath Tagore, Kāli Nath Munshi, and his own son, Radha Prasad. Viswanath Das became secretary. The services which he rendered to the society during the years he was in England were changed from Saturday to Wednesday, and this rule obtained in the old building to this day. In arranging to cross the ocean, Ram Mohan took great care to preserve his caste. He took two Hindù Brahmanas with him to be responsible for requiring to cook his food in accordance with caste regulations.

Ram Mohan, now Rājī Ram Mohan Ray, was received in England with the greatest warmth and honour by the public generally, by leading Unti- terialists and co-religionists, by the disinterested statesmen of the day. He exercised a much greater influence than he could have ever hoped to do; and at the same time came into such close living touch with the best in English life as to be deeply influenced himself. But, to the great sorrow of the nation, he died at a premature age, in agency, and died at a Bristol on the 27th of September 1833. He was a man of unusually wide sympathies and of large judgment. He realized, as very few men did in his day, the immeasurable results that were destined to flow from the association of England with India, and believed that India would reap very great good therefrom. He also looked forward to India's becoming a Christian country: the exact meaning of this prophecy is discussed below. On the other hand, he realized to the full that no real blessing could come to India by the mere adoption of Western things unchanged. India, he said, would inevitably remain Indian. No gift from the outside could be of any real value except in so far as it was naturalized. His long bold struggle, on the one hand, for religious and social purity, for educational progress and journalistic freedom, and his brilliant literary work and unchanging fidelity to Indian ideals, on the other, had made him not only the most prominent of all Indians, but the one man able to stand between Indians and Englishmen as interpreter and counsellor.

His death cast a profound and dismay in the infant Society which he had left behind in Calcutta, and many of those who at first took part in its work fell away. Prince Dwarka Nath remained a staunch friend, but the chief stay of the whole work was Ram Chandor Bidyalag, who took charge of the services. Yet the cause steadily decayed. Had it not been for the liberality of the Prince, the current expenses could not have been met.

In 1838, however, five years after the great leader's death, Prince Dwarka Nath's youthful son, Debendra Nath Tagore (Devendranath Thākur) passed through a very decided spiritual change, which made him a consecrated man for the rest of his life. He was then twenty years of age. Next year he gathered a few serious-minded young men round him and formed the Tattvānātī Sahā, the "Truth-learning Association." They met once a week in his house for the discussion of religious questions, and once a month for worship.

4. Second period, 1841-1865: Debendra Nath Tagore: Indian theism.—In 1841, Debendra and his friends joined the Brāhma Samāj, and the young man was soon recognized as leader. Then the tide turned, and a new period of growth and fruitful labour opened for the Samāj. The Tattvānātī Sahā, the "Truth-learning Association," now took considerable headway in Calcutta under Dutt's leadership. From beginning to end Debendra wished to be a Hindu, and, unlike Ram Mohan, believed that India had no need of Christ. In 1843 the Society's monthly paper, the Tattvānātī Patrika, the "Truth-learning Journal," began to appear. It was edited by a friend of Debendra, Akshay Kumār Dutt (Akhāyakumāra Dotto), one of the greatest of Bengali prose-writers, and soon became a very influential paper, leading many thinking men to serious and systematic thinking and action. Debendra saw that the Samaj required to be more carefully organized; that, if it was to be a permanent and growing influence, it must have a regularly appointed ministry and definite rules of membership. By the end of 1843 he had drawn up what is known as the first Brahmapuri Constitution, a short series of solemn vows to be taken by all who
wished to become members of the Samaj. The most important of these vows were promises to abstain from idolatry and to worship God by love and not by force or by force of habit. The old reciter, Ram Chandra Bidyalabghish, was now formally set apart as achārya, i.e. minister; and Debendra and twenty of his friends solemnly took the vows of the Covenant before him. The conscientious observance of these vows involved a good deal of trouble and difficulty. Debendra himself had to leave the paternal mansion and wander in the fields when any of the domestic ceremonies were being performed, as they were full of idolatry. At the same time a brief form of prayer and adoration, known as Brahmanāyana, i.e. the self-sacrifice, work and knowledge in the sense of becoming an ascetic, was prescribed, and Debendra himself became the norm for the services. This introduction of prayer is a most noteworthy point.

The work of the Vedie school began to bear fruit. By 1844, Debendra was able to send out a number of young missionaries, who began to appear outside Calcutta. From time to time Debendra himself also travelled and preached in the chief towns of the north, from East Bengal to the Panjab. By the year 1847 the number of covenanted Brahmas had grown to 647.

The Vedas were lectured in Vedie, and in 1845 the Tattvedābhini Patrīkā declared that the Vedas were the sole foundation of their belief; and in 1846, Debendra said: 'We consider the Vedas, and the Vedas alone, as the standard of our truth.' Questions arose about the text, the interpretation, and the inspiration of the Vedie hymns and the Upanisads. Duff had twitted Brāhmas with believing in the infallibility of the Vedas. Consequently four scholars were deputed to go to Benares so that each might study and give an account of the four Vedas and might return to Calcutta with the fruit of his labours.

Debendra steeped himself in the Upanisads, and compiled from them in 1850 a volume of extracts for use in the services of the Samaj. This volume, named Brahmanas Dharma, 'Religion of Brahman,' contains what is known as the vijā, or seed, a brief outline of Brahmano doctrine in four statements; the Brahmanopāna, or order of service; and then a selection of passages from the Upanisads collected together, all of them from other Hindu books. Later an exposition of Brāhma doctrine was added by Debendra.

Meanwhile the results of the labours of the four Vedie students had become available. After much discussion the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas had been declared, and it was decided that only those parts were to be accepted as true which harmonized with pure theism. As Keshob Chandra Sen afterwards said, 'The Vedas were thrown overboard by Babu Debendra Nath Tagore, and the Brāhma Samaj bade farewell to Vedantism.' This happened in 1850. The Samaj thus found itself without an authoritative sacred standard, and was thrown back on natural religion. This raised the whole problem of religious knowledge. At first no definite theory was advanced, but within a few years the leaders found it possible to express themselves; and the Brāhmano doctrine came to be this, that our knowledge of God has two sources, Nature and Intuition.

The faith of the Samaj at this time may be summed up by the following statement:

(1) God is a personal being with sublime moral attributes.
(2) God has never become incarnate.
(3) God never sancs any prayers.
(4) God is to be worshipped only in spiritual ways. Hindu ascetics, temples, and fixed forms of worship are anachronisms. All castes and races may worship God acceptably.
(5) Repentance and cessation from sin is the only way to forgiveness and salvation.

(6) Nature and Intuition are the sources of knowledge of God. No book is authoritative.

It is noticeable that the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the immortality of the human soul had not as yet found their way into the creed.

The Samaj had proved itself a progressive movement; but circumstances were now approaching which were destined to accelerate the rate of progress for a time. In 1857 a young man named Keshob Chandra Sen (Keshobchandra Sen) joined the Samaj. He was not a Brāhman, but belonged to an influential and well-to-do family of the Baidyā caste and of the Vaishāvia sect of Hinduism, and he had received a good modern education. He had suffered from religious melancholy, but he had shewn himself a thorough student of Hinduism; he took no active part in the work, but from 1850 he threw himself into it with great energy. Keshob Chandra Sen had to endure serious persecution for the sake of his faith. Debendra took a great liking to this gifted young man, while Keshob looked up to Debendra with love and reverence. From this time they enjoyed five years of strenuous, yet happy and harmonious, work together.

The Brāhma Vediyālaya, or School, was opened—a sort of informal Theological College. Keshob and Sen lectured in Vedie, while Debendra discussed in Bengali the theology of the Brāhma Samaj, with the double result that Brāhma doctrine was more clearly formulated, and a number of young men received a very advanced instruction in Vedic literature. As a lecturer in English became known, so that he frequently addressed audiences both of Brāhmas and of others in Calcutta, in English, and occasionally took a tour in the country.

The year 1860 produced large results in social reform. Keshob formed the Saṅgat Sabhā, or 'Friendly Association,' the meetings of which were now devotional, now given up to the discussion of pressing questions both religious and social. The findings of this enthusiastic group of young men greatly influenced Debendra himself. As a result of the reason given by them, he gave up wearing the sacred Brāhmical thread. He also took up the whole question of domestic ceremonies. Every noticeable event in Hindu family life is marked by the careful performance of the ceremonies. All of them were held against Brāhma with references to the gods of Hinduism and with idolatrous practices. Debendra set to work to purge his own family of idolatry; and also worked out, for the use of the Samaj, new or modified rites whence everything heathen and idolatrous had been eliminated. These are known as Brāhma rites; the manual is the Anuvaktha Paddhati; and Brāhmas who use them in their families are known as Anuvakhāne Brāhmas. At Keshob's suggestion the Samaj also began to follow the example of Christian philanthropy, and gathered money and food for the famine-stricken.

After leaving college, Keshob had obtained a post in the Bank of Bengal. In 1861 he gave this up in order to devote his whole time and energy to the work of the Samaj. Several of his followers belonging to the Saṅgat Sabhā followed the example of his self-sacrifice, among them his life-long friend and biographer, Pratāp Chandra Mozomādar (Pratāpachandra Mozumāder). The Indian Mirror was started, that the movement might have a direct line of expression of its views; and the Calcutta College was founded—the earliest attempt made by a native of India to found a college for English education.

Next year (1862) Debendra resolved to honour his brilliant friend by giving him the place in the Samaj which his great capacities deserved. Hitherto only Brāhmans had been
allowed to lead in the services; and while Debendra himself was the acharya, or 'minister,' the other two who took part in the services were called upacharyas, or 'under-ministers.' Debendra decided to ordain Keshab, non-Brahman though he was, and to give him the full title acharya. It was also arranged that henceforward no 'minister' should officiate without the help of the acharya. The steady pressure of rational principles, urged largely in the Satyag Saheb, had brought Debendra to this notable advance. Keshab had to struggle and to dare before he succeeded in being allowed to bring his young wife, in defiance of Hindu custom, to the solemn service in which he was set apart as acharya; but his courage produced fruit, for from this time Brahmans began to give their wives more liberty, and the uplifting of the women of India was thus helped onward. From this time Debendra was known as the pradhan acharya, or 'chief minister.'

Two years later, Keshab took a more extended tour. Among other places he visited Bombay and Madras, and was received with so much honour and the brand, ‘Brahman,’ was stuck on him only by two who afterwards founded samajas in these great cities. His brilliant success on this tour, and the wide outlook which the journey gave him, first suggested to his mind the idea of a Society representing the whole of India—a Brahma Samaj of India.

But the pace at which affairs were moving was too fast for some of the older members, and Debendra himself began to be afraid that Keshab and the other progressives would lose spiritual religion in their zeal for change. As we have seen, Debendra had gone a long way in the matter of reform; yet there were several points on which his Hindu prejudices had not given way. He disliked inter-caste marriages, and he could not endure the marriage of widows. Then the two men looked at the whole matter from different points of view. Debendra regarded social questions as secondary in comparison with religion, and wished to initiate no change unless it was absolutely necessary. This explains his unwillingness to drive men by regulation to give up the sacred thread. Keshab, on the other hand, saw clearly that the social health of the people demanded radical change. There were also religious differences. Debendra’s was a deeply devotional nature, but he was still Hindu in his notions of sin and repentance and did not obtrude themselves much in his prayers or his teaching; while Keshab was keenly alive to the ethical side of religious experience, and was daily coming more under the influence of Christ.

During Keshab’s absence on his long tour, the more conservative spirits gained an increasing hold of Debendra; two parties began to appear more distinctly in the Samaj, and suspicion was soon rife between them. Attempts were made to heal the breach, but without success. Debendra was determined to resist Keshab. The cyclone of 5th Oct. 1864 so damaged the building that it became necessary to hold the services in Debendra’s house, and he took the opportunity to allow upacharyas wearing the sacred thread to officiate; Keshab and his party protested, but received no satisfaction. Finally, they sent Debendra what was really an ultimatum. It contained three points, but only one had any significance, viz. the old demand that no man wearing the sacred thread should be allowed to lead the service of the Samaj. Keshab felt it to be his duty to refuse. Debendra then sent his party withdrew, leaving all the property of the Samaj behind them. The date was Feb. 1865. Keshab was only twenty-seven years of age, and Debendra, who had already been a religious leader for thirty-five years, was now forty-seven. He had still forty years of life before him. At this time there were only a few samajas in existence outside Calcutta.

5. Third period, 1865-1878: Keshab Chandra Sen: universal theism: the two Samajas. Keshab did not organize a new Samaj at once, but put some eighteen months in seeking to rally sympathy and supporters to his cause. He had carried the Indian Mirror with him. He started a very national paper called Dharma Tattva, ‘The Truth of Religion,’ in opposition to Debendra’s paper, the Tattwoodhini Prakrti. Both were used vigorously in favour of his party. He toured in East Bengal and lectured in Calcutta. Early in 1866 a copy of Seeley’s ‘Ecc Homo fell into his hands, and he was deeply impressed by it. He was not only thoroughly orthodox, but deeply impressed by Christ; this made his heart overflow. He delivered a lecture on 5th May in the theatre of the Medical College on ‘Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia.’ It is no theological discourse, but a manly appeal to his fellow-countrymen to fly to the true teaching of Christ and to imitate Him. The most notable point in the address was the calling of attention to the fact that Jesus was an Asiatic. Keshab got at the heart of his audience by the appeal founded on that telling fact. He speaks of Christ’s ‘extraordinary greatness,’ His ‘supernatural moral heroism,’ but nowhere does he depart from the strictest theistic position. Yet the enthusiasm for the character of Christ and the very high estimate of His influence which the lecture expressed led many to believe that Keshab was about to become a Christian. At least one young man was won by this lecture to the spiritual life, and afterwards to the position of a Brahma missionary—Tyari Mohan Chaudhuri.

On 11th Nov. 1866 a meeting was held to form the new society. It was opened with a rather startling religious service. Besides the usual prayer and hymns, it included the reading of passages from the Hindu, Christian, Muhammadan, Zoroastrian, and Confucian systems, with the result that a distinctive ideal, the rising above the limitations of the Hindu system to a rational faith which should give complete social and intellectual freedom, was thus set forth in a way which no one could misunderstand. His immediate object, however, was to receive the adhesion of all Brahmans in every part of India to the organization which he proposed to form. Hence the following resolutions, which were put to the meeting and carried unanimously:

(1) That the Brahma Samaj of India be established for the admission of all Brahmans, and for the wide propagation of the religion.

(2) That the adhesion be bound to preserve the purity and universality of its religion.

(3) That people of both sexes, believing in the fundamental principles of Brahmanism, shall be admitted.

(4) That motives and maxims agreeing with the principles of Brahmanism be published and issued from the religious writings of all nations.

(5) That a vote of thanks be given to Debendra Nath Tagore for the zeal he has exhibited, and the indefatigable labour he has undergone for promoting the progress of the religion.

Keshab was appointed the secretary of the Samaj, and the full organization was left altogether in his hands. From this date onward, then, we have two societies—Debendra’s organization, hereafter known as the Adi Brahma Samaj, or original society, and Keshab’s new body, the Bhiratwarskya Brahma Samaj, or Brahma Samaj of India.
BRAHMA SAMAJ

As to the balance of the two parties, Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar writes: 'The Pradhān Achārya had a well-earned reputation as a conversant with the accomplishments, some of whom were of the same age as Keshab, helped him cause energetically. But there is no doubt that Keshab's enthusiasm and genius drew all the youth and intelligence of the community, and his important reforms attracted the sympathy of influential outsiders.' The new organization won to itself many earnest men hitherto unattached to the Samaj, including a number of outstanding personalities whom Keshab had influenced during his tour in Bombay and Madras. Consequently, this, however, things went fairly well; in this system, as given above, a selection of texts from the Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Muhammadan, and Chinese Scriptures was made and published, in 1866, under the title Stūkasangraha, i.e. 'A Collection of Verses,' for use in the service of the Samaj.

As Keshab's party did not yet possess a building of its own, weekly services were held in his house in Colotula Street. The closer relation which the new body sustained to Christianity was indicated in these services being now regularly held on Wednesdays. The missionaries, who visited sympathetically with the old Samaj, the leaders still attended the weekly service there on Wednesday.

One of Keshab's chief cares was to form the Mission Department. His young comrades, who had been members of the Sāgīt Sabā (see above), became at this time the first members of the Mission Department, who at this time seven or eight, the chief others being Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar, Gaur Babinda Ray, Mahendra Nath Bose, Bejay Krishna Goswami, and Agrah Nath Gupta. They were each and all of them attached by the closest personal ties to Keshab, for he had been the means through which they had entered into the joy of the new life. His enthusiasm and self-sacrifice laid hold of them. They gave up all worldly prospects, and accepted a life of poverty, strenuous work, and persecution. But there was practically no organization. Consequently, while each man's relation to the leader was all that could be desired, their relations with each other were governed neither by regular rule nor by personal attachment. In spite of this, however, things went fairly well at first.

The missionaries went preaching and teaching in the city and the country, and many individuals were won for the cause, while here and there a new Samaj was formed. But there were frequent quarrels among the missionaries, personal animosities, and division between the orthodox and the new. Their leader was powerless to overcome them. He pleaded and waited patiently for peace and bond each man to himself, but could not compose differences.

The great breach with the original Samaj depressed Keshab. He was very lonely in his separation from his friend and benefactor, Debendranath. This sadness and loneliness threw him back on God. In prayer and fervent adoration he found solace. He drew the missionaries and many others into his devotions, and with them held long daily services in his house. Here the heart of the new Samaj was formed; here the members were united by common prayer and consecration into a working body. Keshab himself passed into an experience of religious feeling such as he had never had before—not even at his conversion. He had always prayed, but prayer now became to him one of his chief joys and necessities. In this new experience Keshab freely drew from, as well as to, his family, and from Christianity. The old Hindu word bharati, which includes both love to God and faith in Him, became one of the watchwords of the movement. Vaisnava modes of worship were also introduced, musical instruments, originally used in Chaitanya's propaganda, being employed by them. The Vaisnava nagarkirtan, i.e. 'town-praise,' or procession through the streets with flags flying and drums beating, with chorus-singing and dancing, was taken over and used with success. In the midst of this tempest of devotion, Keshab drew up a Liturgy for the services of the Samaj, which is still very widely used. Another most useful feature, first elaborated at this time, is the holding of annual festivals, when the whole day is spent in fervid prayer and worship. The Bhratmrtavara ('A Festival of the Gods'), to which Keshab himself, in the Lord, was first held on 2nd November 1867. So the anniversary of the opening of Ram Mohan's building, which is regularly celebrated by all Brāhmas, became the Māgḥātava (festival of the month Ṁāgha); and the opening of Keshab's building later led to the keeping of a third annual day in August, the Bhradhrātava (festival of the month Bhradra). Nor did this satisfy Keshab's longing for fellowship with God: a little house was found about twelve miles from the city, where he and his followers were enabled regularly to spend the time in reading, prayer, and meditation, under rigorous rules of self-denial.

In 1867, Keshab delivered a lecture in Calcutta on 'Great Men.' It seems to have been meant partly to correct the misapprehensions created by his lectures in the Sofia and partly to give expression to his latest convictions on the subjects of Inspiration and Revelation. His utterances on this occasion again caused a great deal of questioning and excitement. Debendranath recognized two sources of knowledge of God—Nature and Intuition; Keshab added a third—God in history, speaking through great men. It was surmised that he regarded himself as one of the great men he had spoken of, one sent by God on a special mission, and therefore to be followed, honored, and obeyed. Early in 1868 he left Calcutta on a wide tour, accompanied by a number of his young helpers. The first place visited was Monghyr. His eloquence, his fervid piety, and his new Vaisnava methods took the place by storm, and there was a general outburst of religious emotion. Here some of his followers began, in accordance with the supposed ideas of his lecture on 'Great Men,' to prostrate themselves before him and treat him with special honour. Others protested vigorously against this 'guru-worship;' and a serious division became evident; and the leader said he did not wish for these demonstrations; yet he did not rebuke those who practised them. As a result two of the missionaries left him. From Monghyr he passed on to Simla, where Lord Lawrence, drawn to him by his lecture on Jesus Christ, received him with great kindness, and discussed with him the details of a law which he proposed to pass with regard to Brāhma marriages. On the 22nd of August 1869, Keshab's building, styled the Mandir (Temple), in Machuna Bazaar Street, was opened for public worship with great rejoicings. Several noteworthy men, destined to be leaders, joined the Samaj at this time. Shortly after the opening of the Mandir, suddenly, without any warning, Keshab announced that he intended to proceed to England. His friends were considerably astonished at his proposal, for, as there was no organization, the whole work of the Samaj depended on him personally, and no one knew how things would get on without him. Keshab's proposal was met with great enthusiasm in his family, and also from Christianity. The old Hindu word bhakti, which includes both love to God and faith in Him, became one of the watchwords of the movement. Vaisnava modes of
He was received with the utmost cordiality, and addressed large audiences all over the country. The Queen gave him an audience, and it appeared that impression of fame which he saw in Britain was the
Christian home.

On his return to Calcutta in Nov. 1870, Keshab set himself to advance social reform in several directions. A new society was started, 'The Indian Reform Association,' and five departments of effort were resolved on: Cheap Literature, Charity, Female Improvement, Education, Temperance. Work along several of these lines was started under the Samaj, especially a Normal School for girls, the Victoria Institute for women, and the Bhabat Aryan (Indian Refuge), a sort of club-home, in which family life was cultivated, and women and children educated. A Bengali paper, the Sambalh Samajchur ('Cheap News'), was published weekly at one farthing, and did a great deal to stimulate native journalism. In connexion with all this social activity, we must note the passing of the Brahma Marriage Act in 1872, largely as a result of Keshab's advice and agitation.

Keshab and his friends had meanwhile been steadily growing in experience and strength. In 1873 he published his most noteworthy book, The Oriental Christ, which shows great spiritual insight, and also demonstrates how completely the author's own religious life depended on Christ. There was but one visit to England, and was very well received.

In 1873, Keshab further defined his position with regard to Revelation and his own place in the Samaj by a public lecture on Inspiration. In

suggestions, he declared, is the other side of prayer. Man asks; God gives. Inspiration is not God speaking by fits and starts, but a perpetual breathing of His spirit.

He felt very distinctly that opposition was developing against him within the Samaj. There were three main causes: his autocracy, his doctrine of adish (adisans), and his attitude towards the emancipation of women. He ruled the whole Samaj as sole authority, and many believed that his lecture on 'Great Men' was meant to suggest that he had a right to demand obedience; the party opposed to him was democratic, and wished to establish a constitutional government in the Samaj. By adish Keshab meant the direct command of God laid upon him by special revelation at certain definite moments in his career. To his opponents revealed truth were both chimeras and dangerous. They were also eager to give their women more liberty, and to allow them to participate in university education; while Keshab was opposed to both ideas. He feared that such freemasonry was in Europe would be most dangerous in India, and desired to secure for young girls a very quiet training, to fit them for the life of the home, rather than the same education as their brothers were receiving.

Keshab was only too conscious of all that was going on, and in consequence fell once more, in 1875, into his old melancholy. Once again, however, he fought his way to light through prayer and consecration. He called his followers around him, and, declaring that the Samaj was becoming immersed in the world, called for vairagya. This is an old Vaiśeņa word meaning 'separation,' separation from the world. He called for new asceticism, for fresh vows of poverty, and himself led a life which admirably suited him. This new Keshab, now became longer than ever, and a settled habit in Keshab's life. His followers responded to his leadership as loyally as ever, ready to do all that he was ready to lead them into. A little later he arranged them in four groups, calling them devotees of yoga, bhakti, jñāna, swa, according as their chief mother of devotion was yoga, union with God, knowledge, self. The first three are genuine Hindu ideas; the last he took from Christianity.

But the self-consecration of the central party failed to draw the opposition back to allegiance; and soon an act of Keshab not only convinced them that all their surmises were justified, but led to an open schism. The young Maharājā of Kuch Bihār, a Native State in North Bengal, had been carefully trained as a minor under English officials and had become most anxious that he should marry a girl who would be a help and not a hindrance to him; and the proposal was made that he should marry Keshab's daughter.

The Maharājā and the girl were both under age, and the Maharājā and his family were Hindus. Now Keshab had been fighting against child-marriage and heathen-marriage, and had even seen his convictions worked into the Brahma Marriage Act of 1872. Consequently, as soon as the proposal was made public, Brahma opinion made itself felt, and Keshab distinctly heard them. Keshab believed that God had told him to go on with the wedding; and having, as he believed, received satisfactory guarantees that the wedding would really be only a betrothal, so that the parties would not live together until they came of age, and that the marriage could not contain nothing idolatrous, he gave his consent. But whether through misunderstanding or through deceit, what Keshab expected was not carried out. He allowed himself to be hustled in the matter, and idolatrous ceremonies were introduced in defiance of his wishes. Keshab returned to Calcutta covered with shame. There could be only one result. He flouted public opinion and had dishonoured his own principles. The opposition now became insistent that he should be deposed from his position in the Samaj. A meeting was held, but no business could be transacted. Attempts were made to seize the Mandir, but failed. So the protesters, a large body of intelligent influential men, left the Samaj.

The Adi Samaj from 1865 to 1878.—There is very little to say with regard to the Adi Samaj; for it was left with only a small group of supporters at the time of the secession, and the lost ground was never recovered. Just about the time when Keshab left, ladies were present for the first time at the Annual Assembly, and they have since attended the services. In 1872, Debendra gave up the active management of the Samaj, and betook himself to religious retirement, his son Dwijendra (Dwijendra-maltha Thakur) being appointed acharya in his place; yet until the day of his death he kept in close touch with the work of the Samaj.

Statistics.—In 1878 there were already 124 samajies in existence, most of them connected with the Brahma Samaj of India. When the second schism took place, a majority of the provincial samajies sympathized with the protesters.

6. Fourth period, 1878–1884: three Samajies: Keshab's ritualistic theism. Those who left Keshab in 1878 were, as we have seen, a numerous body of men, most of them of men of character and influence. Nearly all the missionaries, a number of the other leaders, and a section of the rank and file remained with him; but a large part of the church went out. It was decided to establish a new Samaj. All the provincial samajies were consulted; and with the withdrawal of the Keshabists, a meeting was held in the Town Hall, and the following resolution was passed:

That this meeting deeply deplores the want of a constitutional organization in the Brahama Samaj, and does hereby
establish a Samaj to be called the Sadhuran Brahmana Samaj, with a view to remove the serious and manifold evils resulting from this state of things, and to secure the representation of the views and opinions of the co-operative general and the general Brahman community, in all that affects the progress and well-being of the Theistic cause and Theistic work in India.

An organization was sketched, consisting of four offi- cials and a committee containing representa- tives of the provincial samajies as well as of the Calcutta society. Services were begun in tem- porary rooms, and arrangements were soon com- menced for the erection of a building. The name sahiron is general, and was probably intended to suggest the cosmic and democratic nature of the new Samaj. An English and a Bengali magazine were started to represent the views of the society. Only those who were willing to sever themselves so definitely from idolatry as to give up caste and adopt Brahman rites at their domestic ceremonies were counted as members of the Samaj.

One fact of great importance remains to be noted. The Samaj had many able men, but no single man of religious genius like Ram Mohan, Debendranath, or Keshab. Pandit Siva Nath Sastri was the most prominent man, but he did not dwarf the others. While the Samaj may not have grown so rapidly as it would have done had it been under a great leader, this circumstance has made the evolution of a workable free govern- ment of the Brahman community a problem. Pandit Siva Nath Sastri being the leader, were set apart for the work of the Samaj; and a large number of educational and religious activities were commenced. A great deal of attention was given to female education. On 2nd Jan. 1881 the new Mandir in Cornwallis Street was opened.

The creed of the Sadhuran Samaj is the same as the creed of the original Samaj (given above under 4), with the addition of the following articles:

(7) God is the Father of men, and all men are brothers.

(8) The soul is immortal and its progress eternal.

(9) God rewards virtue and punishes sin. His punishments are remedial and not eternal.

Keshab's Samaj.—During the first two years after the division there is not much to note in the history of Keshab's church except his lectures. He first of all discussed publicly the question, 'Is there a supreme and all-wise prophet?' He gave a negative answer, but declared himself in the same breath to be a 'singular man,' with special rela- tions with heaven. 'The Lord said I was to have no doctrine, no creed, but a perennial and per- petual relation of theocraticism. Whoever followed his lecture he dealt again with Christ, definitely saying, 'There is such a thing as divinity in Christ,' but explaining his words by the doctrine of Divine humanity. The most important pronouncement, however, of this time was a proclamation, issued as a direct message from India's Mother. He thus announced for the first time his adhesion to the doctrine of the Motherhood of God. It was that most eccentric yet most interesting ascetic, Ram Krishna Paramhansa, who brought Keshab to this decision.

But if these first two years were quiet and uneventful, 1881 opened in a different way. At the Anniversary in January, Keshab appeared, with twelve of his missionaries around him, under a new red banner, on which were inscribed the words, Naba Bidhan (Nana Vishdhan, 'New Dispensa- tion'). On a table lay the four great Scriptures of the world: the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Chris- tian, and the Muhammadan. He proclaimed the Brahman Samaj to be God's latest dispensation, His new gospel sent to this new world to harmonize all existing religions, and himself and the twelve around him to be the God-appointed apostles of the movement. Henceforth Keshab's Samaj was known as the Church of the New Dispensation.

At a later meeting the Twelve were solemnly ordained for their duties. They were now Keshab's twelve apostles; and they met regularly under his presidency as the Apostolic Durbur. Strict vows were laid upon them. Four of the apostles were selected, to each of whom was entrusted the study of the Scriptures of one of the four great religions. Orders were soon arranged for women and girls, for men and for boys. Each Order was a conse- crated Brotherhood or Sisterhood, and was under strict vows.

But the most striking innovation was the intro- duction of a number of picturesque ceremonies from Hinduism and Christianity. The purpose was to adapt them to the comprehension and imagination of the common people. Several well- known Hindu sacrifices were performed in the Mandir, and by means of mystic explanation were harmonized with Brahman belief. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were introduced, and became integral parts of New Dispensation ritual, their symbolism being explained in accordance with Keshab's ideas. Fantastic pilgrimages to various prophets and emperors were imagined and acted, and belief in the possibility of communion with these saints of former days was encouraged. A sort of Calendar of the Saints was arranged, so that at fixed times all the faithful might concen- trate their thoughts and meditations. Next year a Mystic Dance was introduced; and, a little later still, Keshab appeared before his people as a juggler, performing magical feats with tree-leaves, beads, stones, with the Cross, the Crescent, the Trident, and other symbols, illustrating the equally marvellous jugglery of New Dispensation theology. All this eclectic- ism and ritualistic show naturally widened and deepened the gulf between Keshab and the large party who had left his church.

In 1882 his doctrine underwent a further ex- tension, or at least an unfolding. Christ had been declared 'divine' in his lecture on 'India asks, Who is Christ?' He now taught the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, declaring that the one God existed as the Father, the Son, and the Blessed Spirit.

In this plane figure of three lines you have the solution of a vast problem. The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; the Creator, the Exemplar, the Sanctuary of Light; the Still God, the Living God, the Returning God; Force, Wisdom, Holiness; the True, the Good, the Beautiful; Sat, Chit, Ananda; Truth, Intelligences.

He signified that he had adopted Hindu polytheism to Brahman belief, speaking of the analytic process by which the idolator selects an attribute or attributes of the Eternal for his particular use, and the synthetic process whereby the theist reaches the One God of the whole earth.

The great leader passed away on 8th Jan. 1884. He was a man of great natural gifts. He had imagination, intellect, eloquence; and he had in a very high degree the electric personality, the piercing speech, and the dramatic action which make the best leader. But was not without those things that most impressed his followers. What conquered them was his devotional life, his religious fire, the depth and sincerity of his moral and religious nature. It was this that made them follow him through everything, despite all his faults. For Keshab, having won them by moral forces, led them by the passion and strength of his religious feeling, not by any intelligible move- ment of reason. He had enough insight and imagination to enable him to present a case with great force; but he was no convincing thinker, far less a system-builder. His teaching, especially during the last period, is a collection of powerful but disjointed ideas, a heap of sparkling stones instead of a building. He had singularly
little organizing power. In all the work he controlled, every activity depended upon his personal relationship to the worker. Hence, as soon as the personality was withdrawn, the whole combination fell in pieces. In spite of the simplicity and generosity of his nature, there was a strain of deep reserve not to be broken through, in his character, which caused him trouble with those who loved him most; he did not realize the wisdom of sharing his mind with his colleagues. This trait partly explains the confidence with which he uttered some of his later declarations of belief, and in consequence, with which they were received. They had probably been a long time in his mind before he gave utterance to them.

The late Registrar of Calcutta University, Mr. K. C. Banerji, always maintained that Keshab died a Christian. Whether this was true or not, the spirit of his life has not changed. Mr. Banerji was very intimate with Keshab, and he was not the man to speak without serious evidence; his confident affirmation must therefore not be abruptly dismissed as untrue. On the other hand, Keshab maintained such a consistent attitude to Christ throughout his life, and, despite his reserve, was so little likely to change on a point of such importance and not tell his friends, that it is difficult to believe that Mr. Banerji was not mistaken.

With this a comprehensive account is given on his second tour in the West, visiting Europe and America, when Keshab died—a circumstance which complicated the situation in Calcutta seriously. In order to complete the creed of the New Dispensation Church, three articles require to be added to the nine of the Sadharan Samaj—

19 (10) God is a Trinity in Unity—Father, Son, and Spirit. God is Mother as well as Father.

19 (11) Brahman is not a new religion, but the essence of all religions, the one universal faith; the Brahman Samaj is God's latest Dispensation; and the missionaries of the New Gospel.

19 (12) Knowledge of God comes through Inspired Men as well as through Nature and Intuition. He crucially this will occasion to His servants by command, Alakh.

Statistics.—When Keshab passed away, the number of samajis all told was 173. There were said to be about 1500 covenanted members, and about 8000 adherents.

7. Fifth period, 1884-1900: progress of the Sadharan Samaj.—During this period both the Adi Samaj and the New Dispensation Church have declined. Indeed, the old Samaj is now almost a purely family assemblage, and hold bravely on, but they have a comparatively small following in Calcutta, and their relationships with samajis outside are not very definite. With Keshab's death the New Dispensation at once became a static body, with an unchanging theology, like the other two branches: the contrast between this period and Keshab's last quinquennium is very marked. When he passed away, the development of Brahman doctrine ceased. Indeed, a blight seems to have fallen on all three, and in the last century no theological work of any importance has appeared, although hymn-writing still flourishes.

The Sadharan Samaj.—This has gone forward, not changing much in matters of faith or of practice, but slowly growing in numbers and in influence. The absence of a great leader robs their annals of great events; and we need not linger over the various difficulties they have had to encounter in working out and maintaining a constitutional government. We shall therefore merely sketch the position of the Samaj of to-day.

The affairs of the Samaj are controlled by the General Committee, which consists of 63 members, representing Calcutta and the rest of India in about equal proportions. The officers are a president, a secretary, three assistant secretaries, and a treasurer. These, with 13 others, chosen by the General Committee, form the Executive. The general work of the Samaj throughout India as well as in Calcutta is conducted by the missionaries, with their two auxiliaries, the Sadhan Asram (Sadhana Ashrama) and the Sebak Mandali (Sadhana Mandal). The Sevak Mandali, though now well advanced in years, is still their chief missionary. He represents the Hindu side of the Samaj. Beside him there stands a young man of considerable promise, Hem Chandra Sircar, who was trained in Manchester New College, Oxford, and now represents the Christian element. There are nine other missionaries. Sita Nath Tattvabushan, a well known Vedantist, is their chief educationalist and philosopher. The Brahma Vedangya, or Brahman School, is a Theological Institution for training young missionaries. The Sadhan Asram, or 'Work Refuge,' is a hostel attached to the Mandir; but the phrase is now more frequently used of the group of students and other workers residing in the Asram who form a society for practical service. Their work ranks next in importance after that of the missionaries. Similar societies have been formed in a few places outside Calcutta. Several notable laymen render the Samaj large assistance in the Sebak Mandali, or 'Lay-workers' Union.' The Samaj possesses a large printing establishment. The Indian Messenger and the Tatva Kramanti, i.e. 'Moonlight of Truth,' being the two journals. There are 43 provincial samajis formally affiliated with the central organization, and as many more in fellowship, although not affiliated. There are 1944 initiated members in all; but large numbers of men and women are practically members, though they have not been initiated. The activities of the Calcutta congregation, besides the Sunday services, are the Sunday School; the Sadhad Sabha, a group of religious questions; the Theological Society; the Students' Weekly Service, which, though not organically connected with the Samaj, is conducted in the Mandir every Saturday evening, and draws many students to thrice; the Brahma Girls' School; and the City College.

The New Dispensation Samaj.—After Keshab's death, those members of the Apostolic Durlar who were in Calcutta met and declared that Keshab was still their leader, and that no one could ever take his place. The role of the missionary body who happened to be absent, notably Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar, seriously objected to this decision, and the mass of the members stood with them. Keshab's family, on the other hand, wished to treat the Mandir and Keshab's pulpit as a sort of family preserve. Pratap, who was by far the best known of the missionaries, and the only one at all fitted for being the leader of the Samaj, wished to be elected to take Keshab's place. But the Apostolic Durlar would not agree to do this, or anything else. On the one side, there stood the quarrelling missionaries; on the other, the members, begging them to be reconciled and to make arrangements for the work and the worship of the Samaj; and so affairs have continued ever since. The old personal quarrels which Keshab was unable to put down, and which were prevented from breaking up the Samaj only by his personal influence, came uppermost, and ruined everything. For a time the latter took the Mandir into their own care, and conducted the services, excluding the missionaries from control, because they would not agree. There have been many attempts at reorganization and as many failures. Once at least the police had to be called in. There has been no open schism, but there has been constant dis-
union; and to-day three competing services are conducted under the name of the New Dispensation every Sunday; and even so there are some members who refuse to attend any one of the three.

The active work of the Samaj was thus brought almost to a complete standstill, and growth became impossible. The New Dispensation counts for less and less in the life of India.

Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar, who was often spoken of as the leader of the Brahma Samaj, never became the acknowledged leader even of the New Dispensation Church. His name and influence were far greater in England and America than they ever were in Calcutta and India. Failing to obtain Keshab's position, he went into semi-retirement, editing his paper, The Interpreter, and writing elsewhere occasionally, but seldom doing any missionary work for the Samaj except when he appeared to deliver the annual address in the Town Hall. His appearance at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 still further widened his reputation, and he was always a welcome speaker on Calcutta platforms, but he was scarcely a religious force in the city. He passed away in 1905. His funeral demonstrated in a very remarkable manner, to one observer at least, what a large number of fine intellectual men were still interested in the Dispensation Church. Every one seemed fit to be a leader.

Since Keshab's death the fantastic elements of his later teaching and practice have not been obtruded on the public. The tendency is towards simplicity except on one point: the death of Keshab is celebrated annually as the day of the "Ascension of the Master."

To-day there are still a number of the old missionaries connected with the Samaj, notably Gaur Gabinda Ray, Mahendra Nath Bose, Pyari Mohan Chatterjee, and Gabriel Bana, especially Gabriel Bana, who is one of several causes of division among them. There are a number of younger men who take a prominent place, especially Prof. Benoyendra Nath Sen, who is a very finished speaker, and Pramatha Lal Sen, who is an acceptable preacher, and does a good deal of work among young men.

Besides the Sunday services, the publishing work of the Samaj and the educational activities are still kept up. There is a hostel for students. The missionaries do a good deal of visiting, keeping the flame burning in families.

The Adi Samaj.—The history of the original Samaj during the last quarter of a century is very little more than the doings of Debendra Nath Tagore and his circle of disciples. Yet there are a few societies outside Calcutta which retain their connexion with the Adi Samaj. The theology of the Samaj has remained stationary since the secession of 1863. Debendra gave up his position after more than thirty years of service. For thirty-three years more he lived the life of a religious recluse; for he survived until 1905. He was almost exclusively under Hindu influence, his master being Ramannuja. To him ancient India was the cradle of all that was pure in morals and religion. So powerful was Hindu thought in his life, that up to the very end he never definitely told his disciples that he had given up the doctrine of transmigration, as practically all Brahmans have done. He never dared to quote his Bible, and in his printed sermons no reference to the teaching of Christ is to be found. The direct communion of the human soul with the Supreme Spirit was the most salient point in his teaching. His public life proved him to be a man not only of religious capacity, but of a particularly noble and generous character. His long retire-

ment added to the spell he had thrown over the minds of his fellow-townsmen. By common consent he was called the Maharshi, i.e. the great San. The bleached complexion and massive architecture of his face still revealed, a few months after his death, at the age of eighty-seven, the lofty spiritual nature and the sensitive heart which had done so much in the far-away years.

The provincial samajes.—These continue to grow slowly in number and influence. A few are still in closer sympathy with the Adi Samaj than is the New Dispensation Church; while a number belong in doctrine and worship to the New Dispensation order, but a great and increasing majority have their closest connexion with the Sadhāran Samaj. These distinctions, however, count for far less in the country than they do in the metropolis; and a missionary is certain to receive a warm welcome almost anywhere, no matter to which of the branches he belongs. The Prarthāna samajes in Western India, though not organically connected with the Brahma Samaj, are on terms of close friendship and fellowship.

These societies vary largely both in size and vitality. A number have a considerable membership, own their own building, and do a good deal of work. Their activities follow the lines laid down in the original "Dispensation. They have their weekly religious service, usually on Sunday, and sometimes a prayer-meeting besides. Keshab's original Sanāgat Sabāha ("Friendly Society") was copied in the Sadhāran Samaj in Calcutta, and the example has been very generally followed elsewhere. It is a sort of Wesleyan class-meeting. The annual festivals are celebrated with enthusiasm. A library and some simple missionary work complete their religious activities. But they consider their work incomplete, if they do not advance education, especially the form of philanthropic work is usually attempted also.

It will probably cleanse to clearness if we represent the theological affinities of the three samajes graphically:

(1) God is a personal being, with sublime moral attributes.
(2) God has never become incarnate.
(3) God hears and answers prayer.
(4) God is to be worshipped only by the initiated. Men of all castes and races may worship God acceptably.
(5) Repentance and cessation from sin is the only way to forgiveness and salvation.
(6) Nature and Intuition are the sources of knowledge of God. No book is authoritative.
(7) God is the Father of men, and all men are brothers.
(8) The soul is immortal and its progress eternal.
(9) God rewards virtue and punishes sin. His punishments are remedial and not eternal.
(10) God is a Trinity in Unity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. God is Mother as well as Father.
(11) Brahmanism is the universal religion; the Brahma Samaj is God's latest Dispensation; and the Brahmanas are His aposteriors.
(12) Knowledge of God comes through inspired men as well as through Nature and Intuition. He reveals His will on occasion to His servants by command, Adeth.

—The Bráhma Samaj, while claiming to be a world-wide movement, and actually making its voice heard in Europe and America, has not succeeded in developing its effective service beyond India, has made no deep impression outside the province of its birth, and even where it is strongest it has touched only the educated class. There is a Bráhma Mission to hill tribes in Bengal, and a Práthama Samaj Mission to the depressed classes in Bombay; but nowhere has the movement taken a serious hold of the common people. It is a remarkable fact that in 1901, when the Samaj was already seventy-three years old, only 4000 inhabitants of India were returned as Bráhmanas in the Census papers. This, in the case of a really indigenous movement, which has had three men of high religious genius amongst its leaders, is very noteworthy.

(b) Influence on India.—The Samaj has exercised a great void on religious opinion all over India. The work of the Samaj has also had a good deal of weight, especially in Bengal, in the matter of social reform. But the number of those who have been induced to become real theists by the Samaj is curiously disappointingly small. The great success of the revival within Hinduism has operated powerfully to check the drift to Bráhmamism; for men are now inclined to believe that they can get as much spiritual religion in Hinduism as in Bráhmamism, and that social reform is almost as possible within as without the camp.

(c) Debt to Christianity.—Bráhmamism owes a large debt to Christianity. The primal impulse came largely from Christianity; Bráhma methods are borrowed from the Christ, and the criticism of Hindu social wrongs is simply Christian criticism; and large masses of Keshab’s religious and moral teaching were taken direct from Christ, and still fertilize Bráhma thought and conduct in the Sádháran as well as in the New Dispensation Samaj.

But the Church in India also owes a considerable debt to Bráhmamism. The latter has done much to open the Hindu mind to serious mono¬theism; has helped to break down prejudice against Christianity; has prepared the way for Christianity in more than one centre; and has drawn out of Hinduism into spiritual religion many an individual who has finally found peace in the Christian Church.

Brahma’s Deity.—The official doctrine of the Samaj puts Hinduism and Christianity in the general catalogue of particular religions as opposed to Bráhmamism, which is regarded as the absolute and universal religion. But in actual fact these two religions hold an altogether different position. They are the sources of Bráhmamism. A careful survey of the doctrines that have been professed in the Samaj will show that there is not one which has not been drawn either from Hinduism or from Christianity. The Bráhma span of the Samaj shows that Bráhmamism is the essence of all religions is without any basis in fact. The Bráhma system is drawn from Hinduism and Christianity.

The next point to note is how these twin sources are related to each other in the Samaj. The most cursory glance will convince any one that the Hindu and the Christian elements stand side by side, neither controlling the other. Indeed, the controlling principle throughout has not been revelation, whether Hindu or Christian, but reason. *

* This became explicit in 1890, when the author of the Vedas was abandoned.

Hinduism and Christianity have been selected as being in harmony with the dominant rationalistic idea. The only complicating circumstance is this, that the rationalism has not remained constant, but has altered in the course of history; under Mahavira, it was discoloured from Deism, under Debendranath from Ramâyana, under Keshab from Unitarianism in the earlier period, from Christianity in the later. Hence the clear distinction between the samajés to-day.

The way in which all this came about is also clear. There were two points on which Ram Mohan and Keshab, the two creative leaders, were thoroughly convinced: (1) that Christ would yet be supreme in India;1 (2) that the future religion of India would be, and loyal to Hinduism. On both these points, we may be certain, history will justify them. It was in the inference they drew that they went wrong. Believing that the future religion of India would be loyal both to Christ and to Hinduism, they imagined that they had only to bring the two together and the result would be the future religion of India. They both failed to see that essential Hinduism and essential Christianity can no more mingle than oil and water. Had they lived later, they would have been convinced that the men were men of open mind; and the science of religions would have revealed the truth to them.

Hinduism is ancient not only in age, but in character. It enshrines a very early conception of the universe—a conception which men’s minds have now outgrown. This is to say that our time and matter and souls are as eternal as God; the world is a never-ending series of meaningless, self-repeating changes; matter is the seat of all evil, and nature does not reveal God; men in the world are spirits in prison, and their only hope is release from its toils.

Christianity, on the other hand, brings us a conception of the universe which modern men can believe; and which stimulates and invigorates man’s life in every direction: God is the loving Father; men are His children; the world is God’s good world, prepared for the disciplining of His children; progress, not repetition, is the inner secret of the world-process.

These two conceptions cannot be reconciled or brought to rest; one exults in the one excludes the other. The history of the Samaj supplies a clear illustration of the truth. Ram Mohan and Debendra endeavoured to keep the Samaj within the limits of the old religion, but the outcome of the history has shown that it is impossible to divorce Bráhmamism from the caste system altogether and to avoid most scrupulously the touch of Hindu sacerdotalism and worship. In no other way can the health and strength of the community be secured. The Adi Samaj has withered, because it has attempted to remain within the caste system—has attempted to graft Bráhmamism upon Hinduism. The Christian elements in the Bráhma faith are hopelessly antagonistic to the Hindu system. So Bráhmas to-day are as completely outside Hinduism as Christians are.

Thus Ram Mohan and Keshab were wrong in thinking that a new, vigorous, modern religion could be created merely by placing a few of the leading ideas of Christianity alongside of a few of the leading ideas of Hinduism and allowing the two to come together on equal terms. It is neither to reach the end in view, two things are indispensably necessary: (1) The supremacy of Christ must be frankly and ungrudgingly accepted. Only...
in this way can a system be secured which modern men can accept, and which will produce a healthy modern nation. Rationalism is sterile in India as elsewhere. (2) Christ must be set forth as coming not to destroy Hinduism, but to fulfil it; nothing can be destroyed by which the true God can be worshipped. For, while the basal conceptions of the Hindu system are utterly opposed to Christianity, all the highest and holiest things in it—all that the modern thinking Hindu feels he cannot turn his back on, all that Ram Mohan, Debendranath, and Krishna Bharataav had the courage and the conviction that has vitality and growth in it—all this arose in reforming movements, eager spiritual struggles to transcend the traditional Hindu system. Within the pale of Hinduism these lofty spiritual aims have never had a chance to realize themselves. It is only in Christianity that a free open field for their development is found. Hinduism must die into Christianity, in order that the best that her philosophers, saints, and ascetics have longed and prayed for may live. Thus the truth with regard to the life and the soul, the humanibre and the Christian is that the missionaries were right in insisting on the supremacy of Christ, and the Brahmas were right in insisting that Hinduism should not be treated as a weed.

LITERATURE.—The best brief outline of Brahman history is found in H. S. Olcott, Brahmanism, Its origin and growth, London, 1887, pp. 475-508. There are four longer narratives: Leonard, A History of the Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1879; M. G. Ghose, Brahmoism and Progress, Calcutta, 1882; F. Lillingston, The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, London, 1903; and Slater, Keshab Chandra Sen and the Brahmo Samaj, Madras, 1884 (the first two interesting but inaccurate, the last two reliable, and the last containing numerous extracts from the writings of Keshab Chandra Sen). His further detail consult the following biographies: Collett, The Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, London, 1900; The Adventures of a Brahman (a translation from the original Bengali), with an introduction by Satyendranath Tagore, Calcutta, 1909; Moshoomdar, The Life and Teaching of Raja Ram, London, 1907; Spurzheim's and Henri-Auguste's Beats by F. C. Mocander with a Biographical Sketch by S. J. Barrows, Boston, 1894; the monograph, Sastri, The New Dispensation and the Southern Brahmo Samaj, Madras, 1881; the works of the leaders: The English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, edited by J. C. Ghose, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1855-57; The Complete Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sukshim and Bevika, Calcutta, 1880; Keshab Chandra Sen, Lectures on Brahmoism, Calcutta, 1901; and biographies later, the Year Books, the Annual Reports, and the periodicals.

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BRAHUS.—See BALUCHISTAN.

BRAIN AND MIND.—1. Historical. That the brain of man is that part of his bodily organism which is in immediate connection with his mind—whatever the intimate nature of that connection may be—is to-day an accepted fact. That it has not always been so may be seen from the number of words in our own and in other languages which appear to connect mental and moral qualities with the heart, with the stomach, and even with the kidneys and bowels. In early Greek speculation, Alcmeon of Crotona (beginning of 5th cent. B.C.), a reputed pupil of Pythagoras, is referred to as holding that sense-impressions are combined together in the brain, which receives them through certain avenues (the nerves), and construct out of them 'memory, opinion, and science'; and that the controlling centre (ὃ τῷ γρηγορεῖ) of the body resides in the brain, Frig. d. Vorsokratiker 2, i. 101 f). Hippocrates also and Democritus were credited with a similar belief. It was partially adopted by Plato, who placed the reasoning portion of the soul in the head, passion in the heart, and desire in the lower part of the body (Timaeus 29-72). According to Locke, the true soul, as the entelechy of the body, was correlated with its every part; while the brain was an inert mass, the function of which was to cool the blood for the heart (de Part. An. i. 7).* Galen (2nd cent. A.D.) recognized the dominant part played by the brain as the centre of the nervous system, and the whole system by which the body is controlled. For, while the anatomy of the brain began to be clearly understood through the work of Varolius and others. From this date the tendency was to subdivide the brain, and to ascribe to separate centres the different mental functions; the most comprehensive attempt of this kind being the plastic system of Grec and Spurzheim (1810). Their system was deficient, however, both in psychological analysis and in scientific proof: they referred different moral and intellectual characters to different areas of the surface—and underlying parts—of the brain, and assumed that the skull with its 'humps' followed closely the outline of the brain. Causality, Com- bativeness, the Philoprogenitiveness, the Sense of Language, and Calculation are a few out of their thirty-eight promiscuously grouped faculties. A collection following Fournier (his Recherches experimentales)† that the whole brain is the organ of mind, that loss of or injury to any part of it weakens its general function, i.e. lessens the degree of mental activity, but does not remove any special function. It was not until 1891, when Broca published his paper Sur le Sige de la Faculte du Langage articule, that the theory of special localization began to take a new and more adequate form. The researches of Hitzig, Munk, Meynert, Fleischig, and many others in Germany, and of Ferrier, Horsley, Schloëter, etc., in England use literature and the Monograph of C. and G. 1870, gone far to establish the doctrine on a sound basis, although its interpretation is still disputed.

2. General relationship. —The general correlation between brain and mind is established partly by comparative, partly by pathological, data. (a) In closely allied animal species, it is found that the relative weight of the brain or corresponding ganglia increases with the complexity of the life of the animal, with its adaptability to new surroundings—correlated with all the terms of the vague term 'intelligence.' A striking instance is the ant's brain (the corpora pedunculata), which in the worker ant is very large, in the queen ant much smaller, and in the male ant almost absent; while activity and 'intelligence' are proportionately distributed (Fovel). The correlation is closer still if, instead of weight, the surface-area of the brain is taken. In higher animals the nerve-elements are massed in the grey matter, the cortex, of the brain; and by means of fissures and sulci—divisions and foldings of the outer 'bark' into the substance of the brain—the surface may be enormously extended without a proportional increase in volume or weight. In the main, also, if animals of different species, but of approximately the same size and of similar habitat, are compared, the brain increases in relative weight (or surface-area) as the rank of the animal in the scale of evolution is higher. Nearest (but longo intervallo) to man in this respect come the anthropoid apes.

In the development of the brain with age in the human individual a similar comparison is found to hold. As the mental capacities improve, the brain

* Recherches expér. sur les propriétés et les fonctions du systeme nerveux, 1834, 7184. Cf. his Paroxysm Examen,2 1810, 1814, 1846.

† Recherches expér. sur les propriétés et les fonctions du systeme nerveux, 1834, 7184. Cf. his Paroxysm Examen,2 1810, 1814, 1846.
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grows in volume until about the age of fifteen, when it reaches a certain maximum relative weight. Beyond this point, in the functional aspect of life, the place of growth, the brain-entering into more and more complex relation with each other, but without much increase in size or number. From the age of fifteen there is a gradual decline in relative weight, also, a loss of matter has been found for the average female than for the average male brain, alike in weight, in surface-area, and in thickness of cortex. This is true even when allowance is made for the differences in relative size of body. Various interpretations of the facts may, however, be suggested. All these strains will show, on the average, lower standards of brain-weight. Individual men of markedly superior intellectual powers have in many cases been found to possess brains in which there was more than average development of the brain surface, the sulci being cut deeper, and having more numerous ramifications than in the normal man. The brains of Gauss and Helmholz are well-known examples. On the average, ‘eminent men’ tend to have higher than the normal brain-weight; at the same time, however, the men who show the highest skills of relatively small brain-capacity for their race; and vice versa, it has been remarked, many persons of large brain capacity have been inmates of our poorhouses and prisons. The factors making for the development of brain-weight are especially determinative elements with the initial growth-capacity itself. The actual development attained in adult life is a resultant of many diverse factors. It is to be noted especially that, apart from its correlation with mind, the brain has important functions that are purely physiological; it regulates the movements of the body and of its different members, and especially it regulates the nutrition, and other processes of metabolism, which take place in the particular organs of the body. Accordingly, such factors as body-weight, stature, mobility, rate of metabolism or vitality, and plasticity stand in intimate relation to the brain-capacity of the organism. Biologically considered, intelligence falls under ‘plasticity’; it is a function by which the organism adapts itself respectively to new surroundings or situations, and by which it carries over the experience of the past into the present, to the advantage of itself or of its species.

3. Elements of the central nervous system.—The morphological element in the cortex or grey outer layer of the brain is the neuron. It consists of (1) the cell-body, (2) the dendrites or short branched processes, (3) the axon or nerve-fibre, and (4) the terminal expansions, or terminal branches. There are numerous different forms of cell. Thus, as many as five different kinds of dendrites may be present in the different parts of the cortex from without inwards, each marked by the presence of a characteristic form of cell. The largest are the pyramidal cells, which are found especially in the upper layers of the hemispheres, and have been found without any mental defect having been remarked during the subject’s lifetime. While this is admitted, however, it only alters our interpretation of the correlation between the convolutions of the brain and such a mental process as the thought of a person dying in perfect sanity, according to the judgment of his neighbours, may show marked signs of organic defect. Numerous cases are recorded in which very extensive degenerations of the nerve-cells, that is to say, of the parenchyma of the hemispheres, have been found without any mental defect having been remarked during the subject’s lifetime.

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would give rise to its proper sensation, or would contract its given group of muscles, or cause secretion in its given gland, whatever its particular function might be, and that this specificity is fixed for it in the fibre itself. Later, it may be thought to depend upon the brain-centre in which the fibre ended; but there can be little doubt that Wundt is right in his view that it is the perception, however limited, that determines in the first instance the character of the reaction, and that the perception in its turn has been developed through adaptation to the physical stimuli acting upon the organism, which in their sum make up its environment. This is true at least as far as the reflex paths. The current in an electric cord sent through any part of the optic nerve gives rise to a sensation of light, this being the excitation first runs into the retina and there sets in the changes which are normal conditions of visual sensation.

The neurones, like all other living cells, are subject to conditions of growth and decay: its growth and development are determined by moderate use, its decay and degeneration by excessive use. Stimulated, it is the first of an increase in volume, and a change of internal structure; later the cell branches out in various directions, until a fairly active cell may have inconceivable ramifications—prolongations, collaterals, and brush-like terminals; in this development may be found the physical basis of psychic, of memory, of mental growth generally. The effect of drugs or poisons (with which fatigue must be classed) is to cause a diminution of volume, and withdrawal of the processes, followed, if prolonged, by other more radical changes. As we see the determination of reflexly an increased flow of blood to the parts involved—probably the result of an increased activity of the parts if that is excessive activity, however, the continued flow of blood may cause permanent injury of various kinds according to the tissue affected. The immediate impediment to the renewed blood supply—reflexly produces diminished flow of blood to the parts involved: the neurones contract in volume and withdraw their processes, all of which are requisite conditions which look is the expression. It is noticeable that unconsciousness or insensitiveness is due to extreme diminution of blood flow to the brain (anemia), and from excessive flow of blood to the brain (hyperemia), the result of which is probably a check to the blood flow to the neurones. The immediate cause of many mental diseases also is said to be the morbid accumulation of blood in special parts of the brain (Lays, after Forbes Winslow).

4. The special centres: localization of functions.—The complexity of the grey matter of the brain, its numberless cells, the endless tracery of interlacing fibres being understood, the question arises: With what specific functions are these neurones of the mental function? Does the activity of the neurone determine consciousness, and have different neurones different parts to play in giving rise to different mental contents or ideas?

Since 1861, as has been said already a mass of evidence has been collected which goes to show that not merely does the general health and capacity of the mind depend upon the integrity and healthy functioning of the brain, but that also special mental functions or capacities are dependent on certain parts of the brain and upper brain. In particular, it has been shown that the capacities to receive and co-ordinate impressions from the different sense-organs—the impressions which are the physical correlates of sensations and perceptions—are connected with definite brain 'centres', as are also the powers of effecting or voluntarily carrying out movements of the different parts of the body. In the year mentioned, Broca published the paper whose title is given above (p. 824); he claimed to have found that in certain cases of aphasia, in purper form, by loss of the power of articulate speech, without any defect in the general intelligence, or any paralysis of the vocal muscles—a small portion of the third frontal convolution of the left hemisphere is destroyed afterwards added that in left-handed persons, if aphasia occurs, the injury will be found in the corresponding part of the right hemisphere. Since then, many other forms of partial loss of mental powers have been studied both as to their symptoms during life, and causes of the death of the brain in death. Again, evidence has been collected since 1870 (Hitzig) from various experiments upon animals. The methods have been (1) the extirpation of smaller or larger portions of the brain, with observation of the animal's behaviour after recovery; (2) the stimulation of the naked brain at different points, with observation of the movements caused; (3) the study of the degeneration of tracts running between the brain and the sense-organs or muscles, after a given portion of the brain has been excised. More recently, our knowledge of the part played by the nerve centres in the different parts of the brain and spinal cord has been greatly extended by newer methods of section-making and of staining. As a result we obtain a scheme like the following:—

The centres for consciousness, intelligence, and will, as distinction of the neurones for reflex and automatic movements and co-ordinations, are located in the cortex or outer grey mantle of the hemispheres; they are usually classified as (1) sensory centres, (2) motor centres, and (3) association centres.

(1) Of the sensory centres, that for Sight is placed in the occipital or hindmost lobe, more especially in the parts lying under the calcarine fissure; that for Hearing in the first and second convolutions of the temporo-sphenoidal lobe; that for Smell in some part or all of the olfactory bulb or lobe, &c. On the inferior aspects of the hemisphere; that for Taste perhaps in the lower part of the temporal lobe (but on this there is no agreement among anatomists); that for Cutaneous Sensations—including under this title what is called the 'cutaneous sensations'—in the somatic sensory, muscular sensitivity, sensibility to touch, to temperature, to pain, &c. is, as might be expected, the most extensive and least definable of all the centres: the tentative conclusion of Bianchi is that its centre is the wide area lying about (and below) the Rolandic zone, but that within this there are various centres of 'greater functional intensity'; these vary greatly, both in position and in development, in different individuals (Text-Book of Psychiatry, 5). (2) The so-called motor centres, the stimulation of which gives rise to limited movements of different limbs according to the part stimulated, and injury or disease of which is in man connected with limited paralysis of different parts of the body, lie within the area described above as that of common sensibility; but there are also one or two similar centres in other parts of the cortex. The principal motor zone is that which lies close to the fissure of Rolando; according to most recent views (Sherrington, etc.), just in front of and in the fissure itself, but more especially in the part of the hemisphere, lying frontal convolution, and parts of the first, second, and third frontal convolutions; also, on the inner side of the hemisphere, parts of the marginal convolution, and of the Gyrus fimbriatus. It is from these parts of the cortex that the great hand of white pyramidal fibres issues, passing inwards and downwards between the grey masses of the mid brain (the Optic Thalamus and the Lenticular Nucleus) to the lower brain, where the greater part of those fibres which 'serve the purpose of the brain's control of voluntary movement' (the cortical or pyramidal fibres) to the side opposite to that from which they set out. Probably all the true motor or efferent fibres, except possibly those of the trunk of the body, cross over at some point in their course, whether through the various commissures or connecting bands between the hemispheres themselves, or in the Pons and Medulla Oblongata of the lower brain, or in the spinal cord. Thus injury to the motor zone of the right hemisphere is followed by the total or partial paralysis of some of the muscles on the left side of the body, and vice versa.

The motor zone, like the band of pyramidal fibres passing through the internal capsule, has been subdivided into smaller centres. From the front of the brain backwards to the fissure of Rolando, lie

* Gyrus fimbriatus and G. hippocampi.
the centres for movements of head, trunk, and leg, in that order; from the top, downwards towards the fissure of Sylvius, the centres for movements of trunk and leg, of shoulder, arm, hand, and face. In a cross-section of the internal capsule the efficient fibres lie in a similar order—those for the legs below the shoulder, those for the arms below the legs; and finally, those for thigh, knee, foot, and toes.

In what sense are these 'psychical' centres, i.e. points at which physical stimulation gives rise to mental impression, or at which mental activity initiates physical action? The first scientific view, held in the last century by Murdock, was that the single functional unit in the organism was the individual cell was the seed of the sensation or mental image; images were, so to speak, stored up in the cells, much as electric energy may be stored up in an accumulator, and were touched off by stimulation coming either from the periphery (sensation proper) or from other centres of the brain (the memory-image). The destruction of the cell wholly removed the power alike of sensation, of recognition, and of recall in memory; the cutting of the path from the sense-organ to the cell removed the power of sensation, but left the memory intact; and the disconnecting of the cell with other regions of the brain made the memory-recall (recall by association of ideas) impossible, although the power of sensation remained. Some cells were sensory, i.e. end in a special faculty of awareness into conscious sensation; others were motor, i.e. starting-points at which conscious volition was transformed into nerve-process. This simple 'corpuscular' theory has no longer many supporters.

(i) The distinction between sensory and motor centres is questioned. The motor centres were held to be those at which movement might be initiated voluntarily or spontaneously, their destruction involving the loss of such power, while the movements could still be reflexly excited, though the process lay farther back. To the idea of such special motor centres objections are urged, both from the physiological and from the psychological sides. It is now known that innumerable sensory fibres lead from the muscles and joints to the brain, and that the muscular sensations derived from these—sensations of the extent, duration, complexity, resistance, etc., of the movements carried out, or being carried out—play a very important part in the formation and development of our ideas of space, of the activities of the general and particular self, and of personal identity. If from any cause we cease to feel a movement that is in course of completion, the co-ordination becomes imperfect, and indeed absolute paralysis may occur. Quick, emotional speakers frequently show this in a slight degree: both the 'thick' speech and the imperfect control of the limbs in drunkenness must be largely attributed to the same cause. Locomotor ataxia springs mainly from disease of the posterior columns of the spinal cord, i.e. the sensory nerve-columns; the power of movement is not lost, but the muscular movements are disorganized, as though the eyes were open, but collapse when they close; he has no longer any sensory consciousness of the position of his limbs, and therefore his movements are paralyzed. The paralysis that occurs in dreams, the failure of actual movement during them, is largely due to a similar cause; not being conscious of the position of our limbs, we have no basis for movement. Accordingly, the motor zone may be really a sensory zone, as Goltz, Schiff, Munk, and others have shown; Motor neurones, as Layes, Lucas, and Horsley maintain. The sensation that appears after injury may spring not from inability to innerve the muscles, i.e. to originate and co-ordinate the various contractions or extensions required, but from inability to feel the muscles in play, or to form an image of their position—

a necessary antecedent to their voluntary control. It may be said, then, that the whole of the cortex is sensory in its functions; there is no doubt that in development it is closely connected with the posterior, i.e. the sensory, portion of the spinal cord; the strictly motor centres for the coordination of the actions of the antecedent parts were the cerebellum and lower brain. On the other hand, neither psychology nor histology offers grounds for any fundamental division between sensory and motor processes. (a) Every sensation is at the same time a feeling and an effort, every idea is an emotion and a desire, the cerebral system is functionally accompanied by changes occurring in the muscular system, in the glands or viscera, as well as in the external muscular system. Every change of consciousness reverberates through the body, and issues outwardly in action, i.e. every idea is ideomotor. (b) There is no break or change apparent in the structure or prolongation of the cells as we pass from a 'motor' to a 'sensory' zone; the large pyramidal cells may be more frequent in the former, but they are not absent in the latter; the fibres are alike throughout, as Horsley, Apathy and Bethe hold, that the fine fibrils which make up the fibres are continuous throughout their course in the whole central system. If so, there is no real centre anywhere—no seal either of the soul generally, or of its personal faculty of immortality, or of identity. There is no end-point at which nerve-process comes to a stop and sensation begins; no starting-point at which volition is transformed into motion. Consciousness must be a correlate not of the functioning of this or of that part of the brain, but of its functioning as a whole. The action of the brain is equivalent to that of a higher and more complex reflex-centre, like the centres of the spinal cord. It performs similar functions also, viz. (a) it isolates the excitations, rendering them both more rapid and more effective; (b) it co-ordinates movements with greater delicacy of adjustment to different sense-impressions; (c) it co-ordinates movements with more effective adjustment (a) to the condition of the organism as a whole (fatigue, hunger, satiety, etc.) and (b) to the results of the immediate or of the past experience of the individual and of the race. This is the view which, though in a less extreme and materialistic form, is becoming generally accepted. The 'centre,' on this theory, would merely be an important junction, not a terminus, of the nerve-processes which disorganizes the system, and does so in a definite way for each centre, just as the break-up of the railway lines at Perth would cause a different kind of disturbance and affect different systems from the break-up of the lines at Carstairs.

(ii) A second point of dispute is whether there are different 'centres' for sensation and for imagery, respectively, within the same field of experience. Certain facts of mental pathology, and results of experiments on animals, suggest that the sensory cell or group is not a whole, but is divided in two, one from that which underlies the memory-image. In the case of vision, for example, two forms of blindness arise from disease or injury to the visual zone: in the one the subject is completely blind (cortical blindness); in the other he is able to see, but fails to recognize the most familiar objects (psychic or soul-blindness): thus a dog no longer recognizes its master, its food-dish, or its kennel, except by smell. The failure to recognize might arise from one of two causes, either (a) the connection had become less effective between the centres and the regions correlated with other sensations and memories, hence the sense-impression could not

* Cf. Donaldson, p. 500.
† See Ward's 'Assimilation and Association,' Mind (N.S.), vol. ii. and iii.
arouses its associate ideas—in other words, it could not be understood; or (b) the memory-image cells of the given objects had been destroyed, and hence the earlier experiences were no longer capable of revival; or, finally, both might have occurred. In man, the failure to recognize scenes and persons from recent memory or to recall visual images and other memories was unaffected. Hence three pure forms of mental defect may occur in connexion with injury to the occipital lobe: (a) sensory or cortical blindness, (b) perceptual or psychic blindness, and (c) blind anaesthesia, loss of memory for visual images (while the power of recognition remains intact). Corresponding defects are found in connexion with hearing also, and with touch and muscular impressions. Finally, either of the two last forms may be partial or limited; the most important case of such limited blindness is that called verbal blindness—loss of the power to recognize, i.e. to read and understand, written or printed words in one's own language. The part of the brain usually affected in such cases is termed the 'memory-centre', or the 'extent of marginal convolution'. This, accordingly, is described as the visual word-centre. There are four such centres, two 'sensory,' and two 'motor.' Of the former, the second is the auditory word-area (Broca's centre, referred to above), the first a pure convolution; with it is connected the recognition and understanding of heard speech, of spoken words. The other two are the articulo-motor area (Broca's centre, referred to above), at the foot of the third frontal convolution; and the grapho-motor area in the second frontal convolution. Injury to these centres gives rise, in the one case, to loss of the power to utter speech, in the other, to loss of the power to write, in one who has already acquired it. All four centres are located on one side of the brain only—the left side (except it is said, in left-handed people, with whom the speech-centres are on the right side of the brain). Pure or mixed forms of any of the mental diseases referred to as aphasia rarely occur, but when they do they are sufficiently striking. Thus a patient may be able to speak, to write and to read, intelligently, and to hear sounds of all kinds, but cannot understand words spoken to him in his own language. This is pure acoustic (sensory) aphasia. It is obvious that persons, blind deaf-mutes, for example, who have learned to read, write, and speak, but with the latter only, will have different centres from the normal ones, viz., a sensory centre for tactical word-images, and a 'digitomotor' centre for posture and word-making. The language-centres, as is clear from their position, are merely extensions of the ordinary centres for (a) visual, auditory and tactical impressions; and (b) the kinesthetic impressions of mouth and throat and hand movements. It has been supposed, however, that the different horizontal layers of the cortex may have diverse functions corresponding to sensation, perception, and memory. Both the psychological analysis and pathological evidence prove that the image is not simply a fainter copy of the sensation; it is not even a 'composite' picture derived from a number of successive sensations of the same kind. Thus, the idea that the image corresponds to a weaker excitation of the same nerve-cell or group of nerve-cells as that with which the sensory-impression was connected is no longer seriously held. There is, however, a special sensation of memory is of a percept, and therefore of a sensation

Thus in Huenber's case the subject could repeat any word spoken to him, but could not understand its meaning. It was a pure hearing of the sound, and not his hearing center had to be isolated by a lesion, i.e. its connexion with other centres had been destroyed.

only so far as it forms part of a percept, that is, part of a complex total group or series of impressions. Again, the simplest perception involves elements belonging to more than one sense-region, taste plus olour sensations, visual plus muscular impressions, and the like; on the other hand, the more complex sensations given in the absence of sensations with others, both of its own and of other kinds. A memory image differs from its corresponding percept not only in content, i.e. in containing fewer of the characters of the real objects than were perceived in the direct experience, but also in its connexion with other parts of the brain, in that those factors which give 'reality' to the percept, the bodily sensations from the accommodating muscles of the sense-organs, and from the limbs, which have reflex tendencies to action in the presence of every 'real' experience. It is true that what is 'real' to me may not be real to my neighbours, in which case my supposed perception is in fact an imagination: it is for me, however, indistinguishable from a perception, and is acted upon as one, simply because it has all the marks of one.

Thus, the differences in brain structure and function which might be supposed to correspond to the differences of sensation, perception, and memory are the following:—(a) Complexity: the sensation and perception of pure sensory elements, confined to a small more or less definitely localized area; the perception with a larger number, belonging to different areas; the memory-image with a still larger number. The connections with motor centres in the lower brain are probably equally diverse, and have the same rising scale of complexity. (b) A result of these factors is the functional difference, that sensation, perception, memory correspond to cortical processes which are increasingly difficult to excite, which offer a greater resistance to a new and increasing strong stimulus, unless where hallucination has taken place, and their resistance-force; which are more unstable, more dependent upon the condition of the body, or of the brain, as a whole, therefore more uncertain; the reaction or response taking a longer time, being more complex and modifiable according to a wider range of conditions, as we pass from sensation to perception, and from perception to imagery. Being the most unstable, the physical basis of the memory-image is also the most likely to suffer, and thus chemical or blood-supply to the brain (as in fatigue, illness, senile decay, etc.), and also from any physical shock to the cerebral system. So in an electrical system, the more numerous the 'connections' the more likely is a derangement to occur, and the more serious is it when it does occur.

(3) Some writers have gone farther still in their localization, and have determined centres of association (Flechsig), of attention, of intelligence, or of apperception (Wundt). Certain regions of the human cortex are more active in the sense of touch, and especially the greater part of the frontal lobes, have no special functions that are determinable either by stimulation or by excision in animals, or by the comparison in man of mental symptoms during life with post-mortem examination of the brain after death. If defect is obvious at all, it appears to be general: the animal is stupid, irresponsible, mentally sluggish; it lacks spontaneity, and liveliness in its actions. In man, the onset of dementia in old age, or after some severe shock, is frequently sensed in connection with extensive degeneration of the frontal lobes. Again, it is here in the main that the wide difference between the human and the lower animal brain is most marked, while Flechsig has shown that in a child's brain the connexions of the sensory areas
with the sense-organs and with the lower motor centres are complete a considerable time before the connexions between the frontal lobe cortex and other parts of the brain are perfectly formed. Microscopic examination also shows that these connexions are formed for experience in the single different sensory areas, as well as with the opposite hemisphere and with the lower centres; the former connexions are the so-called 'association fibres.'

The power of abstraction or generalizing, which is the basis of intelligence, consists in (a) the summarizing of similar experiences, (b) the combination of diverse experiences, (c) the bringing of these results to bear upon new experiences (adaptation). The main process by which this is achieved is the formation of a type-idea, a representative idea of some kind, of which the name is the concrete symbol or counter. Whether the name be a spoken, written, or printed word, or a mere gesture, is immaterial; its relation to the type-idea, and to the many experiences from which the type-idea has been derived, is the same. The name may not be essential to the type-idea, but it is necessary to its communication and to its development; it gives it the necessary fixity and stability. The simplest assumption, accordingly, for the understanding of the whole system, is that of a hierarchy of cell-groups: group V (visual, in the occipital lobe) is connected with group A (auditory, in the temporal lobe) through an intermediate group I (in the intervening or some other area); the excitation of the whole system, VI-A, gives a combination of the visual and auditory images. Thus, when I see a bell, the excitation of the cortical area V, on which the perception directly depends, passes on to I and A, and thus gives rise to the thought of the sound of the bell. There can be no doubt that the great difference between human and animal intelligence depends upon the greater readiness with which these 'associations' are formed, and the rapidity with which they can be called up. It may readily be granted that in the synthesis of diverse sensations and memories into ideas and thoughts, an increasing number of connexions are laid down between different groups of neurones; and central stations will come into existence between the different regions and even between each other and with the outer parts. In this sense, and in this sense only, the frontal lobes may be regarded as the centre for intelligence; they form the largest or most extensive of these intermediary regions.

Lesions and defects of the frontal lobes are frequently accompanied by defective power of attention or concentration (cf. Ribot, *Psych. de l'Attention*), suggesting that this region is the 'centre of Attention.' It is said, however (Schiller, *Text-book of Physiology*), that only 20 per cent. in a large collection of cases of injuries, involving the frontal lobes alone, showed evidence of intellectual deficiency accompanying the physical defect. In Goltz's dogs, loss of intelligence was apparent whether the front or the hind parts of both hemispheres were removed. In the former case, however, the animal became savage and ill-tempered; in the latter, it became gentle and good-natured. What is lost, according to Flechsig (1896), by degeneration of the frontal lobes, is the power of self as center of interest in outer or inner events, the power of volition, of directing the attention upon this or that. In other words, the frontal lobes, as Wundt implies in calling them the apperception-centres, represent central stations by which new connexions between the various particular centres, by which impressions are grouped and correlated, not according to their kind, but according to their bearing on the purposes and aims of the individual. An animal deprived of the frontal lobes can no longer make use of its acquired skill and memory, although it can still give forth a distinctive action and perceptual consciousness. A human being in whom the frontal lobes are undeveloped remains at the level of the infant in intelligence, although he may, should he live, show the instincts and passions of the man.

We may conclude: (i) that so far as consciousness is concerned the brain areas are primitively indifferent. In the nature of things there is nothing to prevent cases occurring in which the so-called visual area is found to be in the service of the auditory consciousness as a matter of fact, relatively wide variations do occur in the positions of the different centres. (ii) In the course of development, a centre is formed not as a terminus a quo or as a terminus ad quem, but as a connecting station, by which, e.g., different and efficient fibres may be brought into relation with each other, according to the needs of the organism.* The evolution of the brain as the great locus of these connecting points has brought it about that the principal station, and not the secondary, is different from different individuals. Organic selection also has determined that the right side of the body should be 'served' by the left side of the brain, perhaps because a right limb is more frequently and extensively exercised than a left limb, while the blood is more rapidly and effectively circulated through the left hemisphere (as Wundt suggests): the right limb requires more frequent renewal of its material, etc., which the left brain is more able to supply. Hence functions which are not bilaterally developed, such as those involved in speech, the appreciation and production of music, mathematical calculation, etc., are also relegated to the left side of the brain. (Language was primitively gesture, involving chiefly actions of the right hand.) (iii) The localization is not fixed, however, even for the individual. (a) Some peculiarity of training may lead to the adoption of the right hemisphere as the field with which the functions of speech, etc., are correlated, or may cause a dislocation of particular functions to the left hemisphere, or even the right. (b) The localizaticm is not fixed by any anatomical constants; it may be shifted by training or by alteration of the general mental state. (c) The centre of a single function may be defined in terms of a single area, or on the contrary, the function may be distributed through neighbouring areas or through the symmetrical opposite region in the other hemisphere taking over the function. (d) It must be added that in man this compensation is limited in range: if a sensory area is completely destroyed, no recovery of the corresponding sensibility takes place; but the patient may learn to use other sensations to replace those he has lost, as guides for action. Thus a person who has become blind in one half of the field of vision (hemianopia) cannot after a short time be distinguished in his actions from a normal individual. (e) In the case of higher functions, as thought and speech, the patient may re-build his knowledge upon new material: a 'visualist,' whose visual memory has been lost, may acquire the skill to read; a person who has lost the ability to read, may re-acquire it.

* Cf. Foster, p. 1000, on the cortical motor area and pyramidal tract: 'We are driven to regard them rather as links, important links, it is true, but still links, in a complex chain.'

† Cf. Bateman, on the variation of the term 'centre' for language; Foster, p. 1065: 'The passage of nervous impulses is not rigidly and regularly fixed by the anatomical distribution of the tract of fibres.'
by using the sensations of movement as his materials, and correlating these with the optical impressions. (d) In comparing different animals in regard to the effect of exciting portions of the brain, it is found that the lower the animal stands in development, the more complete is the recovery from loss of any particular brain-organ likely to be; in other words, the remaining parts more rapidly take up the functions of those removed, and in this case the lower brain-centres appear to have a more rapid innate energy than their higher neighbours and symmetrically opposite centres. Even the apparently complete loss of the cerebral lobes from both hemispheres may not permanently destroy the sensibility or general capacity of the dog. Substitution and compensation are rarer in the recent than in the dog, rarer and less complete in the dog than in the rabbit, in the rabbit than in the pigeon, etc.

(iv.) When new impressions are received, or new ideas formed, it may be supposed that some new portion of the cerebral cortex becomes functionally active; this probably occurs through its entering into contact with other cell-groups. The undeveloped portions of a child's or of an unacclimated person's brain cannot, of course, be wholly in-active, but they remain simple in structure and function, and are impressions, as it were, waiting to enter into touch with others, while at the same time they become more highly differentiated within themselves; with deficient exercise of a developed cell, the opposite processes of contraction and degeneration set in. It may be added that exercise appears to increase the vitality of the brain, and hence the vitality of the body as a whole (Donaldson, chs. 16 and 17). Capacity for work or exercise depends on its turn on interest, and finally on the will of the subject. Hence the remarkable sagacity of infants which some men have shown even in extreme old age (Thomson, p. 274).

This leads to the final question, Which is primary, the brain or the mind? Does the brain with which he is born determine the character and capacity of each individual, or do his character and capacity, plus the environment in which he is set, mould and form the brain into an efficient instrument for themselves? There can be no doubt that, as in all such cases, both questions may be answered in the affirmative. The child's mind and perfect brain can never achieve a rational mind, and the man with the most perfect brain will tend to be foremost in his occupation (which may be that of a philanthropist or that of a 'sharp') and neurotic—i.e., the greatest weight in individual life, and the whole weight in evolution, must be laid on the two factors of opportunity and use. That is to say, the mind itself and the environment determine between them the structure of their intermediary—the brain. Consciousness is correlated not with any definite section of the brain, but with the whole brain, indeed with the whole nervous system. We may go further and say that consciousness is a response to the functioning of the whole living organism; and that the mind, through the feeling and the will, is 'dynamic' to the whole organism; in other words, that the action and reaction we have postulated between body and mind are between body as a living whole and mind as a unity, as an unextended system of qualitative determinations and tendencies. As dieu et mon det has said, an 'idea cannot be the uniform and invariable product of a pyramidal cell (the psychic cell of Cajal): it exists only at the moment of its appearance, and for the appearance there is required the synchronism of action of the elementary activities of the brain, i.e., the functioning of manifold systems of all kinds of neurones' (Fenomeni del Contrast, pp. 75, 76 note). Cf. Loeb, ch. 17: 'The cerebral hemispheres act as a whole and not as a mosaic of a number of independent parts.' The anatomical localization of thalami is not yet psychical localization of functions.' This is especially true of the higher ideas, abstract and general ideas, ideas of relations, etc. The formation, the use and the adaptation of a general idea involve not a single group of cells in the frontal lobe, or elsewhere; but systems in different parts of the cortex, some acting with greater intensity, some with less, and so in a gradually decreasing scale, all parts of the nervous organism being more or less affected. The localization of functions means that certain parts of the cortex have by their intimate connexions with sense-organs or muscles or both, and by their use in the life of the individual, become centres more readily excitable by particular forms of stimulation. The destruction of such a centre renders the corresponding process impossible, until a new area has been educated, i.e., has become in connexion with the same sensory or muscular organs as the original area. In many cases this may no longer be possible. A large part of the brain may, however, be destroyed without any gap in the mental field of observations, as long as the capacity being observable. A case is reported in which the whole of the right hemisphere was affected, the front portion being entirely void of grey matter, and the remainder degenerate; yet the only symptom manifesting itself was a paralysis of the left side: this had begun ten years before death (Bailey, 1889 [reported by Thomson, p. 63 f.]).

In general, the degree of consciousness appears to be correlated with the amount of resistance which is overcome. But resistance is never accompanied by intense consciousness, as shown by the concentrated attention it involves, while it also involves a large expenditure of energy, as shown by the readiness with which fatigue occurs. The more familiar the action becomes, the less the intensity of consciousness, until the latter may be wholly latent, as in many of the automatic actions the civilized man goes through in the course of a day. This does not mean that the nerve-process has been 'short-circuited,' that it takes place through less circuits; on the contrary, the shorter paths it means rather that with the same path the resistance is less, and therefore the current flows more rapidly. On the other hand, whatever increases the resistance increases the intensity of consciousness involved in the action. Many poisons, whether of external or internal origin, have this effect. In some forms of insanity, the simplest actions—speaking, walking, or dressing—are accompanied by vivid and painful consciousness, and at the same time by such extreme physical exhaustion that they are performed by less than one-fifth of their normal power. In such cases a very strong stimulus may occasionally overcome the great resistance, and the normal reaction takes place. Thus an overpowering emotion has been known to do so.

In verbal amnesia, a parallel instance is that known as Wolff's case (cf. Loeb, p. 251)." The patient in this case could not tell the names of objects or their qualities except when some actual sensation was present, and then could not tell whether his memory was clear unless he tested it, or whether snow was white or black, unless he could see it. Moreover, it was argued by Loeb that the memory was most effective; but in general the most vivid or most striking sensation was that which was required to arouse the idea or memory. For instance, a calendar, for example, could be mastered only when it was seen open.

We may conclude, then, that the brain-connexions vary in the greater or less resistance they offer to excitation; that consciousness is but a correlate of another case see Bateman, p. 102.
high resistance; habituation, automatic action, of low resistance; and the higher the resistance, the stronger the impression that is impressed on the 'toung' of a whole in any given case. In amnesia of all kinds, the most complex mental achievements or the most recent memories are the first to fail: thus a Bohemian peasant learnt German when he entered the army; after some time at sword practice, his brain was accidentally pierced; his German failed him, but he retained the power of speech in his native tongue (Adamkiewicz; for other cases see Bateman p. 185). In such cases the brain-associations which are used (either through their recentness or because of their complexity), i.e., those which offer greatest resistance to excitation, are those which first fail in their functions; and in recovery from the disease or injury the order is the reverse, the last memories to return being those of the events immediately preceding thereof, etc. These are only a few of the phenomena which make it certain that the relation between mind and brain is functional, not structural, except so far as structure follows and is determined by it. The suggested theory, that the upper brain is to correlate the results of past individual experience, as the lower brain correlates those of race-experience, with present and immediate needs and situations, i.e., retention and co-ordination; but that individual mental activity is the essence of what is by a boy with his gestures and co-ordination; that, accordingly, the brain is mainly the instrument, the means, rather than the cause or condition, of mental development.


J. M. IN'T YRE.

BRANCHES AND TWIGS.—Branches and twigs are used in a variety of rites and ceremonies, and their use is generally conditioned by the sacred nature of the trees from which they are taken, though this is not always the case.

1. Ritual.—In the ritual of primitive peoples, other objects being fore in number, branches and twigs have a prominent part. Thus, among the Australian tribes, they are used in a great variety of rites. In the fire ceremony of the Warramunga tribe, huge torches are prepared, made of saplings 15 feet long, thickly encased in a number of rugs, which form the primary part, the ceremony consists in the creation of a long pole to which gum-tree twigs are attached. The men of the tribe at this rite enter a wemery made of boughs, and sing there for hours. Bunches of sacred twigs are also attached to the horizontal parts of the body (Spencer-Gillern, p. 380 ff.). At wedding ceremonies, widows of the dead man mourn under the shelter of a bough weury (ib. p. 521). In these tribes the dead are often left on a platform of boughs erected on a tree (ib. p. 517). Further, at the totem ceremonies of the Kingi tribe, each performer wears on either thigh what is known as a tontelli. These twigs as a ceremonial bundle are 1 yard long, to which are attached a number of leafy green gum-twig (ib. p. 108). A bamboo, to which is tied a leaf of the sagu-palm, is used by some tribes in New Guinea to indicate tabooed articles (Haddow, Head-Hunters, London, 1901, p. 270). But at higher levels, branches and twigs are variously employed. Thus in Japan, at the festival of first-fruits, a place for the inami-dono, or rice fruit hall, is chosen by divination and marked out at the four corners by twigs of the sacred evergreen tree, which forms the setting apart of a portion of rice field, two sukoki twigs are planted (Aston, Shinto, London, 1905, p. 269). In the Hindu village ritual-marriage of Siva and Parvati, clay images of the deities are attached to the ends of furred branches, the prongs of which are stuck into heaps of grass and flowers (IA xi., 1882, p. 227 ff.). The pious Hindu also uses for the ceremony of teeth-cleaning a twig or small stick, which is cut fresh every day (Monier Wise, Hinduism, in Ind. London, 1883, pt. i. p. 376). Again, Pliny says the Celts that they used oak branches in nearly all their ceremonies (H.N xvi. 44). At the Greek Olympic games the victors' crowns were made of branches of sacred olive, cut with a golden sickle by a boy with a spade and a sickle-ordena- tion, that, accordingly, the brain is mainly the instrument, the means, rather than the cause or condition, of mental development.

2. Lustration.—In lustration, branches and twigs form a natural, and therefore a primitive, form of asperger for sprinkling water or blood over the worshippers, or over sacred objects. In such a ceremony their use is doubtless wider than can now be ascertained, as the method of sprinkling is not always clearly reported. At the native baptismal ceremony in Polynesia, the priest asperguson the child with a bough of a sacred tree dipped in water, to the accompaniment of archaic hymns (Tylor, ii. 430 ; Baptism [Ethan], §7). Lustration ceremonies among the Romans were frequently performed by means of branches of laurel or olive. Ovid speaks of the moistened laurel bough sending forth the sacred fume over the worshippers (Met. iv. 721 ff.), and describes the rites at the fountain of Mercury, where traders sprinkled themselves and their goods with a dripping laurel branch dipped in its waters (ib. v. 603 ff.). Among the Semites, branches and other parts of sacred trees were used for lustrations (W. R. Smith, p. 175). Certain of the sprinklings in the rites of purification used by the Hebrews were performed by a bunch of hyssop. Thus, water was sprinkled with hyssop by a ceremonially clean person over the persons and things which had come in contact with a corpse (Nu 19); Hyssop and cedar wood, the latter probably in the form of a twig, were also used in the ritual of cleansing the leper or the leprous house (Lv 14); and, in the account of the origin of the Passover, a bunch of hyssop is ordered to be dipped in the blood of the lamb, and used to strike the lintel and doorposts (Ex 12; cf. also He 9, Ps 51). In Scandinavia the blood of sacrificial animals was collected in bowls and sprinkled to attach the cultar, temple walls, and people by means of blattins, or so-called twigs (Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus Poet. Boreale, Oxford, 1883, i. 405 ff. ; Simrock, Handb. der deutschen Myth., Bonn, 1887, p. 599 ; de la Sauysay, Rel. of...
the Tentents, Boston, 1902, p. 376). Sometimes sacred twigs were placed in water which was to be used ritually, as in the Lapp ceremony of baptism, in which sacred elder twigs were used in this way (Pyle, B. 457; cf. Baptism [Edinie], § 7 [5] and [8]). In other cases, a branch is used by itself as a means of purification. In the New Hebrites, it suffices to draw a branch down the body to remove the contagion or delitement (J.A.F. xxi. 12), or, as in Japan, at the new moon ceremony the branch of sakaki is waved in token of the purification of sins (Aston, p. 292). Scourging or beating with branches, whose sacred or magical virtues are supposed to drive away evil influences, is not uncommon (see AUSTERTIES, § 5; de la Saussaye, p. 376; Frazer, GB vii. 1905, p. 744 ff.).

3. Sacrifice.—In sacrifice, branches and twigs are frequently used. In the more primitive forms of sacrifice by fire, the fire is naturally fed with branches. But occasionally branches and twigs of sacred sacred tree are thrown upon (Wi 362). Or again, they are burned for purposes of purification or to bring good luck. Instances are found in the burning of cedar and hyssop in the Hebrew sacrifice of the red heifer (Nu 19), the Roman custom of throwing laurel on the sacrificial fire or on the hearth (Granger, III. 252, 281; cf. Grinn, p. 599). Ovid, Fasti, iv. 741), the Hindu feeding of the sacred hearth fire every morning with pieces of consecrated wood generally taken from the Patala-trees (Monier Williams, pt. i. p. 566, etc. Reference may also be made to the images, made of osiers, within which human victims were consumed by fire among the Gains (Cesar, de Bell. Gall. vi. 16). For probable late survivals of this custom, see Frazer, GB iv. 320 ff. Branches or twigs of sacred trees sometimes accompany offerings; thus, in Scandinavia, twigs were cut from special kinds of trees, and these, interwoven with flowers, were afterwards fastened to the tails of animals intended for sacrifice (de la Saussaye, p. 376). A Hindu instance is that of the balls of rice used in the funeral ceremonies, in which sprigs of the Tukri plant are inserted (Wi 362). Or again, they are offered as sacrifice, as in the case of the Japanese kozurikake, wands of elder or willow, whittled at the top into a mass of shavings, which are also symbols of deity and fetishes (Aston, p. 151). In Japan, the twigs of willow or hiba, called ina, are both sacrifices and fetishes (Batchelor, The Ainu of Japan, London, 1892, p. 87 ff., The Ainu and their Folklore, London, 1901, p. 92 ff.; see also AINUS, § 23 ff.).

4. Divination.—In certain processes of divination the use of branches and twigs occurs. Tacitus says of the ancient Germans that, in order to consult lots, they cut off the twig of a fruit-bearing tree and made it into little wands. Upon these they put distinguishing marks and scattered them at random upon a white garment (Germania, ch. 10). These twigs, whether or not the marks on them were runes, are probably connected with the Norse sortilege twigs, or consecrated chips used in divination, and the Frisian teun, or twigs, used for casting lots in judicial procedure (de la Saussaye, p. 294; Vigfusson and Powell, p. 411; Snorræ, p. 531). For a similar Celtic instance see CELTS, § xiii. (4). Here, too, may be noted the widespread use of the divining rod, a forked twig, usually of hazel. The forks of the twig are held, one in each hand, and the twig twirled in his grasp when he arrives at the spot under which what he seeks is concealed (Barrett, 'The so-called Divining Rod,' in Proc. Soc. Psych. Research, 1897; Lang, Making of Religion, London, 1898, p. 164 ff.; Frazer, GB vii. 1905, p. 222).

5. Vegetation-cults.—Many folk survivals show the uses of branches and twigs in connexion with vegetation-cults. Under various names (Jack-in-the-Green, etc.) and at various times puppets are made of green stuff, twigs, and branches; or selected persons are clad in green boughs, leaves, and flowers, and undergo various ceremonies. These represent the old tree-spirit, or spirit of vegetation, though now no longer regarded in that light by the folk. At such times, also, especially for the commemoration of 'carrying death,' boughs are cut and brought home to the village, and these have also some connexion with the spirit of vegetation. Many instances of these are collected by Frazer (GB iv. 214 ff., ii. 82 ff.), and by Grinn (Tent. Myth., pp. 769, 775, 776, 824 ff.). The practice of the Maypole is also connected to the fertility of the fields and staple industries, and to the deities of the fields and men. There is supposed to be a great plenty of milk during the summer (Brand, i. 131). Branches or twigs from trees regarded as sacred, the rowan, the elder, etc., were placed on houses, stables, shoepools, and barns as a protection against evil spirits, witches, and other evil influences. They were also placed in boats, or carried on the person as a talisman. These practices occur very widely in modern European folk custom (GB ii. 132, 201, 265; Elworthy, p. 347; Brand, i. 151; MacCulloch, The Misty Isle of Skye, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 257). But that it is derived from ancient paganism is shown by similar practices among pagan peoples (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 721 ff., vi. 151 ff.; de la Saussaye, p. 376 ff.; [Scandinavians]; Monier Williams, p. 296 [Hindus]; for the Parsi custom see BARSÖN). The Midsummer and Samhain fires were kept up, and, as a protection against evil spirits, the staves of fire, were fed by branches, twigs, and leaves of oak, especially in Celtic and Teutonic districts (Grinn, p. 605); in the case of need fires, nine sorts of wood were used in Sweden and elsewhere (Grinn, p. 607; GB iii. 270, and passion). Through these fires cattle were driven, and burning brands or branches were carried through the fields or villages, and set up in the fields (GB ii. 313; Brand, i. 215; Grinn, p. 621; de la Saussaye, p. 375 ff.). New fires were lit on the hearth with blazing brands from these fires or with branches lit at their flames (GB iii. 245). Brands were also taken from the bonfires and kept in houses or in cattle-sheds, as preservatives against thunder and lightning, fire, and other evils, or were carried about for luck (ib. p. 221 ff.). In some cases wattle-branches are carried by the people in procession round the fire or passed over it, and then placed on the cattle-sheds, or the backs of people are with hazel-twig lit at the fire, or birch boughs are thrown into the fire, in Russia, to cause the flux to grow to its full height. (Brand, i. 217.)

Connected with the cult of sacred trees was the practice of hanging sacrificial offerings upon their
branches. This practice has occurred whenever tree-worship is found, or where worship took place in sacred groves (see art. TREES); and, for particular instances from South America, New Zealand, and among the Dayaks, cf. Tyloor, ii. 223 f.; for the Senates, cf. W. K. Smith, p. 109; for the Cuna, cf. the same, p. 110; and for the Celts, Jullian, *Recherches sur la Religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 55. Among the Japanese, presents to a superior were delivered attached to the branch of a tree (Aston, p. 215).

In the ritual of blessing at sacred wells, a rag which has been in contact with the patient, or part of his clothing, is hung on the branches of a sacred tree near the well, either as an offering or as a magical means of conveying the disease to the tree or of bringing the sufferer within the healing influence of the tree-spirit (see Tyloor, ii. 150; Brand, iii. 10). Sacred wells are also decked with green boughs on certain occasions, e.g. Holy Thursday and the day of the saint to whom the well is dedicated (Brand, iii. 9).

Where sacred trees are venerated, either in actual cult or in late folk survivals, it is considered sacrilegious to break even a twig from them. To do so will be followed by a punishment, misfortune, or ill-luck. The same is true of trees growing on graves (Tyloor, ii. 115 (Malagasy); cf. R. Smith, p. 252).—*Edenworthy, p. 36 (unnumbered). Brand, iii. 13 (Celts); Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, Edinburgh, 1871 (Dechnanans).*

Branches are also used in rain magic in a variety of ways, probably because the tree-spirit was once believed to have influence over the weather. Thus, among the Congo people, mounds are covered with branches of trees and fetish-ornaments. Round these mounds a priest walks, muttering incantations (Reade, *Savage Africa*, London, 1863).—*Bouglis, p. 225 (Congo).* An oak tree on Mt. Lycoming, whose priest had power to produce rain by throwing an oak branch into a fountain (viii. 38). In Gaul, a naked virgin standing up to her knees in the river was aspered by her companions with branches dipped in the water, as a charm to produce rain (Grimm, p. 506).

The ceremonial cutting of the mistletoe from the oak by the druids, and its use in magico-medical rites, are described by Pliney (H.N. xvi. 44). Fraser connects this rite with the Scandina-vian legend of Balder and his death (see the plucking of a bough from a tree in the sacred grove by the skyer and successor of the priest of Nemi. The mistletoe was regarded as the soul of the oak, and had to be plucked before the tree, in which dwelt the spirit of vegetation, could be destroyed. The same spirit is linked with the oak because it could be slain (cf. §§ 448, 449; *Festivals* (Celtic). Mistletoe is also ceremconically plucked in modern folk-custom in Scandinavia, and Connemara, *J.R.S.,* vol. xii. p. 543). For the mistletoe thus to be plucked by Knesse, before his descent to the under-world, see Virgil, *Aenid*, vi. 503 f.; and for the magic silver boughs of Celtic myth with their precious fruits, see BLUNT, ABOVE ON THE (Celtic).

See also BARSON.

BRAWLING.—The word 'brawling' is technically used in English Law for the offence of quarrelling or creating a disturbance in a place of worship, churchyard, or burial-ground. The word is derived from the French *brailler*, 'to be noisy,' which gives the main idea of the term, viz. the disturbing of people at their devotions.

i. Legal.—Brawling is a branch of sacrilege, though the word sacrilege is now usually confined to the robbery of churches. The punishment for sacrilege in most countries up to the date of the French Revolution, and later, was death. In England, sacrilege involving the taking of goods from a church or chapel remained a capital offence till 1835, being abolished by 5 & 6 Will. iv. c. 81. Brawling, however, had always been treated more leniently. The most vindictive of the English 'brawling' statutes requires merely that the offender shall be adjudged to have one of his ears cut off, or (what a comment on the customs of the period!) if he have no ears, to be marked and burned in the cheek with a hot iron having the letter F; and for the selfsame act of such a grey-farer and fighter; in addition, of course, to the usual excommunication.

With reference to this law, it must be said that the Act was passed in 1553, at a period when religion was at its lowest ebb, and the change of religion was taking place in England, and that there had been a good deal of open fighting with weapons, even in churches; so that it is to be understood that this Act was also meant to be a hint to those who murdered persons with weapons, or only 'clad,' received much lighter punishment.

This Act (5 & 6 Edw. vi. c. 4) remained on the statute-book till 1829, in company with many other statutes of our Draconian code. The principle, however, still exists that disturbances in sacred places deserve greater punishment than those occurring elsewhere; in fact, some acts of disturbance which are condonable if done in another place are criminal if performed in church; for example, arrests by virtue of legal process. This principle seems to be recognized in all countries, and France, having the Revolution protection was extended to religious services of all kinds.

In England, at present, brawling by a layman, which by the Act of 1800 (23 & 24 Vict. c. 32) is defined as being riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour in a place of worship (as also disturbance of a minister while celebrating any divine service in church), is no longer punishable by the ecclesiastical courts, but as a civil offence it is a misdemeanour under several statutes. The penalty under 52 Geo. iii. c. 155 is £40 under 23 & 24 Vict. c. 32, £5. The statute 24 & 25 Vict. c. 100 §§ 36 and annexed as follows:

'W hosesoever shall, by threats or force, obstruct or prevent, or endanger to obstruct or prevent, any clergyman or other minister in or from celebrating any divine service or otherwise officiating in any church, chapel, meeting-house, or other place of divine worship, or in or from the performance of his duty in the lawful burial of the dead in any churchyard or other burial-place, or shall strike or offer any violence to, or shall, upon any civil process, or for the purpose of the prevention of the civil process, arrest any clergyman or other minister who is engaged in, or to the knowledge of the person in whose behalf he is engaged in, any of the rites, or duties aforesaid; or who, to the knowledge of the offender, shall be performing the same or returning from the same, or being engaged, in any of the rites or duties aforesaid, is liable to two years' imprisonment with or without hard labour.'

The offender may also be fined and required to give sureties (ib. § 71).

Also, by the Burial Law Amendment Act, 1880, provision is made to prevent improper conduct at burials. Under 23 & 24 Vict. c. 32, any constable or churchwarden of the parish has power to apprehend the offender and take him before a justice. There is an appeal to Quarter Sessions from a conviction under this Act.

A man may be convicted for brawling, although acting in the bona fide assertion of a claim of right, and that independently of the question whether the claim is a good one or not (Asher v. Catefart [1857], 15 Q.B.D. 607).

It was held, by London Quarter Sessions, that under this Act the behaviour immediately before riotous or indecent; mere protests in words are not sufficient.

In a case where in a Church of England church a crucifix was placed on the altar, Steps and the congregation clawed up, two by two, to kiss it, and a person present took up the crucifix and said (holding it above his head in a loud voice): 'In the name of God I protest against this idolatry,' he held that violent conduct or brawling was not proved (Kenas v. Rose [1858], 6 T.P. 489).

But, on the other hand, in a case which went to the Divisional Court, where, in answer to the invitation in the ordination service a statement was read in a perfectly orderly manner, this
was nevertheless held to be brawling (Kensit v. St. Paul's Chapter [1905], 2 R.B. 249).

A minister of religion can commit the offence of brawling as well as a layman (Fallacynce v. Fletcher [1897], 1 Q.B. 260), and may, if a minister of the Church should be guilty of the punishment inflicted in the ecclesiastical instead of in the civil court (Girt v. Filling-ham [1901], P. 176). This is obvious if he indulges in an open quarrel or wordy warfare in the sacred place; but he also commits the offence if he uses violent and contemptible language in a worship service, either in the course of his sermon or at any other part of the service, or 'improves the occasion' against individual members of the congregation in a violent or scolding manner.

It became the custom of the courts in the case of clergymen of the Church of England, who are strictly bound (during prayers), by the Acts of Uniformity, to the words prescribed for use. Thus in one case a clergymen was punished when reading the lesson, the following: 'I have been accused by some ill-natured neighbour of making alterations in the service; I have done so now and shall do so again, so mark.' In another case the clergymen paused in the service to deliver a long address in a chiding, quarrelsome, and brawling manner, in which manner the following was heard: 'You were perhaps surprised at the pause I made at the end of the prayer just now, when I mentioned the money. Some of the congregation has had the audacity to write to the archdeacon. 'Who has had the audacity to do this?' 'Some one has,' said the bishop. 'Against me.' 'In my opinion, he has written a letter to the bishop full of falsehoods.' Such conduct is punishable.

The laws of England are well put by Sir John Nicholl in the case of Palmer v. Raffey, 2 Addams 144. It is to protect the sanctity of those places and their appurtenances set apart for the worship of the Supreme Being and for the repose of the dead, in which nothing but religious awe and Christian good will between men should prevail, and to prevent them from being converted with impunity into scenes of human passion and malice, of disturbance and violence. The sacredness of the place being thus the object of this protecting law, it is no part of a legal inquiry, when more than one person is implicated in the transaction, which of the two persons so implicated is more to blame or which of them began the quarrel. Each who engages in it violates the law; each is bound to abstain from quarrelling, chiding, or brawling. This was as stated by Blackstone (Commentaries, iv. 145) says, 'nec quarrelsome words, which are neither an affray nor an offence in any other place, are penal here."

Churchwardens, however, and also constables, may, for the purpose of maintaining order during Divine service, eject disturbers; and churchwardens may take off a person's hat if, on being asked, he refuses to remove it; and, it has been said, may whip boys who play in church during or immediately before service. But such action might be attended with awkward consequences in these days (Burton v. Henson [1842], 10 M. & W. 108; Worth v. Terrington [1845], 13 M. & W. 781; the Church of England canons of 1604, Nos. 19, 83, and 111, before which the law has, by the way, decided that a churchwarden has no right forcibly to prevent an inhabitant from entering the church for the purpose of attending service, on the ground that in his opinion there is no room (Taylor v. Tinsley [1888], 25 R.B. 671).

2. Ecclesiastical.—From the ethical point of view there may be considerable difference of opinion on the question, Is brawling, that is, the disturbance of other people's worship, under any circumstances justifiable? The answer will depend largely on the state of the ethical standard of right and wrong. Those who think that the law of the particular country is the only standard, and must be obeyed, can easily answer this question. The laws of many civilized countries now protect all public worship from disturbance and all ministers of religion from molestation, and the answer in those countries would be—No.

Those who find the will of the Deity expressed in the Bible, and regard this as the ultimate standard, have a more difficult task. It is not doubted that many instances of 'brawling' are commended in Holy Writ. For example, in the case of Moses, who at 'a quarrel to the Lord' (Ex. 32) took the golden calf which the Israelites had made, and hurst it in the fire, and ground it to powder and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel to drink of it (v.2). Further OT examples are numerous—the destruction of the high places and the altars of the priests of Baal at various times; and of the brazen serpent by King Hezekiah. It is true these cases raise points as to the rights of heads of States. But from the abstract point of view they involve questions of sacrilege and brawling.

To come to the NT, we may mention (with all reverence) the action of Jesus Christ, who went into the temple of God and cast out all them that sold and bought there, overthrowing the tables of money-changers and driving them that sold doves. These people were in the house of God by lawful authority; the doves were no doubt required for sacrifice. Our Lord's reason was founded on the law: 'It is written,' He said, 'my house shall be called a house of prayer; but you have made it a den of thieves.' Such a plea would not be admitted in a modern court of justice. It is a clear case of 'brawling' according to modern ideas.

The third point of view is that people who think that the law of their particular Church or sect is the ultimate test. The Church of Rome has undoubtedly taught, and its adherents have acted on the opinion, that it is proper not only to disturb devotions which are contrary to its tenets, but also to molest and even to put to death ministers of religion and others who teach doctrines inconsistent with theirs. Members of religious bodies of this type would undoubtedly hold that 'brawling' at the command of their religious superiors is not only justifiable, but virtuous. Their sense of duty is of that kind which would burn the body to save the soul.

Lastly, there is the point of view of those who think that the ethical standard is a certain fitness, suitability, or propriety in actions as determined by our understanding or reason (Bain, Mental and Moral Science [1830]) or, if you like, the people should act in such a way that their conduct might be a law to all beings. It is conceived that all those who hold this view would approve of the laws of England practically as they now stand; that is, that, although a person may be constrained by an overpowering sense of duty to put down false religion, illegality, and wrong, he must not take the law into his own hands, and act so as to disturb, annoy, or injure his fellow-men. Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas.

Laws which in the long books deal with brawling, but not completely: amongst others, B. Whitehead, Church Law, London 1899, and Lord Halsbury, Laws of England, 1909. For of the precepts of Stephen's Canon Law, "According to the Canonists," etc. v. 'Brawling and Smiting,' is the fullest, but its date precludes the new statutes and cases. Archbold, Criminal Law, 1905, gives statute and cases to that date. The encyclopedias have short articles, the best being Larousse, Grand Dict. Univ. Paris, 1875, s.v. 'Sacrilege.' The ethical view is almost always ignored.

JENNIAM WHITEHEAD.

BRAZIL.—The area enclosed by the confines of the present Republic of Brazil contains four principal geographical divisions: the Amazon, the Carib, the Tapui-Guarani, and the Tapuya. But many of the sub-sections of these races overlap into territory outside the boundaries of Brazil proper, so that the information in this article must be taken as referring to the religious con-
exceptions of those four families as a whole, and not to those of them who are strictly confined to the territories of the Republic.

The above conception among the native tribes of Brazil is not very far advanced in the scale of belief. It consists mainly of a crude anthropomorphism. Indeed, it may be said that the distinction between the natural and supernatural has not yet been realized by them. Many of the agencies by which they believe the universe to be ordered are of a human or quasi-human character. They appear to be, for the most part, incapable of the abstract thought required to conceive of an eternal spirit, and their ideas of creation are purely empirical. The general theogony of the Tupi, for example, though extremely hazy, appears to consist in the primal idea of a universal maternal agent. Fetish and animistic beliefs are also widely prevalent; and, as in nearly every religion of the lower cultures, the explicit (or comparatively explicit) belief is accompanied by an extraneous and confused body of semi-legendary superstition, such as a belief in demons and evil spirits of the forest, river, and mountain. In the primitive groups, belief may vary with locality, and in the course of generations several may have attained the distinction of godhead, if the name may be applied to entities few of whose attributes appear to be truly supernatural. It may be said that the religious traits, and the ready manner in which they have intermingled with other stocks, have caused marked differentiation between the various tribes belonging to the family. At the present day most of them have ceased to be nomads, and are engaged mainly in hunting and fishing; certain of them, however, exist on an agricultural basis. Their principal divisions are: Northern group—Maypures, Atoars, Wapisanas, and other insignificant confederacies; Southern and Northern—Minanhas of the Juru River, Cananomis of the Purus River, Manaos of the Rio Negro, Catananas, Vauras, Melinakus, Yualapiti (all of the River Xingu territory), and Guanas, dwelling on the left bank of the Upper Paraguay.

1. The Arawaks. — The Arawak tribes are widely distributed over an area extending from the River Paraguay to the extreme north of the South American continent, and they have contributed largely to the formation of the existing stocks inhabiting the Antilles and Bahamas groups. It is generally admitted that they originated in the northern part of the continent; but their nomadic traits, and the ready manner in which they have intermingled with other stocks, have caused marked differentiation between the various tribes belonging to the family. At the present day most of them have ceased to be nomads, and are engaged mainly in hunting and fishing; certain of them, however, exist on an agricultural basis. Their principal divisions are: Northern group—Maypures, Atoars, Wapisanas, and other insignificant confederacies; Southern and Northern—Minanhas of the Juru River, Cananomis of the Purus River, Manaos of the Rio Negro, Catananas, Vauras, Melinakus, Yualapiti (all of the River Xingu territory), and Guanas, dwelling on the left bank of the Upper Paraguay.

(2) Cosmogony and ritual. — The theogony of many of the Brazilian tribes clusters round the cult of the god Jurupari, which is best exemplified by that practised by the Upper Purus. This god is invested with the utmost secrecy, and has been fully examined by Condreau and Stradelli. The name Jurupari (Juru-pari) signifies 'Issue from the mouth of a river,' and the myth of his birth states that he was the mere remembrance who possessed no sexual parts. She, however, conceived through swallowing a draught of cachiri, or fermented liquor, but could not be relieved of her offspring until, when bathing, she was bitten severely by a fish called 'Tarite,' which Jurupari took upon himself. The fish, however, incurred his enmity through eating the fruit of the :paxiuba tree, which Jurupari regarded as sacred; and for this offence he devoured them. Enraged at the loss of their children, the men of the tribe went to the beach of a great bowl of cachiri; but the women refused their assistance in its manufacture, and thus gained his ill-will. Their children likewise incurred his enmity through eating the fruit of the -paxiuba tree, and three days after his arrival, the men cut down this tree, and fashioned it into sacred instruments, which it is ordained the women of the tribe must never see. Should a woman of the Uapes set eyes upon any of the sacred symbols of Jurupari, she is at once poisoned.

This exclusion of women from the secret rites of the worship of Jurupari seems to point to some remote totemic origin; of which all but the mere remembrance who possessed no sexual parts. It would appear to have been an ancient apprenticeship among the Uapes which Jurupari, who was regarded by them as more of a demiurge than a god proper, might exercise upon the women of the tribe 'le droit d'un dieu.' Indeed, a myth exists which relates how one woman who had in her possession the sacred symbols was visited by Jurupari, and the burning exclusion of the women from his worship dates from that event.

On the days upon which the worship of Jurupari is to be celebrated, the men proceed from the place of his adoption, and come to the district, playing loudly upon pipes and flutes. Upon hearing the 'Jurupari music' the women shut themselves up in their houses, and do not emerge again until they are certain that all risk of their beholding the procession is over. The men then return to their headquarters of the priests, where the sacred symbols are exposed to view. These are the macaruarana and the paxiuba. The former is a black cloath without arms, descending to the middle of the body, and made of monkeys' hair interwoven with hair cut from the heads of virgins immediately after their arrival at puberty. The paxiuba is a portion of the palm-tree of that species, about the height of a man, and some ten centimetres in diameter. By a device consisting of holes bored in the part of the tree beneath the foliage, its leaves are made to tremble by the breath of the priest who evokes it.

The principal religious ceremony in the worship of Jurupari is the Danbeuriri, or initiation of the young men. This occurs six times a year and follows: the first on Jan. 1; the ucopo on Feb. 2; the mirits on March 3; the patunu on May 4; the uran on July 5; and the way on Nov. 6. Of all these indigenous fruits the Indians make intoxicating beverages. These are freely

the upper air; but multitudes are still believed to exist in bliss far below. Another Arawak version of the Creation asserts that the Great Spirit, existing in the heavens, placed Himself on a huge silk-cotton tree by a river side, and cut off pieces of its bark, which He cast all around. Those which touched the water became fish, those which touched the air, birds; and those which alighted upon the earth became animals and men. The Arawaks of Guiana are almost wholly in a condition of totemism.
partaken of in the accompanying revels, which are of the most riotous description. On the day of the festival those who have arrived at manhood are painted in black and red. They chant mournful melodies, whilst the pagés, or priests, join them in marriage to women of the tribe, who are then sent into the forest. Three men in barbaric costumes that closely resemble the Japanese samurai cloaks, disguised as Jurupari dress in the macacoura and symbolize the god's myth. The pagousto horn is then sounded, and the women return. Mutual flagellations commence, and the proceedings degenerate into a saturnalia. Jurupari is invited, but refused, to take his seat with the priests. It is significant that the vote be not present, as, if he were to have relations with a woman, he would be changed into a serpent.

The demiurgical nature of Jurupari is indicated by his relative position to Tukan, a primitive deity common to many Brazilian tribes. The Tukan of the Indians of the period immediately subsequent to the discovery of Brazil was by no means a beneficent deity, but typified the thunder, or any agency terrible or majestic. The first missionaries in this region were Cipriano de Castelo Branco, with God the Father, and the Christian reminiscences which we discover in the Jurupari cult doubtless had their origin in the old missionary idea of Tukan. The pagóstoes differ regarding the identity of Jurupari. Some say he is the son of All-father, whilst others construct a vague hierarchy from Jurupari the Terrible, the Tukan of the Indians ("the Good"), and the Tukan of the Whites ("the Mighty"). Jurupari is not at strife with Tukan, but rather supplementary to him; for whereas the former has a local and precise significance, that of Tukan is vague and general. Tukan, it is said, created Jurupari "for evil." When he visits the earth, Jurupari is always his guide. Jurupari dwells with Tukan in heaven; and if in life the men of the Uapes have honored the cult of Jurupari, they go to dwell with him after death. If they have not done so, they perish on the long road from earth to heaven. The women who behold the sacred symbols go to Bichiú, a place inhabited by inferior spirits—a species of purgatory; but if they have not the offended deity to go to the heaven of Jurupari. Tribes akin to the Uapes believe that those women who see the symbols are changed at death into serpents or crocodiles. In the heaven of Jurupari the dead hunt, fish, drink contra, and are honored with the usual symbols. Grief and envy are unknown. Those men who have transgressed on the route finally arrive at a hell, a badly-defined, shadowy extension of earth, where they continue the terrestrial life.

The Arawaks have a wholesome dread of evil spirits and forest-giants, which they designate conchenua. They have also a Jurupari of the Forest, an evil and malignant being, who, however, appears to bear no relation to the demiurge of the same name.

Enchantedness.—Among the Uapes the sacred, dotal caste of the pagés, or priests, is strongly organized in a hierarchy, and is subdivided into the urucu, or adepts, the assu, or arch-priests, and the mirim, or neophytes, who are very numerous. The secret of their organization is little known and well guarded. It is, in fact, a number of species of freemasonry, and candidates are initiated into the several degrees by similar processes. The pagés are also doctors, but, above all, exorcists. They possess magical formulae, which vary with each region, which the pagés act as mediums to demons whom they profess to have in their service, and others undertake invocation of the dead. The thoroughness with which they carry out their purely religious duties is remarkable. Even the children are examined and interrogated by them in secret regarding the cult of Jurupari. In fact, the initiation of the student into that cult lasts during the entire period of his life. Although the pagés resort to symbolism, they are not fetish-worshippers, and distinguish strongly between the symbol and the being it symbolizes. The macacoura is not merely another name for Jurupari (pangua). The Guaycurus of Paraguay possess a similar religious order, whom they call Vinagemeté, and who act principally as exorcists of the evil in man, which they designate naniga gigi. They believe that the goat-sucker bird and the screaming vulture, species of the genus pagis, who claim Jurupari, and in whose great sea-canoes they are sometimes presented to the tribe there is frequent communication. They also practise exorcism by fumigation. The dualism which the pagés of the Paris professed was in all probability communicated to them by European missionaries (Spix and Martin).  

2. The Caribs.—The Caribs, one of the first American races to come under the notice of the European discoverers, were until recently supposed to be confined to Venezuela, Guiana, and the Antilles; but since the time of Humboldt, they have been identified as the Carib and were consequently recognized as one of the races of America. Their names cognate to them in speech and physical characteristics in the very heart of Brazil—the Bakairi and Nahuas of the Upper Xingu, which they regarded as the Carib cradle-land. They were, however, the most warlike of the tribes, and in their great sea-canoes extended their piratical voyages to Cuba and Haiti, and permanently occupied some of the Lesser Antilles. On the mainland they were in possession of the shore west of the mouth of the Orinoco, nearly to the Coroadillas. From their name is derived that of the "cannibals," owing to their custom of eating human flesh. Most of the present-day Caribs are nominally Christians.

(1) Mythology.—The Caribs of the Antilles regarded the earth, which they called Mama Nono, as "the good mother from which all things come." Their mythological ideas corresponded with their degree of civilization, which was extremely primitive. The first ancestor of the Caribs created his offspring by sowing the soil with stones or with the fruit of the trumpet palm, which sprouted forth into men and women. They believed that a multiplicity of souls inhabited one body, and that, wherever they might detect a pulsation, a soul was present. All diseases, however, were regarded as spiritual or psychological, and there were no specific cures. When a man died, his soul entered the heart, which alone would be transported to the skies at death (anom. Voyage à la Louisiane fait en 1720). The seat of the deceased was named by them Huey Kú, the Mansion of the Sun, where, as in the Mexican paradise, the barbaric idea of bliss was to be obtained. With the Caribs of the mainland, some shadowy belief in resurrection seems to have obtained, as they were most punctilious in preserving the bones of their ancestors, which, after having cleansed, bleached, and painted them, they kept in a wicker basket full of spices suspended from the doors of their dwellings.

They possessed a culture-hero, Tammu (Grandfather), who was also known as 'Old Man of the Sky.' He appears to have been almost identical with the Nalusbalac Quetzalcoatl, the Quiché Gucumatz, and the Mayan Cuculcan, in that he was of light complexion, came from the east, and, after having instructed the Caribs in agriculture and the primitive arts, disappeared in the direction whence he came. His tribe belonged to the Caribs and was identical with one of the Guaraní (the Guaraní of Paraguay, and Ehrenreich with the Kañu of the Arawaks (a culture-hero), and the Kaboi of the Karayas. In the legend of the latter he dwelt
with their ancestors in the under world until a bird, the *Dicholophos cristatus*, by its call, led them to life and light in the upper world. With the Caribs the sun and moon shared sovereignty with the earth as the supreme beings of the Universe. It is almost certain that the god Hurakan (Hurquran, Hurcan, Hurcugar, 'hurricane'), who figures in the Quiché *Popol Vuh* as 'the Heart of Heaven,' the supreme god, was of Carib origin, although it is possible that he may have been borrowed by the Caribs from the indigenous tribes of the Antilles; but von den Steinen gives the Carib form as ye'lo', 'thunder,' whence Island-Carib *tqatloq*.

(2) Priesthood.—Although the Carib religion was of an extremely primitive type, it was well organized by a hereditary class of shamans called *piaye*, similar to the *pajés* of the Arawaks, to whom the Caribs were probably ethnologically related. This class exercised unlimited power, and, besides performing the elaborate religious rites appertaining to their worship, were, as with the Arawaks, exorcists.

3. The Tupi-Guarani.—This stock, so called to show the ethnic affinity existing between the Tupi of Brazil and the Guarani of Paraguay, originally advanced in a northerly direction from the River Plate region toward the coastlands, which it thenceforth occupied as a maritime people. It is now represented by tribes occupying various belts of country in a territory so vast as that between the rivers Maroni in French Guiana, to the north, and the Plate, to the south. In Guiana the principal divisions are the Oyampi and the Emerillos, in Brazil proper the various tribes of the Central Plateau, and in Paraguay the Guarani. These various tribes were at one time addicted to cannibalism, but large numbers have become Christianized and have retained their ancient beliefs. They speak a dialect of the ancient Tupi language, called the Lingoa Geral, which was standardized by the early Portuguese missionaries for their own use, and gradually became the general tongue of the Amazonian tribes. Tupi branches are also found in Argentina and Uruguay.

(1) Cosmogony.—A certain magician, Irin Magé, is credited by the Eastern Tupi with the creation of seas and rivers, and at his intervention Monan, the Sire, son of his wife Talé, ignites the Divine fire, with which he had resolved to destroy the world. An early account (Hans Staden, 1550) states their belief in a destruction of their ancestors by a powerful supernatural enemy called Maia, who sent upon them an inundation, from which only a few were saved, by climbing trees and hiding in caves—a variant of the *Popol Vuh* legend. The same authority gives the names of three brothers—Krinem, Hormittan, and Coem—from whom they claimed descent; and the Guarani speak of four brothers, and give two of their names as Tupi and Guarani, parents of the tribes called after them respectively. These four brothers are identical with similar quadrettes in other American mythologies, and typify the cardinal points of the compass.

(2) Theogony.—The theogony of the Tupi is a simple natu-ro-worship, although much confusion exists among authors as to its constituents. The Viconte d'Itabavyana sees in Tupi belief the quality of dualism (a rare occurrence in American religions). De la Rocheboeuf says that Tupa, the sun, stands for their principle of good, and Toru-guenket, the moon, for their evil principle. The latter is supposed to fall periodically and wreck the earth; and all baneful influences, such as storms and floods, proceed from her. Mangahães (*O Selvagem*) is of opinion that Tupi theology rests on the primal idea that all created things have a mother or maker, who is responsible for the general scheme of animate and inanimate matter. There are, further, three superior deities, to whom are ascribed the making of the various natural families. These deities are: the Carib god of nature and animals; Jacy, the moon, creator of plants; and Peradá or Rudá, the god of love, who promotes the reproduction of human beings. Each of these is assisted by inferior beings. Subordinate to the sun are the Carib god of nature and animals; Anhanga, who protects the field game; Cavá-pora, who protects the forest game; Uayanará, who guards the fishes. Under Jacy are Saci Cerénc (in South Brazil) Mhoitatá, the fire-snake, who protects the country from fire; Uruná, the phantom-bird; and Curupirá, the guardian of the forests. Subject to Rudá are Cáiré, the full moon, and Catití, the new moon. Each of these, in turn, has as many inferior assistants as the Indians admit classes; and these are served by as many beings as the Indians admit species, and so on, until every lake and river and kind of animal or plant has its protective genius or 'mother.' Brinton describes this polytheism as 'simple animistic nature-worship.' Though this may be said to apply to the Tupi race at large, yet it is not probable that the tribes vary with locality; and this fact accounts for the seemingly widely differing accounts of Tupi theogony furnished by its several investigators.

With the Guarani, the southern branch of the Tupi, belief and worship appear largely to cluster round the figure of the god Zumé, a culture-hero, probably identical with the Carib Tamm. He, like other American culture-heroes, 'came from the East'; but the Guarani, according to the myth, were more impressed by the native divinity than attempted to contrive him away with arrows. These, however, he caught, and hurled back upon his tormentors, and, dividing the waters of a neighbouring river by his Divine power, he walked to the other bank dryshod, and disappeared from view. He indicated to the Guarani his intention of returning in order to gather them into towns, and rule them in peace. Zumé is, of course, like the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, the Man of the Sun, the civilizing agent. He has been identified with Cemi, an Antillean divinity who is supposed to have passed under various guises throughout South America.

A less mild personage is Tupan or Tuppen,* the god-in-chief of the Tupi proper of Brazil. The earliest notice of this god is that of the missionary Père d'Evreux, who directly conversed with him under the name of God the Father. He alone of the four brothers survived the Flood, and became the highest divinity of the Tupi, ruler of the lightning and the storm, whose voice is the thunder. He is, indeed, the Tupan of the Arawaks, who, although of Arawak stock, have been deeply impressed by Tupi beliefs. Anhanga, protector of field game, is sometimes opposed to him as an evil principle; but it is vain to affect to discern dualism where the notion of divinity is so slight, and that of anthropomorphism so strong. In any case, it cannot be an ethical dualism, but merely the opportunistic invention of the priestly caste (see remarks on American dualism in Brinton's *Myths of the New World* and Spence's *Popol Vuh*). There is not wanting evidence, however, that Tupans, or, rather, their divinity, have been assimilated to other Carib beliefs. Anhanga, the protector of field game, is sometimes opposed to him as an evil principle; but it is vain to attempt to discern dualism where the notion of divinity is so slight, and that of anthropomorphism so strong. In any case, it cannot be an ethical dualism, but merely the opportunistic invention of the priestly caste.

(3) Inferior spirits.—Many of the Amazonian

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*The name is derived by Tatinin (*Anthropos* II. 209.) from *tuba upayen*, 'Father of All.'
traces of the Tupi have an elaborate system of myths clustering round the toborize—a favourite figure in South American folklore. In these many inferior spirits are the principal actors, the most important being Tapuyas, Karaparos, the wood-buffalos, and Oiri, the water-sprite. Paiitama, the 'wonder-monkey,' is no simian, but the son of a woman belonging to a tribe of females with only one husband. He possesses miraculous powers, which he uses to discomfit his enemies in an amazing manner.

4. The Tapuyas.—The Tapuyas or Ges tribe are the oldest of the Brazilian races. They are best known perhaps by their name of Boctudos, from a lip-peg (botoque) which they wear. They are Siouan, and profess a passage over the Andes from the peninsula of Goajira in the north to the borders of Chili, and in large numbers in Eastern Bolivia. Their principal divisions are the Karayas, the Kayapos, and the Suyas of the rivers Xinga and Arunyaya. They have not as yet realized the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. The universe is kept together or disturbed, as the case may be, by human or quasi-human agencies.

The Karaya Flood-myth relates that the hostile demon Amatina originated the Deluge, and sent fallen stones and birds to smother those who had taken flight to the hill Topirapé. The Ges attributed the building of the earth to the water-hen Sarcacra, which fetched earth to the hills, where those saved from the Flood congregated, so that the area of safety might be enlarged. The Karaya ancestral god, Kabo, led his people from the under to the upper world by the cry of a bird. All these myths, though in circulation among the various tribes of the Tapuy tribe family, have their counterparts in many other American mythologies. It cannot be discovered, however, whether the Tapuy tribes worship those 'deities' to whom they give the credit of creating the cosmos. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that they do not. 'They have,' says Britton, 'no definite religious rites, but are careful to bury the dead, and have a belief that the spirit of the departed survives and wanders about at night (Amer. Race, p. 144). They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and the appeasement by mimicking of those vague powers which cause natural phenomena. Thus they make a burning brand and shoot it into the wind so as to cool the furies raging in the storm. Semi-religious dances are common among them. They are, in fact, on the borderland between totemic practice and the anthropomorphosis which generally succeeds it, as is proved by the circumstance that a sub-stock, the Tucanos, take their name from the toucan bird which they adopted as the totem of their tribe.
frequent in occurrence and more obscure in significance. They seem to have done with the function of breath in connexion with digestion. Deussen's renderings are 'up-breathing' (Aufatmung) and 'all-breathing' (Allatmung); see his Philos. of the Upahnads, 279-280. Ewing's various allusions to this subject are derived from the prāṇa-series (op. cit. 260-287) should be compared.

In modern times the Hindu yogi-aesthetics and certain of the advanced native thinkers of India still look upon breathing as a science to be cultivated not only by ascetics. The practice of appropriately regulated breathing, they maintain, affects not only the vital activity, but also the mental activity, and produces corresponding psychic results. The complete control of the vital breaths, even to suspending the breath for a considerable length of time, brings with it a mastery over all the forces that govern both mind and body. For some of the claims still made by living exponents of these views, reference may be made to the writings of Rāma Prasad and the Śwami Abhijñānandā, cited below.

LITERATURE.—The full titles of the chief works alluded to in this art. are: Ewing, 'The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath—A Study in the Greek Origin of Hindu Philosophy'; Ewing, 'The Veda' (vol. xxii. 431-433, New Haven, 1901; Deussen, Allgem. Geschichte der Philosophie, i. (3 parts), Leipzig, 1894-1905, his Sachz. Upaniṣad-das des Veda, Göttingen, 1894, 289-328, New Haven, 1901; Deussen, Allgem. Gesch. der Philosophie, i. (3 parts), Leipzig, 1894-1905, his Sachz. Upaniṣad-das des Veda, Göttingen, 1894, 289-328, New Haven, 1901; Ewing, 'Breath', 'Inhalation, 'expiration,' 'expiration,' and Ewing, in the works alluded to already, and quoted with full titles at the end of this article. So painstaking and exhaustive an examination as that made by Ewing (op. cit. 250-275, 305) proves that the first member of the series, prāṇa, breath in general, designates either the double process of respiration or, more particularly, 'in-breathing,' 'inhalation,' as contrasted with 'out-breathing,' which is designated more especially by apāna, 'exhalation,' 'expiration.' These two series are generally united in a triduva-compound, and are used to denote the composite act of respiration. This very frequent occurrence of compound has caused their common long a (which is etymologically correct in connexion with prāṇa)呼吸, and is to be assumed analogically by the other three members of the group (in which the long a is not authorized by composition of the consonantal prefixes vy, ud, san, with an). As to the meanings assigned, it should be noted, however, that Deussen maintains that prāṇa only signifies 'expiration' (Ausatmung); and apāna, 'inspiration' (Einatmung); see his Allgem. Gesch. d. Philosoph. i. i. 294-303, i. 248-252, i. 69-72, 441, 492, 605, 627, 649, and his Das System der Védánta, 339-364. Ewing (op. cit. 260) strongly combats the point. His own investigations, moreover (op. cit. 275-276), tend to show that apāna denotes not only 'out-breathing,' but also the physiological breath-functions of that part of the body below the navel. The 'breathing apart,' appears to denote a ceasing or suspension of the common process of breathing, which forms a sort of connecting link between prāṇa and apāna, though separate from them, and occupies also the interval between respirations (see Ewing, op. cit. 277-283). Deussen's rendering of the word is 'all-breathing' (Allatmung). The other two terms, udāna and samāna, are less

BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.—1. Founders.—The Brethren of the Common Life represent one of the most successful of the many attempts made in the Middle Ages to establish a monastic rule based on the simple life of piety. Some of their external arrangements were similar to those of the Beghards and Beguines, but their organization was more closely connected with the system and discipline of the Church, as was intended by their founders, Gerard Groot and his chief disciple, Floriën. Gerard (1340-1384) was the son of Werner Groot, a wealthy citizen and magistrate of Deventer. He took his degree at the University of Paris, acquiring a considerable reputation for talent and attainments, and then went as a missionary to Cologne, which had long been a centre of learning, and subsequently became a university town. Here he combined the pursuit of study with worldly amusements, and became very popular among his associates. Converted by the efforts of a member of his native town, he joined a Carthusian monastery, he completely changed his mode of life. Throwing off his elegant clothes, he assumed the simplest and humblest dress, while for his inward improvement he withdrew for three years into a Carthusian monastery, where he spent his time in meditation and self-discipline. He also visited the saintly Ruysbroeck, prior of the monastery of Grünthal, to whose spiritual influence he owed much of the progress of his soul. After five years he came forth as an evangelizing preacher of great force and persuasiveness, full of zeal for the revival of truly spiritual religion among the people at large, and anxious for the reform of the monks and clergy. He was ordained deacon, but never regarded himself as worthy of the priesthood. For three years and a half he lived as an itinerant preacher in Holland and the Netherlands, with the result that he drew many souls out of worldliness and sin and led them to holiness of life. His success, and his severe condemnation of the laxity of the clergy, however distressing, led many of his hearers to a reading; and the Bishop of Utrecht was persuaded to

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(Sarvanavasana-samgraha, p. 175, 4), or again 21,000
(Ramakirtha in his notes on Matiriyamani Upani-
Cologne, Here
also
ii.
431-433,
Throwing
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ists,
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For
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of
Rama
Prasad
and
the
Swami
Abhijña-
silence him, by withdrawing licences to preach from deacons. An appeal was made to the Pope, but it is uncertain whether this was successful, for Groot died soon after, in his 44th year. He was prematurely cut off by the plague, caught while visiting a sick friend. But he had had time, with the co-operation of some faithful citizens, to plan arrangements for confirming his converts in Christian ways. These two good men sought to establish Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, in which those who had been rescued from worldliness might find refuge, and they decided on the foundation of some monasteries which would supply and means of guidance to the inmates of the Houses, and might also offer a model of monastic reformation. The movement received the name of the 'moderna devotio.' Groot had some years before his death given over his own spacious house to the town authorities of Deventer at an abode for widows and maidens who should live together in piety and good works. The Brotherhoods were also begun at Deventer, while the first monastery was established at Wintershein. It was Augustinian, and was the first reformed monastic house in Europe, and many reformed monasteries. The next was founded on Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle. A brother of Thomas a Kempis was the first prior of the latter, and Thomas himself, after his education at Deventer, was its first Abbot.

2. Regulations. — In common with all pious persons in the medieval Church, Groot regarded the career of the monastic regulars as the highest; but his societies were intended as a link between the monks and the people, and his Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods formed a kind of modified monasticism without any vows. Their members, living a common life in their respective houses, were to work for their maintenance, to give what they could save to the poor and sick, and to interest themselves in the schooling of the young. The members of a Brotherhood were drawn from various classes. The educated copied books, as was done in monasteries, and, later on, attended to printing them, while those who had been brought up to handicrafts practised these for the benefit of the House. The hours of prayer and of attendance at Mass were diligently observed. There were several priests in each house, besides the lay members. The head of the community was called 'rector,' and implicit obedience to him was required of all, as of the 'procurator,' who was the general manager. Various officers were chosen, as those of librarian, sacristan, warden of the infirmary, down to the humbler ones of tailor, baker, and cook, were distributed among the Brethren. Besides being called Fratres vitae communis, the brothers acquired several other appellations, such as Fratres bone voluntatis, from their benevolence, and Fratres cucullati from their cap or head-dress, and they were often called Lollards by their enemies, though they had no real connexion with the Hussites or their creed. In later years, they also acquired the designation of Fratres Hieronymiti, 'Brothers of St. Jerome,' who was regarded as a patron of learning. The dress of the Brothers was black or grey; for priests and clerics it went down to the feet, for lay brethren to the knee; and a black cap was worn on the head. The under garment was washed every month in summer, every two months in winter. On entrance into the society each man could deal with his property as he liked; but if he once gave it over to the House, it was to pass, until his death or his leaving. The Brothers rose at half-past three in the morning, and went to bed at nine in the evening. During the day an interval was allowed for repose. Dinner was at ten o'clock, supper at five. At meals the Scriptures or the Lives of the Saints were read, the Brothers taking a week each, from the seniors downwards. Meat might be eaten on Sundays, and other days except Fridays and fast days. Their drink was one little mug of beer of the small size out of which wine was usually drunk (Dumbar, Analecta, i. 14). Many of them indulged in the horrible and excessive fasting, in a degree not required by the rules. Constant industry, according to the previous training of each man, was inculcated; and where there was a farm or garden, outdoor labour was required. All these activities of the Brothers contrasted strongly with the beggary habits of the friars, who were mostly living in idleness, and became in consequence the bitter enemies of the Brothers; while the domestic work of the Sisterhoods and their instruction of girls made them appear to great advantage as compared with the degenerate nuns. It might well be supposed that these hard-working and devout societies would have been commended of all men, but the friars succeeded in raising much opposition against them, while among the people at large the reverence which was felt for the regulars and monastic orders, bound by lifelong vows, was not bestowed upon the more secular system of the new society, till eventually they were known by their fruits and became respected for their good deeds.

It was doubtless the power for the common man, in so much, at any rate at first, as they were thereby guarded from the temptation to pride which beset the old religious orders. The opposition, however, was carried to the verge of persecution, for at the Council of Constance a Dominican named Grabow accused the Brethren of the Common Life, and maintained that it was a mortal sin to form a community without the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity. They were, however, defended by their friends and supporters, the Wintershein monks, and also by German council condemned Grabow, and offered him the choice of retraction or the stake. Several Popes also had the good sense to support the Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods by their rescripts.

3. Influence on education. — The eventual estimation of the Brothers among the people at large was mainly promoted by their devoted efforts on behalf of the religious education of boys. At their first centre, Deventer, they boarded many of the scholars who attended the noted school already existing there, and taught the boys Latin and Greek. In 1418, a group of former soldiers, members of one of the houses called the Friars of St. Augustin, founded at Wintershein a house of deaconesses, and appointed Thomas a Kempis their first superior. In 1419 they opened a school for boys, and in 1425 the Brethren from Wintershein were allowed to open a school for girls orphans. In 1422 a Brethren's school was opened at Heerenveen, and in 1423 at Nijmegen. In 1425 a school for girls was opened at Zwolle. The Brethren and the friars frequently invited the help of the Brothers, and induced members of their Society to settle in their midst, providing houses for them. In some places they were entrusted with the reorganization of the schools. Distinguished and pious schoolmasters, such as Heclius at Deventer, Onser and John Cele at Zwolle, were in close touch with the Brothers, and there can be no doubt that not a few of the latter became teachers of classics as well as of religion. When the culture brought in by the Brethren had already spread throughout Holland and Frisia, it was extended to Germany, through the energy of Rudolph Agricola and others, it gradually won over many of the Members of the Brotherhoods, and added thereby to the effectiveness of their educational labours. In some of the schools there were more
than a thousand scholars, and the spectacle of devoted men giving their lives for the rising godhead in true religion and sound learning gave new hope to all who had the good of their country at heart. At the same time it must be admitted that it was the aim of the Brothers not only to produce good laymen and priests, but also to have maintained their formation novices; and Erasmus complains that they unduly pressed their youths to enter monastic life. This was certainly not the case with Florentius, but it may have been so later on; and we must remember that the monasteries were the last of the guardians to become a monk, because they had wasted his patrimony, so that he was somewhat prejudiced.

It has been sometimes stated that the Brothers founded schools of their own, but this is a mistaken notion; for the monasteries were not establishments in schools belonging to them, as has been usually alleged. He attended the public schools, while boarding with the Brothers and receiving religious teaching from them. Their educational labours continued for about a hundred and fifty years, and the schools in which they had taught came under the influence of the Jesuits. The Lutheran Reformation occasioned the Roman Catholic movement which has been called the Counter-Reformation, and the Brothers, being not less devoted to their pushing and aggressive methods, even opposed the most moderate and quiet work that the societies founded by Groot and Florentius had carried on.

In connexion with the name of Florentius Radewin (1520-1600), we have to notice the boyhood of Thomas à Kempis (1400-1471) before his entrance upon the life of a monk in the Augustinian convent of Mount St. Agnes. His life was spent in the school of Deventer, and was brought into connexion with the saintly Florentius, who had, for the sake of being near Gerard Groot, given up higher ecclesiastical emoluments to become one of the Vizars of the collegiate Church of St. Leuven. He was, after Groot's death, the recognized leader of the societies that Groot and he were establishing, but he did not become at first the Rector of the House at Deventer. He had in fact that office for two terms only, was appointed as an missionary to England, and his winning and gracious manners and a natural dignity of bearing had given him a predominant influence for good. He befriended the youthful à Kempis and placed him with a devout widow, receiving him for a part of the time into his own house. It is not too much to say that we owe the splendid edition of the Imitatio Christi, which was so generally used by a Kempis, and even the entire text of the life of the saint, to the efforts of this saintly character of Florentius. Among many such writings the Imitatio Christi is usually included; and, if we fully believe what the father of that book of devotion is usually ascribed to the debt we owe to the reverend abbot Martinus,' another disciple of the same name. Thomas himself has commemorated Groot and Florentius and some of the early Brethren in a remarkable work, which has long been considered as his own; the Imitatio Christi. In this he gives most interesting details of his spiritual Father and Rector, as well as of other members of the House. A short sketch of a youth of his own age, named Arnold of Schoonhoven, who was his model of piety, closes these valuable memoirs. They are also interesting as affording one among many evidences of the Imitatio having been composed by a Kempis. Dr. Hirsch, in his Kritisch-exegetische Einleitung, brings forward a number of questions to show the similarity of many expressions in these biographies to those in the Imitatio. It may be added that the lives of the founders and brothers so recorded afford an impressive illustration of the precepts of that manual of devotion, and exhibit a spirit of devotion and the same degree of religious thought. It is scarcely too much to say that the Imitatio cannot be fully understood without a perusal of these records.

4. Doctrines.—The remarks just made bring us to the question as to the doctrinal limitations of the Brothers and their kindred monks. Groot was a firm adherent of all the dogmas of the Roman Church, and had even been called matheus harethorum, 'the hammer of heretics.' When the saintly Baysbroek expressed himself, as Groot thought, as a mystic, and defended the spiritual devotion of mysticism, he opposed his sentiments. Yet if we take the word 'mysticism,' which may be used in many senses, as meaning the personal and inward realization of spiritual truth imparted by the Holy Ghost as contrasted with a mere outward and formal religion, we shall find it present in the teaching of Groot and Florentius and in that of Thomas à Kempis; and some of the Windesheim monks were even more definitely mystics. Yet none of the earlier Brothers would have allowed himself to question any belief that was a part of the Papal system. And those writers are wrong who have maintained that the Brothers of the Common Life were 'Reformers before the Reformation.' In one respect, indeed, they were reformers, but they never intended to be so in the sense that we associate with Protestantism. This point was their spur, as in the true mystic's love of reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; but they did so without any doubt regarding them to as the Bible being fully consonant with Roman doctrine. They wished laymen to study Holy Scripture for their personal improvement, and frequently gave unfavourable addresses to them in their houses on those that bore on practical duty. Among the Brothers at Deventer, Gerard Zerbolt, one of the librarians, was the strongest advocate of translations of Holy Scriptures being supplied in the vernacular; and his arguments are well worthy of study in the treatises that he put forth, and which still exist.

When, later on, the Lutheran Reformation began to make progress among the Brethren of the Common Life were found, as was natural, on the side of the Papacy; yet in time the new doctrines made their way into some of the houses, and individual members were won over by them. After a while several of the Brother-houses went over entirely to the Reformed faith, and that at Wesel received the warm approbation of Luther himself.

The welcome given in many towns to the greater freedom of doctrine promised by the Reformers damaged the continuance of Brother-houses in which the Roman teaching was still maintained; but a few here and there survived for a long time: and while the educational work passed either to the Protestants or to the Jesuits, some Brother-houses lingered on till suppressed by Napoleon Bonaparte. The Sister-houses, begun in the first instance by Groot himself at Deventer, became widely extended, and accomplished good work in the training of girls, as well as in copying books, in miniature painting, and in the humbler offices of household duty. The Superior was usually called Master Willem, or Willem de Busch, and the name of the society which has given the treatises of Thomas à Kempis an encomium on the duties and influence of a woman who thus cares in practical matters for the welfare of the devout. There was usually a priest attached to the Sister-houses who acted as ruler and confessor. Among the most remarkable of the latter was Brinckerkens, who ruled Groot's house for women at Deventer. Some of his addresses to the Sisters still exist, and are full of helpful words of encouragement for the spiritual life. A good many of the Sisters eventually joined the German and regular houses.

It has been stated that the monasteries of Windesheim and St. Agnes, and others afterwards established, were a part of Groot's scheme, and remained in close sympathy with the Brothers. A code of regulations, by Busch, a contemporary of a Kempis, contains many references to Groot and Florentius, and extracts from their letters, which show that the spiritual teaching in both these parts of Groot's system was identical, and that Florentius, when Rector of the House at Deventer, exerted himself as to encourage the mendicant Brothers to take the vows at Windesheim, or elsewhere, fully knowing the danger it had been to monasteries to receive persons who had no adequate vocation for lifelong devotion. The Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes was written during
his life by à Kempis, and a touching notice of his death is added at the close by another hand.

LITERATURE.—I. ORIGINAL SOURCES.—The most readily available of these are the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the work of Gerard, Firmin, and others. Thomas à Kempis, in the edition by Sonnemans, in the 17th cent., has been the text of a number of Brethren's editions: Opera et littera (1621); Opera et littera, edita in Brethren's edition, 1774; Eng. tr. The Founders of the New Devotion, by J. P. Arthur, London, 1871; Opera et littera, edita in Brethren's edition, 1774; Eng. tr. A Kempis, The Imitation of Christ, tr. by F. W. H. Myers, London, 1881; Grube, with the Liber de reformatione monasteriorum, Halle, 1886 (an indispensable source for the study of Gerard Groot, and the only source influenced by his work); and a number of Gerhard Zerboi's Beatus vir and Hono quisdem, by J. P. Arthur, London, 1869.

II. MODERN LITERATURE.—Delprat, Verhandeling over de Broederschap van G. Oost en over ten inwend der Fraterskaten, Utrecht, 1830 (revised ed. Arnhem, 1856); Acquoy, Het Klooster te Windesheim en zijn inlaat, 1873-1889; Hirsche, Kritisch-exegetische Einleitung in die Werke des Thomas van Kempen, Berlin, 1857; tr. on 'Gerard,' 'Firminus,' and others in PRE 3 (editions); tr. on 'Brother des gemeinsamen Lebens' in PRE 4 (Ullmann), in PRE 5 (Hirsche), and in PRE 6 (Schultze). Of course, the articles by Hirsche give the development chiefly of the outward development. See also K. Grube, Grote Broederschap, Cologne, 1883. One of the most valuable treatises on the characteristics and work of the Brotherhood is that by E. Möbius, Leipzig, 1847. Bonet-Maury, Gérard de Groot et du Groot, 1875, contains much of Gerard's writings, and extracts from them. Kottewell, Thomas à Kempis and the Brethren of the Common Life (abridged), London, 1845; tr. by G. A. E. Groot, 1875. There is no better more recent criticism and information. An interesting sketch of the Brethren of the Common Life is contained in Leech's History of the Jews in the Netherlands, London, 1893; Hants and C. Crisp, Thomas à Kempis: a Visit to the Sources in which his Life was written, is of a very valuable account of the bibliography and literature of the whole subject. A further list of original sources is given in S. Harvey Gem, Hidden Saints, the Brethren of the Common Life, London, 1894.

S. HARVEY GEM.

BRETHREN OF THE FREE SPIRIT.—This name has been given to mystic-pantheists who emerged in the 13th cent., were associated with the heretical Beguines and Beghards, and continued generation after generation down to the 16th century. Mosheim found, as he thought, their characteristic doctrines in writings of the 11th cent.; but it is safer to connect the origin of the Brethren with a speculative movement of the 13th century. At the beginning of that century there was a philosophical revival, which was quickened by Aristotelianism mixed with Neo-Platonism and introduced to the West in an Arabic dress. Under its influence David of Dinant introduced the speculative philosophy of Aristotle; at the same time Almaric of Bonne, also affected by the Oriental Aristotelianism, set forth mystical doctrines which were accounted pantheistic and therefore dangerous to religion. At Paris in 1204, Almaric was charged with teaching 'quod quidlibet Christianus tenetur credere, esse membro Christi, nec aliquem posse salvari, qui hoc non crederet.' On an appeal to Rome he was condemned; and it is evident, therefore, that his teaching must have had some meaning other than the literal. A doctrine of the holiness of all, held with Christ, since it was judged to be heretical.

Thomas Aquinas, enumerating three errors regarding the being of God, distinguished between David of Dinant and Almaric:

'Alius habet, quod omnes indissolubilem formam unius rerum, et se habet dicetur quae ipsum Almaricarius. Sed tertius error est David de Dinando, qui sibi ponit posse esse membro Christi, nec aliquem posse salvari.'

Though the men were both dead, a Council in Paris in 1209 condemned their works; and it was asserted that Almaric had inspired the dangerous doctrines of the Almaricians, as they were called. Arnauld of Paris declared this was 'imperturbably true.'

'Pater in Abraham incarnatus, Filius in Maria, Spiritus Sanctus in nobis quodque incarnatur—omnia unum, quia quidem unum est.'

Further, the Almaricians were accused of teaching that now, in the time of the Spirit, salvation in no way depends on the sacraments of the Church, and that what are accounted sins of the flesh are not sins if done through love. It was not likely that these men would escape the censure and punishment of the Church, and a persecution directed against these heretics was begun in Paris in 1210, and in 1212 was raging in Strassburg. Among those who perished at Strassburg were Orlichens, a name derived from Orlib, whose teaching marked him as a follower of Almaric.

These men were hardly entitled to be considered speculative thinkers, but none the less they were elements of pantheism and mysticism in their principles. They maintained that the uncreated universe is eternal, and that, while there is no resurrection of the body, immortality is for all. The Trinity was represented in some mystic fashion by three members of their community. They were not charged with carnal practices, but they roused ecclesiastical opposition by repudiating the sacraments and ordinances of the Church as unnecessary for men united with God. In 1215, at the fourth Lateran Council, the theories of Almaric were one more condemned, and condemned with the full authority of the Church. The mystic-pantheistic doctrines set forth by the Almaricians were not crushed, however, by the persecution of 1210, by the Lateran Conclave of 1215, or by more recent ecclesiastical condemnation; for they made a strong place in 1216, as they were wide-spread, and had reached even the Waldenses, in the middle of the century, when they were attacked by Albertus Magnus. The opposition of Albertus did not stay the progress of these doctrines, and they began to affect the Beguines and Beghards, who, though they had long enjoyed the blessing of the Church, were exciting suspicion by their fanatical landation of poverty. In these communities, prophets or teachers appeared who taught that God could best be served in freedom of spirit, and they and their converts were known as 'Brethren of the Free Spirit.' The orthodox Beghards and Beguines suffered from the evil reputation of the heretics, and the Franciscan spiritalists, often confused with the Beghards, suffered in the same way.

It is difficult to determine the circumstances under which the name of 'Brethren of the Free Spirit' was adopted or applied, and also to discover the author of the phrase. Lea in his History of the Inquisition (ii. 521) says:

'Even the writers of Heisterbach (died c. 1240) argues that much is permitted to the saints which is forbidden to sinners: where is the spirit of God, there is liberty—have charity and do what ye please. The word had once been spoken, it could not be hushed to silence.'

In an episcopal letter of 1317, quoted by Gieseler (Lehrbuc., viii. 90), the writer enumerated the errors of those who:

'quos vulgus Beghardos et Schwestrosos nominat, ipsa vero et ipsae se de secta liberis spiritus et voluntariae paupertatis partos fraternos vel eorum vocant.'

The name, whatever its origin, was directly associated neither with pantheism nor mysticism, but with the liberty of which Conarins of Heisterbach wrote, and for which Pauline authority was claimed. Yet this liberty was asserted not as mere licence, but as the natural right of men with the Divine Spirit.

The logic of the doctrines of the Brethren is intelligible. God is what is, and men, being of Him, come from and return to Him. There is therefore neither purgatory nor hell, and the sacraments are the result of the goodness of God needed. As man is essentially Divine and is able through contemplation and withdrawal from things of sense to know himself united with God, he can in his freedom do what God does, and must act as God would act if he were not separate from Him. The free man neither virtue nor vice. God is all, and all is God, and all is His; and men are therefore free to take or beg their bread, so that they
BRETHREN (Plymouth)—In the 2nd quarter of the 19th century the State Churches in Great Britain were worldly and dead; the Dissenters were orthodox and cold; the great Evangelical Revival was on the wane. Edward Irving had translated Ben Ezra's *Breviary*, the *Commentary on the Messiah* and *Majesty*. He had been greatly movedby it, and was preaching that the Lord was coming. This had stirred people of all classes, and it seemed like the midnight cry: "Behold the Bridegroom cometh; go ye forth to meet him." It was in the light of things that the movement of Brethrenism originated (1827). The first 'Brethren' was Edward Cronin, a doctor, who felt that true Christians, being one body in Christ, ought to be welcomed to the Lord's Table, wherever His Table was spread. But the movement received it with cold and direction from men far exalcing Cronin in gifts and power. Anthony Norris Groves, a missionary to Syria and India, suggested to John Gifford Bellett, a lawyer: 'This, I doubt not, is the mind of God concerning us, that we should confess in all simplicity as disciples, not waiting on any pulpit or ministry, but trusting the Lord will edify us together by ministering to us, as He sees good, from ourselves.' This idea got hold of Bellett's mind, and was the germ of the movement. With Francis Hutchinson, John V. Parnell (afterwards Lord Congleton), and others, he organized a meeting in Hutchinson's house, to which Cronin came. In 1830, at Parnell's suggestion, they removed to a large room in Angrier Street, Dublin, where the Brethren of that name, meeting on the 2nd of each month, were known as the Society of Jesus. "The first Brethren's meeting was the wonder of his day and the admiration of his friends. The way in which he controlled the Brethren for fifty years exemplifies this.

Groves asserted that ordination to preach was not needed by a spirit-gifted minister; Cronin, that there was only one church-membership, viz., the body of Christ; while Darby, in a pamphlet written in 1828 (while he was a clergyman in the Irish Church), entitled 'The Nature and Unity of the Church of Christ,' set forth the principles of gathering to the Lord's name and the Church's union with Christ. Thus, Cronin, Groves, Bellett, Parnell, and Darby were the founders of the movement. It would be difficult to determine the relative influence of the first four, but, undoubtedly, Darby was the great leader and teacher.

To the company in Angrier Street many were brought under rule. Even then, however, the doctrines were not altogether suppressed, for in 1492, Friar John of Moravia was burning Husseits and Beggars; and in the Libertines of the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Switzerland who were their forerunners, were found doctrines and practices associating them with the Brethren of the Free Spirit.


J. HERKLES.
added between 1830 and 1832. At first they did not think of separating from the Churches around. This came as the result of their principles and practice, and when they increased in power and numbers. Darby visited Oxford in July 1830, where he met, amongst others, B. W. Newton and G. W. Miller, and became aware of the influence and power. A meeting was formed at Plymouth. Newton and other able men ministered there for years. From it the name ‘Plymouth Brethren’ was derived, while from Darby the name ‘Darbyites’ was received. Newton had a special commission of prayer, and from the outset, and became the most prominent leader at Plymouth. George Miller, brother-in-law to Groves, was the co-pastor with Henry Craik at Bethesda Chapel, Bristol. Both these and their congregation, in a measure, adopted the principles of the Brethren. A few brethren joined them, and one meeting was formed, but most Brethren now think this was a mistake. A gathering was formed at Rawstone Street, London, and meetings sprang up both in England and Ireland. Between 1832 and 1838 meetings were held in London at Powercourt’s mansion, Co. Wicklow. They were attended by eminent clergymen, and Darby, Bellett, and Wigram went to them, and took part in them.

Darby 1830 to 1835 the movement swept on. J. L. Harris, a clergyman, joined the ranks of the Brethren. He edited their first magazine, The Christian Witness, to which Darby, Bellett, Newton, S. P. Tregelles and other writers contributed. It set forth the doctrines of Brethrenism with vigour and freshness (1834-40). A tract depot was begun, from which issued a steady stream of tracts. The clergy became alarmed as several of their order joined the movement, which was at first, undoubtedly, a ‘better-class’ movement, containing lords, ladies, and officers in a few. The people were evangelized with great zeal; lay preaching was held to be the duty of all who had received grace and gift, and in the open air and in meeting-rooms the doctrines of Brethrenism were expounded. Separateness from the Church was, however, the sword with which it was to be wielded, and every one must be ready to meet Him.

Groves went on a mission to Baghdad, and then laboured in India, with the result that many Anglo-Indians became disciples of the new faith. On returning to England, however, he found a strong party of the Brethren were withdrawn from him. He left. He wrote to Darby protesting against this, but it was too late, for his own words to Bellett had raised a force which he could not now control.

Darby evangelized in Ireland, and visited Switzerland, where his success was phenomenal. The Evangelical Revival had taken place. He preached the Atonement of Christ, His Resurrection, Intercession, and Second Coming. He engaged in controversy with the Wesleyans and with Church leaders. Seventy companies of Brethren were gathered in Switzerland. He also visited France and Germany, where he gained many disciples. His labours extended, with intervals of visitations to England, several years. A reference to the first vol. of his Letters will show his great activity. Later, he devoted his attention to Germany, and translated the New Testament, and afterwards the Old, into German. G. Müller visited Germany in 1843. Ministering amongst the Baptists, he spread the tenets of the Brethren in the Fatherland.

Meanwhile, Newton remained at Plymouth, but, unlike Darby and others, never heartily adopted the doctrine of the Spirit’s presence in the assembly, but set up what Tregelles called ‘a modified Presbyterianism,’ which was self-elected, and confined the services of prayer, praise, teaching, and rule to himself and those associated with him at Plymouth.

This was to be the model for all meetings, and an effort was made to carry it out. He denied the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit, and certain events must take place before He did come. He discouraged brethren who held opposite views from ministering. His lectures, copied in manuscript, were circulated widely amongst a select few. J. L. Harris and others, helpless to combat this, withdrew in 1838; and, at this time (1845) that Darby returned. He had borne with Newton’s views on the Second Coming, but would not tolerate the setting aside of the Spirit’s presence in the Church, for that Darby viewed as the re-establishment of the clerical system that the Brethren had left in the Churches around. Darby maintained that by Newton’s clerical control the Spirit was displaced in the assembly. He protested against this, but Newton and his supporters would not yield. Darby and his associates withdrew in London, and, after waiting from March till December, they broke bread apart from the Newton party at Raleigh Street, Plymouth. Indignation against Darby was intense. He had broken the unity of the Brethren, for his views, which were now in disunion. Darby’s contention was that he ‘could not maintain union to support evil,’ and that ‘truth was more to him than friends, religious reputation, or unity.’ Two years’ controversy followed, in which the leaders took part. Charges against Newton’s writings and his rule in the Plymouth assembly were interwoven with the main issue, viz. the Spirit’s freedom to whomsoever He pleased in the assembly while gathered to the Lord’s name for worship and ministry. This was what Darby and his followers contended for, and it was this that Newton and his associates resisted. Round this same question of clericalism many later disputes arose and caused divisions.

In 1847, Newton’s opinions on the sufferings of Christ came to light. He had taught, amongst a select body of adherents, that our Lord, being both a man and an Israelite, was born relatively under the curse of God, which rested on the human race generally, and on Israel specially, on account of their having broken the Law and rejected their Messiah; and that, from childhood to His baptism, he was oblivious to the wrath of God, but escaped much on account of His prayer and piety. When Newton’s views became known, they were rejected by the mass of the Brethren, and many of his former supporters, such as Soltau, Batten, Dyer, and Clulow, abandoned their errors, and confessed they had been under the delusion of Satan as to their doctrines, and in supporting Newton. Newton made a confession, which was considered insufficient, and withdrew his tracts, which he never re-issued, for retraction. The self-elected, undeniably infallible, was wrong, and that in one particular he had erred, viz. in contending that our Lord was under Adam’s federal headship. The meeting at Ebrighton Street, Plymouth, was broken up. Newton removed to London, modified his views considerably, and formed a church of which he became minister, having no fellowship with any other religious body. He wrote largely on Prophecy, and in his writings there are passages of great literary beauty. He died in 1890, aged 92, having outlived all his contemporaries.

It was Newton’s teachings that caused the first division amongst Brethren, which took place at Bethesda in 1849. Müller and Craik refused to allow a congregational judgment on Newton's
tracts. Several who had sympathized with Newton's views, and two Brethren who had imbibed his teachings, were received by the Bethesda congregation. Müller and Craik knew of the views of those disciples of Newton who did not openly proclaim them. Their reception called forth from G. Alexander and sixty others a vigorous protest. Müller and Craik would not allow the congregation to judge and expel Newton's Brethren until it adopted a paper called 'The Letter of the Ten,' signed by themselves and eight other leaders, and to which some of Newton's sympathizers adjoined their names. This paper committed the Church to a neutrality between the parties, and took the ecclesiastical position of those afterwards called 'Open' Brethren. It became a document of discord, and a barrier to fellowship between the two great sections of the Brethren. Bethesda assembly adopted the paper, and retained the ministry of their pastors, who had threatened to resign unless this was done. To Darby, Wigram, Dorman, and others the position thus taken up was wrong, and they would not tolerate it. Darby was branded as a schismatic, and severely attacked. The result was that the assemblies of all the meetings throughout the land, Bethesda assembly, with its pastors, now took up the question. Seven meetings were held before the end of the year, as a result of which some of those who had supported Newton withdrew from fellowship, in order to relieve the Church from its dilemma. Two of these, on retiring, in a paper read to the congregation, declared that Newton was fundamentally sound. With some others they attempted to form a congregation, but failed, and were afterwards re-admitted to Bethesda on their confessing that they had erred in leaving. By Darby and those who agreed with him this was not considered a proper judgment of the evil doctrines. Müller and Craik both condemned Newton's doctrines, and declared that, if Newton's teachings were right, then Christ would require a Saviour Himself. But their judgment came too late, as what might have prevented a schism in July could not heal the division in December.

When Bethesda had judged the question in this fast and furious way Müllcr again took up a view to reconciliation; but the accounts of the interview differ essentially, as can be seen by comparing Darby's letter to J. S. Oliphant with Müller's letter to an unknown correspondent in 1833. Darby issued a letter to all the Brethren condemning Bethesda, and calling upon all assemblies to reject her principles. He denounced as evil 'The Letter of the Ten,' which, he said, permitted association with a heretical congregation by allowing persons coming from it to have fellowship, provided they had not traded in the evil doctrines. And this the Exclusive Brethren hold with inflexible strictness to this day. Fellowship with meetings where evil doctrines are held is repudiated, and no one is allowed fellowship unless he is sound doctrinally, and leads a godly life.

Henceforward Müller devoted himself to evangelical and philanthropic labours. He continued to be co-pastor at Bethesda. During the later years of his life he went on evangelical tours, and died on 16th March 1859, greatly honoured.

Müller's activity took a definite stand against Darby, and the division became permanent. The Müller party was in the majority at first. J. L. Harris, W. H. Soltan, Lord Congleton, and other leaders sided with Müller, and stood for 'Openness,' desiring to be the 'exclusive' views of the Brethren. The Open Brethren devoted themselves to gospel work. Spurgeon called them a 'simple evangelical race.' They made converts in large numbers. They have had a number of earnest teachers and evangelists. Their books and tracts have been circulated in millions during the past fifty years.

Several attempts have been made to effect reconciliation with their Exclusive friends, one especially by Henry Bewley in 1870-71, but all have been unsuccessful. As late as 1902, the Exclusive Brethren in Grant's fellowship in America were approached with a view to reunion. In 1906, however, Bethesda adopted a declaration which had been drawn up in 1894 by fourteen leaders on their own responsibility, and was now signed on behalf of the Assembly by eleven Brethren. It explained and qualified some of the objections stated in the 'Letter of the Ten,' and had as its object a union with G. W. Heath and his associates who sought the reunion of all sections of Brethren. This movement is still in progress.

Amongst the Open Brethren disputes have been few. Their principal dispute, which took place in 1892, was over what is called the 'Needed Truth' question. The majority rejected the 'Needed Truth' principles, which were: (1) complete separation from the church of their own fellowship; (2) only those baptized and re-admitted as members of the church allowed to break bread; (3) elders in the oversight to be recognized in the place of rule over the assemblies. The movement has not been a success, as many of the 'Needed Truth' party have returned to the 'Open' fold, and in 1904 a dispute arose causing division amongst that party. The 'Open' Brethren are active and earnest, fraternize freely with other Christians, and do not evoke the same opposition as the 'Exclusive.' Their meetings are numerous, being established in nearly all large towns. It is generally admitted that in writers they are poorer than the Exclusives; still they have had some able writers, such as Thomas Newbery, editor of a valuable edition of the Bible, J. Denham Smith, W. Lincoln, Arthur Pridham, W. H. Soltan, etc.

From 1849 to 1879 the Exclusive Brethren had a period of prosperity. In 1849, G. V. Wigram commenced their chief organ, which extended to 18 vols. (1849-81), the Present Testimony. To it Darby and other open Brethren contributed, wrote a year's 'Open' papers, and for the last six years were printed in it. It was issued in Dublin, and took up the editorship of the Bible, which he conducted for fifty years. In 1849, after the death of Darby, other open writers gave their best. It was in 1845 that William Kelly, the son of an Ulster squire, and a graduate with highest honours in Classics at Dublin, joined the movement. After having edited the Prospect (1845-46), he, in 1856, took up the editorship of the Bible, which he conducted for thirty years. To it Darby, Stoney, Mackintosh, Denny, Grant, Bellett, and others contributed, and, though its editor has passed away, it is still issued, and is the oldest organ of the Open Brethren. All their chief doctrines and controversies have been discussed in its pages. It is in it that Kelly's 'Commentaries' first appeared. W. H. Dorman edited the Girdle of Truth, 10 vols. (1853-66); J. B. Stoney conducted A Voice to the Faithful for thirty years; and C. H. Mackintosh, who had been engaged in scholastic work, and had given it up (1853), wrote Notes on the Pentateuch, which has had a wide circulation, and has greatly popularized Darby's views. There were many other publications during this period of Openism, but none of them had the Exclusive movement and a ceaseless circulation of books and tracts went on. The Revivals of 1857-60 and 1870 got a considerable impetus and colouring from the Brethren, and, ultimately, many of the leading members of the band of young officers resigned their commissions, devoting themselves to evangelizing and teaching. England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, and the
United States came under their labours, and to this day some of these continue teaching the tenets of the Brethren, such as E. Cross and J. W. Smith.

Darby and Wigram visited foreign parts again and again. Though small at first, Darby’s successes in America was considerable. He influenced two men, viz. F. W. Grant and Dwight L. Moody. Grant joined the Exclusive Brethren’s fellowship, and became their foremost author and leader in America, and meetings were established in most of the great American centres. In 1864, Dr. W. Wolston came to Scotland. Then there were meetings only in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, but, chiefly through his labours and those of others, gatherings sprang up all round, though many have died out since. Another man, William Reid, a Scottish clergyman, helped the movement greatly. He edited the British Herald, which had a wide circulation, and in it were inserted the choicest writings of the Brethren. In 1864, Bellott died. His witty and writings (which have been called prose-poems) left a deep impression on the Brethren, and greatly moulded their theology. It is worthy of note that, amid all the bitter controversies of those days, he was beloved by all parties. In 1872, Wigram visited Australia, where he converted many converts, and where, to this day, the tenets of the Brethren are taught and believed in.

From 1849–79 might be termed the flowing tide of the Exclusive movement. Though attacked and assailed on all hands, they steadily increased in numbers. Between 1858–66 controversy arose regarding some articles on the ‘Sufferings of Christ’ contributed by Darby to the Bible Treasury. W. H. Dorman and F. H. Hall charged him with holding views similar to Newton’s. He other the exclusive view to that of the majority of the Brethren refused to regard him as a heretic. The controversy was bitter. Dorman, Hall, and others retired from communion, but formed no party. A host of writers attacked the Brethren. Darby, Kelly, and others replied vigorously. Darby’s views were eventually adopted, and the controversy died down. Two other small disputes of no consequence occurred, one at Jersey, the other at Sheffield. Then in 1876, at Ryde, Isle of Wight, a dispute arose regarding marriage within the Church. Francis Johnson, a Brethren named Finch, who had left the English Church, and had broken bread in London, would not, on his return to Ryde, identify himself with the Ryde meeting because of its state, but, with some others, broke bread apart. In 1878 the aged Dr. Cronin, while on a visit to Ryde, broke bread with the Finch party. This brought the matter to a climax. On returning to London, Cronin was challenged for his action. As he affirmed that he was right, his act became a question for judgment. The majority of the Brethren condemned his act, and on 31st August 1879 he was excluded from fellowship. It is generally conceded that serious blunders were committed during this dispute, with which the question of baptism mingled; and, as a result of it, the Ramsgate meeting divided into two parties, called after the names of the places at which they met, viz. Guildford Hall and Abbotshill. Finally, a letter commending a person from Guildford Hall was excluded at a London Exclusive Brethren meeting, after considering the case, decided to receive that person. This entailed the rejection of Abbotshill. Kelly, with others, maintained that this judgment was wrong, and would not accept it, even though his old leader Darby was the adviser. The result was that Blackheath, where Kelly resided, with other meetings, rejected the Park Street judgment, upon the plea that it was not the voice of all the London meetings, which hitherto had always acted in union. A new section of Brethren was formed, led by Kelly, and marked a very exclusive party. They have not increased in numbers, and in 1899 a revolt, led by W. W. Feraday, took place on the question of freedom in preaching the gospel; but he has since joined the Open communion, and the movement is dissolved.

Kelly died at Exeter on 27th March 1906. Next to Darby he was perhaps the greatest amongst the Brethren. As a scholar, an expositor, and a controversialist, he stood high, and had a clear and convincing style of expression. When he died, the Times, many religious magazines proclaimed him the ‘Nestor’ of the Brethren. His works are highly spoken of by such scholars as Ewald, Westcott, and Sanday. In the British Museum catalogue his works fill ten pages. On the suggestion of the Archishop of York, he presented his university with a ship weighing 17 tons, to the town of Middlesborough.

Darby died on 20th April 1882. He felt keenly the Kelly division, as can be seen from one of his last letters to the Brethren, in which he requested them not to attack Kelly. His writings extend to 50 volumes of prose and verse, and translated the Bible into English, German, and French.

A small division, occasionally by S. O’Malley Cluff, took place in 1881, but the party is now nearly extinct.

In 1882, after fifty-five years spent amongst the Brethren, the aged Dr. Cronin died. He was marked for his piety and fervour. Previous (in 1879) Darby’s trusted friend, G. V. Wigram, had passed away. He was the editor of the Englishman’s Hebrew and Greek Concordances to the Old Testament, and New Testament and Concordance to the English Bible, and scholarship on which he spent a fortune, and in the production of which he received invaluable help from the learned Tregelles, who had been identified with the Brethren in their early days, but had disagreed with their judgment in the Newton case.

When Darby died, J. B. Stoney, whose religious ideas and teaching were said to be High Church, became leader in Britain; while, in America, P. W. Grant, who had put forth, while Darby was alive, something on the Old Testament, ‘having life in the Son,’ had affirmed that ‘the man in the seventh of Romans was sealed by the Holy Spirit,’ became leader. Darby had borne with Grant’s views, but now that Darby was gone, fault was found with them, especially by Lord A. P. Cecil. Grant published his views in a pamphlet, which was severely criticized by W. J. Lowe and A. C. Ord. In 1884, Cecil and Alfred Mace, the evangelist, visited Montreal, where they condemned Grant’s views, and, with a Montreal meeting, pronounced him a heretic, and excluded him from communion. This action affected only America and the few followers of C. E. Stuart in England. Most of the American meetings sided with Grant, and the Grant company prospered greatly. Mace in 1905 tendered a confession to the Grant Brethren for his rash act, lamenting that the man he had chiefly wronged was dead. Grant’s death in 1903 prevented his completing his Numerical Bible, a work of considerable merit. He was belted and honoured by those amongst whom he had laboured for forty years.

In 1885 a dispute took place at Reading. C. E. Stuart, a learned Brother, published a pamphlet on ‘Christian Standing and Condition.’ This provoked a controversy mingled with a petty local quarrel, and brought about the separation of
Stuart, with a small body of followers in England and some in the north of Scotland. The party has not grown, and Stuart died in January 1692. It is now generally thought that, if the pamphlet had been left alone, it would have passed into oblivion, and this division might have been averted. The Graut section in America and the followers of Stuart are now joined in fellowship.

During the last ten years of Stoney's leadership there was associated with him P. E. Raven, who went even beyond Stoney in pressing the subjective side of truth. About 1890, Raven expressed views such as that 'eternal life is not imparted to the saint; it is a sphere in which he lives in the love of God,' and is distinct from the new birth; Christ did not manifest eternal life to the world, but only to His own; 'Eternal Life' is not a title of Christ prior to incarnation, and the righteousness of God in 2 Co 5th is future. Irrelevant expressions concerning Christ's infancy were used by some of Raven's followers. These were condemned, but, nevertheless, a separation took place from Raven. The church was suspended from Greenwich a person commended in the usual way, and cut off Raven and his meeting from fellowship. The Bexhill decision was upheld by W. L. Lowe, H. H. MacArthy, C. Stanley, and others, but A. B. Rule and others in America; while, on the Continent, C. Brockhaus and many Dutch, French, and Swiss Brethren refused Raven's views. In England the division was serious. In France, Germany, and Switzerland the Brethren practically as a whole rejected Raven's doctrines.

At a conference in 1895, Raven questioned the ancient formula, 'the unity of His Person,' when applied to Christ's being God and man in one Person. His definition of Christ's Person was 'a Divine Person, human, consubstantial to God's Son.' He affirmed that the Incarnation did not change or add to the Person of the Son. These and other assertions caused trouble. W. T. Turpin, a gifted Brother, who had long been in fellowship, retired from the Brethren; and many of their best men, though still remaining in communion, did so with much misgiving. Raven's teaching was severely criticized by Brethren outside his own communion, such as E. A. Thomas (Australia), F. W. Grant (America), and W. Kelly (England). Raven did not welcome others, but his fellowship was broken; his visit to America in 1898 caused a division at Minneapolis. The extremists pressed his views too much, and some English Brethren supported E. Acomb, who opposed Raven; but most of the London leaders upheld Acomb's opponents. A small number were recognized as being in fellowship by the London Brethren in July 1905. These had accepted Raven's views. J. S. Oliphant and Maca protested against the reception of this party, and would not withdraw their protest; so they were excluded from fellowship by the London leaders. It was at this time that Maca joined G. W. Heath in his attempt to amalgamate the different companies of Open and Exclusive Brethren.

A further storm burst after Raven's death. Several evangelists were preaching with considerable freedom, claiming the right to act on their own responsibility in their work. This was pronounced 'looseness and independency.' J. Taylor, of New York, set forth the view that 'we are saved by Christ and what He has established down here to the Church or House of God.' A brother named James Boyd visited Taylor, and thereafter judged Taylor's views to be semi-Romanism. He wrote criticizing Taylor's errors. A controversy grew, but Boyd was called upon to withdraw his letter, or retire from fellowship. He would do neither, and in this he was supported by a great many Brethren in the north of England.

In 1905-7 a local dispute arose at Alnwick, Northumberland. That meeting was 'broken to pieces,' it was said, 'by its own folly.' Efforts were made to effect a reconciliation, but those who objected to Glanton's action in so doing pronounced this an infringement of the principle of 'local responsibility' and an interference with the Lord's rights. A few withdrew from fellowship at Newcastle and South Shields, and so forced on a crisis. An effort was made to suspend fellowship with the Northumberland meetings, as they were said to be 'in confusion.' This principle of 'suspending fellowship' was resented in many places; and, finally, when a sister from Whitley Bay presented a letter and note of protest to some Brethren in Alnwick, the Brethren there refused this principle of 'suspended fellowship,' and received her. There was a secession in consequence, and those opposed to Glanton formed a new meeting. The London leaders took a lead in their presentation of rival claims of the two companies in Edinburgh, when a sister presented a letter to a London meeting, and most of the London meetings decided that Glanton infringed the principle of 'local responsibility,' extinguished the Alnwick assembly, and usurped the Lord's functions in so doing. This decision, carried into effect 31st August 1908, cut off Glanton, Edinburgh, and all other meetings associated with them. W. T. P. Wolston's pamphlet, 'Hear the Right,' gives the history of this later phase, and, though the common ground which all the contributory causes that led to it.

Such is a very brief outline of the history of the Brethren. Forty years ago their early dissolution was prophesied; but they are still, though divided, a living force. Their religion is a simple one. The Bible to them is an infallible and living book; Christ is an all-sufficient and living Saviour; God is a loving Father revealed in the Son of His bosom; salvation is a reality, and can be known now; Heaven with its glories, and the everlasting King and Father: His word, and all that He commands, are proclaimed, and believed in; the Lord's Coming is the great object of hope; the world is under the judgment of the Cross, and men must be saved from impending doom; Hell and eternal punishment are realities; the world's politics, philosophy, and mere social reform advocated for the betterment of the world are but the white-washing of a house built on sand; or the attempted renovation of a system morally corrupt; their mission is not to save the world but to save people for it, and while passing through it the Christian is to live soberly, righteously, and godly; his business is to get right and keep right in his soul with God; it is his duty to obey the powers that be, save only when the civil government interferes with his conscience in obedience to God's command. The Brethren all take the place of the Christian priesthood, and gather to the Lord's name. They look for His Holy Spirit to guide some brother to break the bread, pray, or minister, in subjection to the Lord in the midst. Women are allowed to sit in the assembly. Their teachers minister by lecture or Bible-reading; their pastors care for and tend the flock, while their evangelists preach the gospel. In the present condition of the Church they do not believe in a conventional style of worship. Each meeting is held a fragment of the body of true
Christians resident in their own locality, and some who might be elders are in the churches around. If, however, in their meetings there be men possessing the requisite qualifications, these are thankfully owned and honoured, though not officially vested. Status is not even then correctly ascertained, but they form a good proportion of the Christian community in Britain and America and on the Continent.

Literature.—The clearest statement of the general views of the Brethren is Wm. Darby's The Truth Taken from Scripture, which was revised by Wm. Kelly in his Bible Treasury, and is published by Morrish, London, as a tract. The following is a selection of hundreds of other statements, pamphlets, and books, and gives both sides of the disputes, and what is written against them.—For the general history of the Brethren: W. F. Needy, History of the Plymouth Brethren, 1891; J. S. Teulon, History and Teaching of the Plymouth Brethren, 1883; A. Miller, The Brethren: their Rise, Progress, and Testimony, 6th ed., 1877. For the Plymouth Question: W. F. Needy, Narrative of Facts, Proceedings at Reading, 

1. The primitive conception that each stream had its resident divinity or river-spirit.—It is beyond the scope of this article to marshal the evidence in support of this first notion. The conception that each stream had its protecting divinity, whose majesty must not be trifled with, was a very common one in Greek and Roman mythology. The customary emblematic representation of the idea in Greek art was that of a figure of an old man with a long beard, clothed in blue garments, and crowned with a chaplet of reeds. He is usually depicted reclining upon an urn from which water continually flows, and, as the river-god, he was supposed to dwell by preference in the cave, or deep, at the rising of the river, near its bed. His care of the river extended to its pollution, and Homer (Iliad, xxi. 130 ff.) has described the resentment of the two rivers of Troy, the Scamander and Simos, against Achilles, when he preoccupatiocly obstructed them. A very striking illustration of the hostility of a river-spirit if his majesty be insulted and his quiet disturbed, see J. Rhys, Celtic Folklore, ii. 425–430; W. Gregor, Folklore of the North-East of Scotland, pp. 66, 67; Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan for Ainu river-gods and goddesses; J. Abercorn, 'Beliefs and Religious Ceremonies of the Mordvinas,' in FLJ vii. 72; also Annales Archéol. tom. ix. pp. 107–108; and for the idea of the impurity of disturbing natural boundaries, cf. Horace, Carm. i. 5. 21; * Nequeqneur descrit, Prudens Oceani, disociabili Terras, si tamen impius Non tangeat, quae transtuent vada.*

2. The Appealing of the Offended River-spirit.—I. Was this observed in connexion with the Pons Sublicius?—The necessity of some expiatory sacrifice to the river-god, when a bridge was built across the stream, defying his supremacy, seems to have been recognized at a very early period. The early history of Rome shows traces of it. Probably not more than three bridges were erected over the Tiber from the time of Romulus to that of Agrippa. Of these the most ancient and by far the most famous was the Pons Sublicius. Erected by Ancus Martius to unite Rome to his new fortification on the Janiculum, it was probably situated at the Forum Boarium, not far from the broken arches of the Ponte de Rotto (Livy, i. 38; Dionys. ii. 45, ix. 68; Plut. Munus, 9). Down to its latest days, the entire structure, including every bolt and fastening, was constructed of timber (for the reason for this see p. 855). On the Ide of May (Ovid says at the day before), an annual procession of Pontifices, Praetors, and Vestal Virgins marched to this bridge. On the way they visited the so-called 24 Siculae Argoorum (chapels), and from them carried away a corresponding number of Argoi. These Argoi were emblems or effigies made of bulrushes, and stuffed so as to represent bodies of old men bound hand and foot. The Flaminian Dialis, the priestess of Jupiter, was present, dressed, not in her customary bridal attire, but in mourning garb. To the accompaniment of the chanting of a prescribed hymn and a kind of life, the puppets were lifted by the Vestal Virgins and flung into the river from the parapet of the bridge (Dionys. i. 38; Ovid, Fasti, v. 621 ff.; Plutarch, Quest. Rom. 32 and 86). Of a custom so peculiar, * From the sublicius, or piles, on which it was built. Dionysus gives 80 as the number.
the Roman antiquarians suggested various explanations:

(a) The Suella were reported to be the graves of the Greeks who came to Italy with Hercules, and that his followers, having settled in fair Italy, they entertained tender memories of sweet Argos; and, as each hero died, he beckoned to his friends the sacred duty of throwing his body into the Tiber that it might be transported by the waves to the far-off shore of his fatherland. The rush-made image was the later substitute for the dead body of the early Greek (Ovid, Fasti, v. 656).

The ancient etymology of Argei from 'Argile' is supported by Mommsen (Staatsrecht, i. 123).

(b) The second explanation of the practice was that states that it was surmised by an earlier and ruder epoch, when old men, above the age of sixty, being considered useless for military service, were cast into the stream and drowned. Though Ovid acknowledges that this traditional explanation was an old one, he nevertheless indignant repudiates it as a slander on the humanity of his ancestors. Such practices, however, were not unknown in the ancient world. That these last, and afflicted with the increasing infirmities of age, should thus be put to death, was not considered in the primitive piety, but rather in the line of kindness, and even of patriotic duty to the State (Caesar, de Bell. Gall. vi. 16; Tac. Germ. 9 and 39; cf. also art. OLD AGE).

In later days there arose a belief that the ponts from which these effigies were cast was a more innocent structure than the Pons Sublucus. On the day of the Comitia, a number of polling-booths were erected in the forum, or wherever the voting was to take place. These booths or seats, were entered by a narrow passage or plank termed pont or pontinctus; and, when the voter had received his tabella, or voting-ticket, out of one of these booths on either side of a seat in the bridge (see Cerem. pro Prono Attico, ii. 35, 109; Vite. Ponticul. a Pons, and emerged from the booth by a corresponding 'behind port. As the (ceremonies, and the bridge was a very one, it would seem after that all the bridge referred to was not the plank of the Comitia polling-booth, but the more fatal Pons Sublucus. The bridge, however, that parti-cularly always looked on with horror by the Romans, and it is hard to see how the practice should have passed into a yearly ceremony.

(c) By others the rite was regarded as a relic of the time when human sacrifices were general. Ovid (Fasti, v. 654) states that the youth actually threw the old men over the bridge (see Cerem. pro Rossio Attico, ii. 35, 109; Vite. Ponticul. a Pons,) argued that, though the aged men were free from the burden of active service, they may jealousy retained their right to vote. The younger men accordingly were annoyed, and, as their seniors went up the ponts to record their vote, they raised the cry, which became proverbial, that the old men should be thrown from the bridge ('sexagenarii de ponte'). Ovid (Fasti, v. 654) states that the youth actually threw the old men over the bridge (see Cerem. pro Rossio Attico, ii. 35, 109; Vite. Ponticul. a Pons). The bridge, however, that particularly always looked on with horror by the Romans, and it is hard to see how the practice should have passed into a yearly ceremony.

- 2. This root-idea of the necessity of a sacrifice traced to modern times. —The wide-spread nature of this custom will be recognized from the following instances. Herodotus (ii. 90) states that the priests of the Nile-god claimed the right to bury with high honours all bodies drowned in the river, as being more sacred than those above another person, and that those who had claimed them, and they were their property. Maspero (Dawn of Civilization, p. 39) describes the sacrifice to the river at Sisleh on the rising of the Nile. See also Lane (Mod. Egyptians, ch. xxvi.) for the 'aroseh (bride)—the virgin thrown into the river as a sacrifice to obtain a plentiful inundation. Picart (Cercum. and Relig. Curr. of the World, 1733, iii. 87) refers to the practice of the savages on the Mississippi of sacrificing prisoners to the god who preside over the waters, comparable to the yearly sacrifice of a girl to the spirit of Niagar.

When a man is drowning in a river, it is a common saying in Germany that 'the spirit of the stream is getting his yearly victim' (Grinn, Deutsche Mythol. p. 490). There is a legend of the spirit of the River Ribble, in York-

In Silesia, as late as the 16th century, according to Grinn (Sarmatiae Europae description, fol. 160), on March 17 of each year, being the anniversary of the destruction of the pagan idols by the Serbs (963-1992), there was a more recepto simulacrum quod simuladibus mulieris confundit, opprobrium tarnum ex seque canticum et eorum, quod legiones illud de proprie invidia. This would seem, however, to be merely a sort of Gay Fawkes Day, being the recollection of the former. In connexion it should be noted that Grinn (Griechische Mythol. und Religionsgeschichte, p. 551) holds that such cere- monies as those associated with the Argei were originally rain-chants.

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shire (known as Peg o’ Nell), demanded a victim every seven years (W. Henderson, Folklore of the Northern Counties, p. 265); and the American Indians have a tradition that the Falls of Niagara must have two human victims annually. The notion, however, is very prominently brought out in the following connexions:

(a) Sacrifices necessary at the foundation of bridges.—A legend is current about London Bridge that, in order to render the structure secure, the stones were besprinkled with the blood of little children. When the broken dam of the Nogat was repaired in A.D. 1463, the peasants were advised to throw in a living man. They seized a beggar, made him drunk, and buried him (Tylor, *Parenthesis*, p. 104). In 1843, on the erection of a new bridge at Halle, it was widely believed that the structure ought to have had a child built into it (Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 936). The builder of the ‘Loh-Family Bridge’ at Shanghai experienced some difficulty in laying the foundation. He vowed that 2000 children if the bridge spirit would allow the stones to be laid properly. The divinity (she was a goddess on this occasion) replied that she would not require their lives, but that the number named would be attacked by smallpox and half would die. Half the number died. It is a Chinese belief that a bridge built without attention to these religious observances will bring about a visitation of smallpox. In Tibet, when smallpox is raging, the inhabitants destroy millet stalks as yet reddish by the disease try to stay its progress by placing thorns on the bridges to terrify away the evil spirits who bring the plague. Those who die of the disease are thrown into the rivers (Annie W. Marion, *The Great Closed Land* [Tibet], p. 41). A similar history is reported for a place on the river Tsien-tang as a sacrifice to the spirit of the dykows which were constantly being washed away (Moncure D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-lore*, 1879, i. 204). In 1572 there was a scare at Calcutta when the Hooghly Bridge was built. The Hindus imagined that the spirit of the river would consent to have its majesty invaded only on condition that each pier of the structure was founded on a layer of children’s heads (A. B. Gomme, *Traditional Games of England*, p. 29). It is reported that a similar practice is performed by Gomme, *Folklore Relies of Early Village Life*, p. 29). In 1890 the Public Department of Public Works in order that they might be built into the foundations of the piers of a number of new bridges that were in course of erection. It was stated that such was the terror of the coals that for no money could they be induced to carry fares to the suburbs at night. (For a similar story see *Nature*, April 30, 1896, under title ‘Megathitic Folklore,’ by S. E. Peal, Sibassar, Assam, March 27.) Among the popular traditions of Albania, there is one to the effect that human beings were formerly buried under the foundations of important bridges. Throughout the Greek East there is a current belief that every building has a resident spirit, and everywhere a resident genie, which goes by the name of the σακυσιος. It is believed that the man whose shadow falls on the first-laid stone of a new bridge will die within the year, and his shadow remaining in the building, becomes its σακυσιος; hence the practice of sacrificing fowls and sheep at the beginning of any important construction to avert danger from the workmen. ‘But sometimes as if it was the custom that the builder entices a man to the foundation-stone, secretly measures his body, or a part of it, or his shadow, and buries the measure under the foundation-stone; or he lays the foundation-stone upon the man’s shadow. It is believed that the man will die within the year’ (B. Schmidt, *Das Volkstheben der Neupriechen*, p. 1961, quoted by J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 291). Until a sacrifice has been offered to this spirit, no bridge will be allowed to stand secure. A bridge so secured is termed ‘stoicheion-built’ (στοιχειοσελεμευθερημενης), and legends regarding such bridges are everywhere met with. Some of the Greek folk-songs are famous, e.g. *The Bridge of Adana in Kappadocia*: ‘All day long they built the piers: by night they fell in ruins.’ The builders are at their wits’ end. They know that the bridge will not stand until a living spirit is given to it in sacrifice. But what is willing to be thus offered? The engineer entices his wife to the edge of the excavation for one of the piers. He drops his ring into it, and induces his wife to fetch it up:

‘Then down goes she, and down goes she, steps forty-two—
And fall upon her as she goes of stones a thousand stones,
And throw down upon her, too, of earth a thousand spadefuls.’

As she dies, she calls out:

‘Hear thou my words, Yanniaki mine, let not the world neglect me.
Three only sisters once we were, we were three sisters only;
The one did build the Danube’s bridge, the second the Euphrates.
And I, too, the murdered one, the bridge build of Adana’ (Lacy M. J. Garrett and J. S. Stuart-Glennie, *Greek Folk Poems*, 1896, § 71).

The same legend is current in Italy as regards the Bridge of Arta, which collapsed till the master-builder walled in his wife. With her dying curse, however, she prophesied that the bridge would always tremble (ib. p. 81). The same story is told of the ‘Long Bridge’ at Constance: ‘It and the ‘Trembling Bridge’ near Canea in Crete. So engrained is the belief in the necessity of such sacrifices, that it is alleged that in Zæcynthus the inhabitants would still kill a human victim if they were not deterred by fear of the law’s vengeance (B. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 197 f.). The idea that underlay the old Roman substitution of rush-men for human victims is still observable occasionally in different parts of the world; and to this day sacrifices of a less dreadful character than that of a human being are made. The spirits of Austria and Germany (Th. Vermaelen, *Mythen u. Bräuche des Volkes in Oesterreich*, 1859, p. 163; A. D. Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksberglebde*, 1900, § 420).

(b) The bridge-sacrifice, a part of the widespread belief in the necessity of a foundation-sacrifice for all structures.—This placating of the river-spirit is thus in strict harmony with the almost universal belief in the necessity of a sacrifice as a rite preliminary to the erection of all buildings. Thus the Picts are said to have bathed their pre-historic foundation-stones with human blood to propitiate the spirit of the soil (Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, i. 149). Mackinnon (*Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 53) asserts that ‘even after the humanizing doctrines of Jesus had become the popular creed, the power of this grim rite occasionally asserted itself in the practice of slaying or burying a victim, before or during the erection of a building, in the belief that only thus could it be made secure’ (see also Galloz, *Melanie*, iv. 16). A Shudderian legend is extant that, to make the castle of Liebeen secure and impregnable, a child was bought from its mother for hard cash, and walled into the foundations. The wall of Copenhagen sank during its erection as fast as it was built, and the builder, a small innocent little girl, set her on a chair at a table with toys and catables, and then twelve master-
masons closed a vault over her. The wall therefore upon was completed and stood firm (Tyler, Primitive Culture?, i. 104 f.). There is a Sercian legend that three brothers combated with the demons of the cave until they were baffled by the demons, which roused by night what it had taken 300 masons to erect by day. At last the fiends were appeased by the immolation of the wife of the youngest of the three, who happened to be the first to come with food for the workmen (ib.). When Vortigern was erecting a strong fort in Snowdon, what the workmen built in one day was always swallowed up in earth the next night. The king consulted Merlin, who advised that the stones and mortar should be sprinkled with the blood of a child born to a father (Nennius, Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 67); also Selden's note to Drayton's Poly-Olbion, p. 158). In Adam's Man's Life of St. Columba (Reeve's tr. 1857, p. 263) there is the following naive yet significant statement:—

"Columcille said to his people, "It would be well for us that our roots should pass into the earth here."

And he said to them, "It is permitted to you that some of you may go under the earth, and if the consecrated ground afford to comfort" (Oduran, according to the Welsh) quickly, and then spoke. "If you accept me," he said, "I am ready to propitiate them." Oduran, says, "you said you would receive the reward of this; no request shall be granted to any one at my tomb unless he first ask of thee." Oduran then went to the gate-posts (aisle) then found under the church of Icty."

Thus the spirits of the soil of Iona were propitiated, whereas till then they had overthrown by night what had been erected by day (see Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scott, Border, note to "The Court of Keelings" and "Glenfiddies"; Innes, Eccle. Hist.; Pennant, Voyage to Scotland, i. 286 f.; Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, i. 234 ff.).

Human skeletons have been found under foundations of the round towers in Ireland (FLJ i. 23). At Tintern, in Ireland, there is a tradition that the workmen had assembled to lay the foundation of Tigh-an-Torr, in Western Ross-shire, they caught the laying of the first person who chanced to pass, and buried him under the foundation-stone. At the laying of the foundation of Redcastle, a red-haired girl was buried alive under the stone (Haddon, The Study of Man, 1898, p. 354; see also MacBain, Celtic Mythology and Religion, pp. 45, 46; Stokes, Revue Celtique, ii. 200, 201; Windisch, Irish Grammar, p. 153). Fitzstephen, in his account of London in 1136, says that the foundations of the Temple Church, when it was built, the mortar was tempered with the blood of beasts (A. B. Conne, Tradit. Games, p. 346 f.). Formerly in Siam, when a new city gate was being erected, it was customary for a number of officers to lie in wait and seize the firstborn or two eldest who happened to pass by. These were then buried alive under the gate-posts to serve as guardian-angels. The Ceylon Observer of Jan. 27th, 1887, had a paragraph in which it was stated that the schools in Colombo were empty, many children were missing, and parents were afraid to let their offspring venture out of doors, because the report had got abroad that 350 boys under the age of 12 were required as sacrifices to propitiate the deity who was responsible for the break in the great Maligankada reservoir (FLJ v. 250). For further illustrations of this "foundation-sacrifice" see Gerard, The Land beyond the Forest (Transylvania), ii. 17; H. Clay Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, p. 47; Macalister in PEFS, 1894, p. 16, where a plate shows a bull being killed as a foundation-sacrifice in the temple of Dendur. As a foundation-sacrifice in a pre-Israelitish Pales- tine town; Rodd, Customs and Lore of Modern Greeks, p. 168; F.E.R, vol. iii. pp. 282-283, vol. iv. pp. 124, 130; FLJ, vol. i. pp. 23-24, 92; Bowring, A Romance of Modern Greece, p. 226; Mythologie, pp. 972, 1085; St. John, Far East, i. 46. See also art. FOUNDATION.

(c) The primitive heathen 'river-spirit' becomes the 'devil' of Christian times.—In the Christian centuries the heathen idea of a water-spirit, or genius of the river, gave place to the conception that the devil was the guardian-spirit over all streams. And yet there was a widely spread belief that the jurisdiction of the devil extended no further than the middle of a running stream (cf. Burns, "Tom o' Shanter"). He has accordingly a special antipathy to bridges, as was the case with his ancient prototype. Numerous, therefore, are the legends to be found over all Europe attached to so-called 'Devils' Bridges,' narrating how the Evil One would not allow the bridge to be erected until he had received payment of an offering like that of Ishigami, in the School of Magic. Men regard the office of a civil engineer with pains horror, and curse a new bridge when they pass it. It is to them the symbol of the devil's presence, and the token of an unholy compact between the Evil One and the architect (A. J. Evans, Through Basutoland and Hesse-Guttgart, p. 314). Like his predecessor the river-spirit, the devil, however, was sometimes cheated of his due. Many of the more ancient bridges of Germany and Switzerland have legends attached to them narrating how the hard conditions of a contract resulted in the death of victims by drowning as the first but short by the erection of a bridge) were successfully evaded.

The Montafon bridge in the Tyrol and the bridge at Batis- ton are illustrations. In the case of the latter, the architect was apprehended as the devil by the master who was supposed to have been consulted. He laid a wager that he would bridge the Danube before his superior in the world and the bridge was). After many failures, the apprentice entered into a compact with the devil, who appeared to him in the garb of a friar. The devil undertook to build fifty bridges, but the bridge, on the understanding that he would get the first three living creatures that crossed the bridge. The work was completed in time. The wily apprentice sent a cat and a dog and a bull to cross, but the work was not completed. The devil in wrath tore the animals to pieces and disappeared. A pro- cess of holy monks passed over the bridge and rendered it safe, and then the reality of the story the master. No three animals are still triumphantly shown, carved upon the bridge (Moncreiff D. Conyngham, op. cit. vol. i. p. 294; Tyrol, op. cit. i. 156; for other instances in Germany, see Grüm, op. cit. p. 533). Froehner (Flau, ii, Hayward's tr.) makes Mephistopheles say—

"My wanderer on faith's crutches hobble on Towards the Devil's Bridge and Devil's Stone."

A French chemical 'Diable a quatre mètres' ('Devil the stature of a man') describes how an apple was thrown through a newly-finished bridge, and a cat allowed to pass over it. The devil appeared to him in his usual form and said, 'You have left me out of the bargain.' Principal Rays has kindly favoured the writer with a similar legend from Wales. 'The devil bargains with an old woman who wants a bridge built, to have a whitewash that crosses the bridge, and expect the devil to get the old woman herself. But she takes her dog with her, and throws a piece of bread before it, and the dog rushes after it. The devil does not score in the end.' Cf. Longfellow (The Golden Legend, Canto iv), who describes the Devil's Bridge at Pilatos, near Lucerne:

"And the Devil promised to let it stand.
Under compact and condition
That the first living thing which crossed
Should be surrendered into his hand,
And he beyond redemption lost.
At length the bridge being all completed,
The Abbot, standing at its head,
Throw across it a loaf of bread.
Which a hungry dog sprang after,
And hence in re-echoed claque of laughter.
To see the Devil thus defeated!'"

It is the same idea which appears in the practice of building empty bridges and laying them in the river instead of a child under an altar in Denmark to ensure the stability of the church; in the killing of 12 sheep, and placing their heads under the foundations of the pillars of a new bridge over the Arcin in Albania (J. G. von Hahn, Albanesische Studien, 1854, i. 104); in the use of a chair of iron as a foundation-sacri- fie in Bosnia (Haddon, op. cit. p. 353). For further illustrations see Garnett, Women of Turkey, ii. 295; Alexandre, Ballades Turques et orientales, at Geve, Transylvania, p. 188; Tyler, op. cit. i. 1006; with references to the custom in Ghana in Africa, in Polynesia, in South Asia, in Japan, and in Tenasserim. It is clear from these myths that the idea of regarding the devil as the actual architect of the bridge is an old one. It is also the evidence for the belief that the devil merely allowed the erection of the structure on payment of a solatium passed into the idea that the devil himself was the builder,
and must have his payment accordingly. A still more developed form of the notion of diabolical or infernal power being invoked in the rearing of a bridge is seen in the Kelpie's Bridge (Riihling), who tells how, in A.D. 1381, when the Duke of Anjou was besieging a strong castle on the coast of Naples, a necromancer (doubtless with the help of the devil) built a bridge which carried ten soldiers abreast, until one that passed over the bridge 'made the sign of the cross on hym, then all went to nought, and they that were on the bridge fell into the sea.' A companion tale is told of the rearing and the destruction of the 'Kelpie's Bridge,' or Dreoish-da-Vouha, at the mouth of the Dornoch Firth (see Miss Denham's 'Folklore of Sutherlandshire' in FLJ vi. 172 [1888]), where the exclamation of an admiring countryman, 'God bless the workmen and the work,' caused the infernal labourers to vanish, and the magnificent golden bridge to sink into the waves.

(d) Survival of the idea of sacrifice to the river-spirit in modern children's games.—One of the most curious survivals of the ancient custom is seen in many modern children's games. The singing game known as 'London Bridge' has many variants in the places where it is played, but fundamentally the theme is the same:

'Song London bridge is broken down,
London bridge is broken down,
My fair lady.'

Mrs. Gomme, in her Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland, has analyzed this rhyme very thoroughly. She shows that the song describes the difficulty encountered in building the bridge by ordinary means, and that it asks many questions how the structure is to be reared. At last the children seize a 'poor prisoner,' to whom they say, 'Off to prison you must go, if the prisoner in the river is actually 'caught,' and is 'released' on payment of a forfeit. The game is thus a curious survival of the old-world notion that a bridge could stand secure only by the death of a 'prisoner,' or, if need be, of his substitute. It is thus allied to the *sroigos* folksongs of the Greek Orient. Prof. Léon Pisseau has suggested in regard to another children's game, a very popular French 'roules,' which commences:

'Sur le pont de Nantes,
Sur le pont de Nantes,
Un bal est affiché . . . .

that this game relates to 'a ritual dance on the occasion of a human sacrifice to the deities of the water' (quoted in Haddon, op. cit. p. 330).

(e) Transference of the dread associations of bridges to the 'Bridge of Judgment' in the wider world of spirits.—So firmly lodged in men's minds was the conviction that the erection of a bridge implied some kind of preliminary transaction with supernatural powers by way of satisfying their animosity, that, in view of the life beyond the grave, similar conceptions were held regarding the river of death. In the lower world of Shades will there not be a bridge to be crossed, a bridge spanning the dark stream of death, nay, it may be, the very mouth of hell itself? The idea became a fixed belief in nations far sundered geographically. The river-spirit, who in the upper world demanded an adequate satisfaction in the event of his stream being crossed by a bridge, was represented in the lower world as desiring a payment from the passing over the bridge. The primitive conception of human sacrifices as an offering to the river-god developed in later ages into the belief that the devil received as his prize all who could not successfully pass the only bridge across the river of death.

Sale (Koran, 1825, Prel. Disc. §iv. p. 121) describes how integral a part of Muhammadan theology this is. The Muslims hold that those who are to be admitted into Paradise will take the right hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire will take the left; but both of them must first pass the bridge (called an Arable, *al-Sirāt*) which is laid over the midst of hell, and is finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword. It seems very difficult to conceive how any one can stand upon it. The bridge, moreover, is beset on each side with brinks and looked thorns, which will, however, be no impediment to the good, who will pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning on the wind, Muhammad and the Muslims leading the way. The wicked, what with the slipperiness and extreme narrowness of the path, the entanglement of the body, and the law of the bridge, which directed the faithful to Paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them (Pocock, Specim. Hist. Arab., pp. 282-288). Other Muhammadan legends affirm that this awful bridge stretches between the Temple of Jerusalem on the W. and the Mount of Olives on the E., while between lies the Valley of Hell (the Valley of Jehoshaphat). The pious will be upheld, as they cross, by an angel who will hold them by a single lock of the hair, so that they may not fall into the Valley of Jehennam beneath. Although the bridge of *al-Sirāt* is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, it is much elaborated in later Muhammadan eschatology, where it is described, in addition to the two rails already given, as having a length of a journey of 3000 years, 1000 ascending, 1000 level, and 1000 descending, while fire shoots up about it a journey of 40 years. While, as already noted, the righteous pass over it like a flash of lightning, less perfect Muslims take longer periods in proportion to their guilt, some requiring 25,000 years to complete the journey. Yet other sources make the bridge to consist of seven arches, each a journey of 3000 years, and during the passage all but the most righteous suffer agonies from the fire of hell (cf. Wolff, Muhammadische Eschatologie, pp. 109, 114 f.; al-Ghazālī, Perle von Fehlsätzen, ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 43, 69-70, 72-73; Rühl, Beiträge zur Eschatologie des Islam, pp. 27, 58, 63).

The Muhammadan bridge of *al-Sirāt* was Borrowed from the Parsi Chinmopetres, or 'Bridge of the Decider,' who is believed repeatedly both in the Avesta and in Fahlavi literature (Bartholomae, Altiran. Wörterb.-kol. ch. 699 f.; Gray, Musâon, new series, iii. 100 f., 163-165; Mod., JIEEE xo. 49-65; Scherman, Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionsschrift, p. 104 f.; Scherblom, Vie futuré d'après le mazdéisme, pp. 92-96). This bridge, which stretches from the 'Peak of Judgment' (Châkōāt-i Dâ'îth), in Airân-Vêj, to Alburz, is described as follows (Dââtân-t-i Dâng, xxi. 1-7): 'As it were, that bridge is like a beam of many sides, of whose edges there are some which are broad, and there are some which are thin and sharp; its broad edges are so large that its width is twenty-seven reeds, and its sharp sides are so contracted that in thinness it is just like the edge of a razor. And when the souls of the righteous and wicked arrive, it turns to that side which is suitable to their necessities, through the great glory of the creator and the command of him who takes the just account.' The Parsi concept of the 'Bridge of the Decider' has also been borrowed by the Jews (cf. *Manddische Religion*, p. 105), but also in the Vedas to Isiah (§ 359) (Kohut, Jüdische Angologie und Deutonomologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Persism, 1886, p. 70), and perhaps, as Böken (Vereinigung der Gesellschaft der Freunde des germanischen and jüdischen Eschatologen, 1902, p. 37 f.) suggests, in 2 Es 7-9.

It is not impossible that the bridge of the dead is found in Indian literature as early as the
Upaniṣads (Scherman, pp. 117-119), and it is certain that the belief in such a bridge occurs in China, and among the Jews of Media, and among the Cacans of Canevas, the Transylvanian Gypsies, the modern Greeks, the Bagada of the Nigirī Hills, the Solomon Islanders, the Gold Coast Negroes, etc. (ib. pp. 99, 102-110), as well as in New California (cf. above, vol. i. p. 4598). The belief thus found in Zoroastrian, Jewish, Moslem, Chinese, and Indian circles, as well as in other parts of the world (see also below), would seem to be a later and modified analogue of that primitive conception of the trial of the soul after death, which is seen in many religions. We recognize the same underlying features in the Egyptian myth of the weighing of the scales before the bar of Osiris, and in the Greek fable of the judgment of the soul by Minos, Eacus, and Rhadamanthus in the under world. Cf. Dante, Hell, Canto v. 4 ff. (Cary's tr.).

"There Minos stands, Grinning with ghastly feature; he, of all Who enter strict examining the crimes. Given sentence, and dismisses them beneath, According as he foldeth him around: In his turn Each one to judgment passing, speaks, and hears His fate, thence downward to his dwelling hurled." In 5. 118 (Bindrūn. 1719) there is a curious and grotesque plate of the Hades of the Greek imagination, with Charon ferrying his fiores across the Styx, Cerberus the three-headed dog guarding the passage, while in the distance there is a bridge with three individuals on it, who pass, thence from the flames of hell to the pleasant woods of Elysium. So also in ancient Celtic mythology there was cast over hell a bridge of exceeding narrowness (sometimes a mere cord), which souls were obliged to traverse if they hoped to reach the mansion of light beyond. This was the Bran dro Dred, na bradher than a thread (Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, p. 238; Rhys, Hibbert Lect. on Celtic Heathendom, p. 450).

There is a Hindu analogue to this belief in the Indian Baitaran (q.v.), or swift River of Hell, flowing with blood and filth, which can be crossed only by holding a cow's tail. Aynsley (Indian Antiq., May 1886) learned that the Hindos of Chamba, in the Panjab, have a bridge over which every corpse must pass on its way to the burning ghūṭ beside the river Beas. There is a stone path by which the procession may travel, the corpse is invariably carried over a perilous causeway, only 18 inches wide, without a protecting balustrade. In the Solomon Islands there is a kindred belief. At Great Gau there is a passage for souls by which it is believed the dead may pass across the ocean to the gulf. In Friesland, the name given to the Milky Way, which was reckoned the Way of Souls, was the Cowpath ("Koaput") (see Mannhardt, Die Göttlerwelt der Deutschen u. Nordischen Völker, 1869, p. 31). Hence of yore the Inland custom arose in Sweden, Denmark, Upper and Lower Germany, and England, that a cow should follow the coffin to the graveyard. 'Till recent times this custom was continued on the Continent, being accounted for on the ground that the cow was a gift to the priest for saying masses for the dead man's soul, or for preaching his funeral sermon (Kelly, Curiosities of Indo-Europa. Tradit. and Folklore, 1893, p. 320). In England, when pagan sacrifices had been abolished, the cow was similarly devoted to pious uses, under the name 'soul-shot' (= soul-shot), or mortuary payment.

But, having passed Gjallar Bridge, and entered Hel (one of the nine Scandinavian under worlds which stood under Yggdrasil, the mystic ash), there was no longer even a path to walk by, but only a more precarious bridge. This was the famous Bifrost, the Rainbow Bridge of the Asars, connecting earth with Asgard, the home of the gods (Bifrost, from Icelandic bifa= trembling, and rest= path, the tremulous or aerial bridge, the rainbow; Mallet, op. cit. p. 545; Brewer, Dict. of Nors. Mythol. Landknecht, 1. p. 431). Of the Eddas (§ 27), by this rainbow bridge from heaven to earth the gods daily descended, passing on horseback over it to sit in judgment in the under world on the souls of men brought before them. The red of the rainbow is the burning fire which keeps back the frost and mountain giants from entering Asgard. But, lest other giants should attempt to scale the heights of heaven by this bridge, at the foot, on Hrimmungsjörg ("heaven-mountain"), sits Heimdall, the watchman of the gods, with his terrible dog Gar. (Cf. the 'Great Dog' of the North Amer. Ind. legends, and the fact that the baying of a dog is currently held throughout northern lands to be coincident with, or prophetic of, death.) Heimdall needs less sleep than a bird; he can see equally by day and by night, and can detect a thing far away; he hears the grass growing and the wool on the sheep's back. But there will come a day when all his watchfulness will be in vain. Strong though the bridge be, and 'constructed with more art than any other work of man or beast' will be staked between the city of Muspell. These giants, led by Surtr (the 'black'), with a sword brighter than flame, will advance against heaven with irresistible might. In vain will Heimdall blow his Gjallar-
horn, the sound of which will be heard throughout all worlds. The wild hordes will swarm up Bifrost on horseback, and attempt to break into Asgard. In the avenging wrath of the tremendous bridge will break into a thousand pieces, and the end of the world will have come (Mallet, op. cit. pp. 95, 408-452; Crichton and Wheaton, Scandinavian Ancient and Modern, 1838, l. 91-95).

The conception of the rainbow as a bridge between earth and heaven, over which the gods descend and ascend, is found also among the South Sea Islands (see the adventures of Oro in Ellis, Polynesian Researches, 1829, i. 313). Perhaps also the 'Floating Bridge of Heaven' in Japanese legends is derived from it. W. G. Aston, Shinto, the Way of the Gods, 1905, p. 87; and Sir E. J. Reed, Japan: its History, Traditions, and Religions, 1880, p. 30).

This notion of a bridge in the unseen world over which the soul at death must pass was imported into medieval Christianity from paganism, and became an essential part of its stock of beliefs. In St. Patrick's Purgatory (Wright's ed. 1844, ch. iii.) it is told how the pilgrim made a tour through hell in person, how he crossed the narrow bridge that spans the mouth of hell, how he turned about on a great wheel of fire, how he passed the devil's mouth over the awful bridge, and thus at last reached Paradise (Tylor, op. cit. ii. 55; Baring-Gould, op. cit. p. 257). A bridge is likewise a prominent feature of the Indian visions of Alberic, St. Paul, Tundale, and Thurell; and the same idea is met with in the 'Lyke-Wake Dirge' (a dirge which continued to be sung in Yorkshire till A.D. 1624), the funeral chant of the North Country, which tells of the passage over the dreadfull bridge of death.

1 From Whinny-moore when thou may passe,
Every night and alle;
And Christe receive thy soul.
From Briq o' Death when thou art paste,
Every night and alle;
And Purgatory fire thou comes at last,
And Christe receive the soules.

(J. C. Atkinson, Glossary of Cleveland Dialect, p. 606; cf. Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, ii. 357; Tylor, op. cit. i. 606; Kelly, Indo-European Folklore, p. 125, who quotes the dirge in full; Becker, Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, pp. 44, 76, 83, 90, 97.)

The earliest known American Indians, either as one of their primitive myths or as a distorted belief derived from their early intercourse with Roman Catholic peoples. The Hurons and Iroquois tell of some whose spirits, travelling in dreams, have returned to earth to tell what they have encountered in the world of ghosts—the river of the dead with its snake-bride, or swinging log, at the far end of the bridge the Great Dog, and in the distance the villages of the dead (Tylor, op. cit. ii. 50). Brebeuf, an early Jesuit missionary, tells of the Indian belief in the tree-trunk which bridges the river of death, and how some of the dead, as they cross it, are attacked by the Dog that guards it, and made to fall into the abyss (ib. p. 94). Yet the myth underwent the same natural modification as it had experienced in the Old World. The passage of the bridge came to signify the ordeal whereby the good and the evil were sifted. Catlin (North Amer. Ind. i. 127) refers to the Chocotaw idea that souls at death travel far westwards to where the long, slippery, bark-covered bridge, stretching from hill to hill, bridges over the deep and dreadful river: the good pass safely to a beauteous Indian Paradise; the wicked fall into the abyss of waters, and go to dwell in a dark, hungry, wretched land (for further American Indian legends see P. H. Newell, Early Hist. of Mankind, p. 435; for similar beliefs among the Ojibwas and the Menomites of North America, see Tylor, Early Hist. of Mankind, p. 360; and on the ideas of the Aztecs and the Euruks of N. California, as well as the Indians of South America, see Brinton, Myths of the New World, 1876, pp. 108, 247 ff.)

In presence, therefore, of a wide-spread and deeply rooted in the medieval mind, that there existed a bridge in the under world over which every soul must pass, it is not surprising that men should have formed the theory that at this bridge there takes place a conflict between the devils on the one hand and the good angels on the other for the possession of each man's soul. This was an integral part of the Parsi faith. When a soul arrives at Chinvat Bridge the gods and the unclean spirits fight for possession of it. If it be one of the good ones, then the devils are defeated by the pure souls, and the dog that guards the bridge (Fargard v. 52). A curious reminiscence of this is seen in a children's game, which is played all over Europe and America, and is everywhere fundamentally the same. Newell has described it as it is played in America (Games and Songs of American Children, New York, 1884, p. 204), and shows how it is a variant of the game described above (p. 852) as 'London Bridge.' Haddon (op. cit. p. 357) points out that in Swabia of the 12th and 13th centuries there were called respectively the 'Devil' and the 'Angel'; in France the game is known as 'Heaven and Hell'; in Italy the name of the sport is 'Open the Gates.' The gates are those of the Holy Sepulchre, and the keeper of the one, St. Paul the other. 'When the destiny of the last child is decided, the two girls who represent the keepers of the bridge break their arch of lifted hands and move in different directions, followed by their subjects, while the cries and shrieks of the players condemn to the Inferno contrast with the pathetic songs and sweet cadences of those destined to the happiness of Paradise.' He further points out that the game is mentioned by Rabelais (c. A.D. 1539) under the name of the 'Fallen Bridge.' In German versions the keepers are called 'Devil and Angel,' 'King and Emperor,' or 'Sun and Moon.' In this latter form the game has been one of the few kept up by the Germans of Pennsylvania, who call it 'The Bridge of Holland' (Die hollandische Brücke). The three players are the two girls to dress as angels, while one personates the devil. The bridge, which is actually constructed of sticks and boards, is made to fall repeatedly, and this is ascribed to the devil. At last a victim is caught, and is made to undergo a test whether he will be the devil's captive or not, by being obliged to walk on a straight line drawn on the ground. And thus we find the idea of the necessity of a tribute to the river-spirit in the case of the erection of a bridge—an idea current in the very earliest ages of the world—perpetuated to-day amongst ourselves in the games which our children play.

iii. The semi-sacred character of the bridge, subsequent to the placing of the river-spirit. — This is the third stage in the growth of opinion. Once the sacrifice has been offered, and the river-spirit or devil been placated, the bridge itself takes on an air of sanctity. Can it be some kindred idea which lies at the root of the Japanese custom of bridge-divinization (hashi-utsu)? The placing of a bridge is in Japan, i.e. a male pillar or phallus, and, as persons pass over the bridge and engage in conversation, stray words overheard from their talk are interpreted by the inquirer, who sits beside the post, as an indication of future events which is supposed to be learned. The bridge is a place where it is believed 'sacred' influences are felt (see W. G. Aston, Shinto, the Way of the Gods, p. 341).
It is probably for this sacrosanctity of bridges that we may find:

1. The origin of the name ‘Pontifex’ as the primitive ‘priest-engineer.’—It stands to reason that the appeasing of an offended river-spirit could be accomplished only by one who was cognizant of the right method of propitiating the divinity. The title must be conferred on him who was most deeply instructed on these profound subjects, in other words, by the priest. He alone could interpret to his fellow-men the demands of the river-god, and he alone could prescribe the proper ritual for appeasing him. But in primitive times not only religious but also almost all technical and scientific knowledge was the exclusive possession of the priestly cult. Public works requiring skill in mathematics, engineering, and mechanical contrivances, were therefore nearly all the product of priestly brains and priestly hands. What more natural, then, than that the name ‘Pontifex,’ ‘bridge-builder’ (from ponte and facio; see Smith’s Gr. and Rom. Ant. 939 f.), should arise, suggesting in itself the twin functions of a servant of the river-god and the working out of a simple explanation of a word round which much mystery has gathered is probably the true one. The priest whose business it was to placate the river-divinity was originally also the architect of the bridge; and in later periods when these two functions were separated, and there came to be civil engineers who were not priests, the name still clung to the original possessor of the word, and hence we have ‘Pontifex,’ ‘Pontificlal,’ ‘Pontiff,’ all of priestly significance (cf. Milton for the old connotation of the word).

Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifex, a ridge of pontid far
Over the vexed abyss.

(Paradise Lost, x. 312 f.)

2. This furnishes a reason why the Pons Sublicius was always of wood.—The priestly title is essentially conservative, and the first form of the bridge was jealously preserved through all succeeding ages. We have every reason to believe that this bridge was the first which spanned the Tiber. It was the erection of this wooden structure by some pontifex, or a sort of priest-engineer (tradition assigns it to the reign of Ancus Martius [Livy, i. 33]), who defied and appeased the river-spirit, which originated the title ‘Pontifex.’ But no sooner was the bridge successfully reared, and Father Laplace asserted his existence, than the structure acquired a semi-sacred character, and was ever afterwards regarded as holy (see Dionys. ii. 73, iii. 45; Plut. Numa, 9; Serv. ad Virg. Aen. ii. 160). The idea of its holiness was perpetuated through succeeding centuries by the fact that its upkeep and repair were undertaken solely by the College of Pontifices, of whom the head was the Pontifex Maximus; while its sanctity is further attested in that neither bolt nor bar nor nail of iron entered into its construction, which was entirely of oak and poplar. In Jorrens’ Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum, 1885, p. 190; Varrt, Ling. Lat. v. 83; Pliny,HN xxxvi. 15; Tac. Hist. i. 86; Seneca, De Vita Beata, 25). The conservative priestly mind could tolerate no change. ‘In the history of man iron is a modern innovation as compared to bronze and still more to wood and stone; therefore, like every innovation, it is offensive to the gods’ (so Frazer, JPh xxv. 1855 p. 157 note, who adduces many examples of the prejudice and hatred with which iron was regarded by the old inhabitants of Europe far sundered as Scotland and Korea, Cappadocia and Morocco; he refers also to the Hebrew practice, Dt 27). It was therefore a religious notion, traceable to the innate conservatism of the priestly mind, which maintained the practice of allowing no iron to invade the virgin purity of this old wooden bridge.

If this way of accounting for the sacred character of the Pons Sublicius be the correct one, a number of competing theories are ruled out at once. Mommsen supposed that it was owing to the political exigencies of the Republic, long before the bridge was always kept in its primitive wooden condition, that it was brought about by the exasperation of the approach of an enemy. Undoubtedly the legend of how Rome was saved by Horatius Cooles keeping back the Etruscan enemy upon the Tiber, while the bridge was wooden, was most probably the result of the wooden structure behind him, lends countenance to this view (Livy, ii. 10; a fine bronze monochrom of Cooles and the Sublician bridge of 15 B.C., in the Coll. Antonius von Szott, Studien zur Tit. Med. de l’Empire Rom. 1878, p. 60). J. H. Middleton (Ancient Rome in its Popular History and Ceremonies of Etruria, i. 14) adopts similar views, the latter asserting that when the Tiber was the natural rampart of Rome, the Pons Sublicius was kept as a wooden drawbridge until all fear of invasion was removed by the conquest of Etruria and by the downfall of Hannibal. Thenceforward, stone bridges were erected, as the principle of the arch had been known for centuries before, and had been applied in the construction of the Cloaca Maxima (see also Marion Crawford, Art Roma Imperialis, i. 6, 127). But this theory fails to account for the perpetuation of the practice of retaining the bridge in its primitive wooden form and avoiding the use of iron. It is therefore the religious, rather than the political, reason, to which we are confined, as the true explanation.

3. The transference of the name ‘Pontifex’ to the pagan and Christian Emperors and latterly to the Popes.—With the passing of the Republic into the Empire, the office of Pontifex Maximus was conferred on Augustus (13 B.C.) by the vote of the Senate; and thus the supreme sanction of religion was given to that use of the word. It was held that under no circumstances could there be more than one Pontifex Maximus, and this rule was never violated until Pupienus Maximus and Balbinus were named joint-Emperors by the Senate (A.D. 238). The rule having been broken, it was never afterwards observed. Frequently the junior colleague of an Emperor was styled Pontifex Maximus equally with his senior, and the legend occurs on their medals and coins. When Christianity became the official religion of the Roman State, the Christian Emperors carried over the title into their adopted religion. Seven Christian Emperors assumed the name, ensigns, and prerogatives of Sovereign Pontiff, until finally Gratian refused to wear the Pontifical robe (see Gibbon, Hist. Rom., ed. 7, p. 244 of Caley’s ed.); and note on the testimony of Zosimus.

The next step was the transference of the title to him who claimed to be spiritual head of the Christian Church, though the exact date at which the title first applied to the Bishop of Rome cannot now be ascertained. (The formula of affirmation in Tuker and Malleson, Handbook to Christian and Eccles. Rome, iv. 334, that the title was first given to Pope Leo i. [A.D. 440-461] is incorrect.) The first prominent application of the title is from the pen of Tertullian (de Paullaticia, c. i.) in an ironical sentence addressed to the Roman Pontiff: ‘Audito etiam edictum esse propositionem, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex seclavit Maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edictum.’ The corresponding passage of Cyprian shows no trace of the recognition by the African Church of the exclusive right of the Bishop of Rome to the title. Indeed, in a petition to Boniface, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 325, the monks there address him as ‘Christi venerandus Pontifex’ (Thomassin, ed. Bourassé, ii. 569), to which Cyprian replies, ‘Eucharum Christi magni Maximus Pontifex’ by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (Migne, Patr. Lat. i. 773). The term is first applied directly to a bishop of Rome, when Anastasius, on the ordination of Pelagius i. to that dignity, exclaims: ‘Ecce sanctum pontificem pontificem pontificem’ (Migne, op. cit. xxxvii. 611). There is abundant evidence (adduced in Smith’s Diet. Christ. Ant. ii. art. ‘Pontifex’) to show that in all the succeeding centuries down to the 11th, many prelates in different countries of Europe
were styled 'Pontifex,' and that 'Maximus' was added where the see was more important and distinguished. But gradually, with the growth of the Papacy in power and worldliness, the title was centred in the Pope; and from the 11th cent. to the present day the name which was originated, perhaps by Anesius Martinus in the early ages of the world's history, to designate the engineer- ters of the bridge orders, the thing attached. The busy, offended river-spirit, has been limited to the Pontiff who to-day sits in the Vatican, and overlooks the spot where the Pons Sublacii once stood.

4. The Church assuming control of bridges.— Bridges finally became sacred objects. The Church took them over when Cheshire, and the third bridge became surrounded with many religious associations. The German Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had to reiterate thrice a royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome, 'at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican' (Gibbon, vii. 211 [Dury's ed.]; Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter [Eng. tr.], iv. 59).

Bridge-building became a part of religion, a pious and meritorious work before God. In 1189 a regular Order of Hospitaliters was founded in Scotland for the building of bridges by St. Benezet, under the name of the 'Bridge-Builders' (Frères Pontifes, Fratres Pontifices). The object of the Order was the building of hospices and bridges at points where pilgrims crossed the large rivers, and for the ferrying of pilgrims over the streams. A hospital of this Order at Avignon was planned at an early period built the celebrated bridge of which four arches still survive. As a badge they wore a pick upon their breast. Their constitution was modelled upon that of the Knights of St. John; and as the association in its early stages in the 13th cent., most of their number found their way into that Order (Kurtz, Church Hist. [Eng. tr.] ii. 76; Grégoire, Recherches historiques sur les con- gégations hospitalières des frères pontifices, Paris, 1819).

To leave money to build a bridge came to be reckoned an act of great piety. In many cases the funds bequeathed were administered by priest-engineers, whose names have been permanently associated with the structures which they erected or repaired, and with the dedication of many of St. Mary Overie from money dedicated by the daughter of a ferryman [Allen, Hist. and Ant. of London, ii. 454 ff.]). Sometimes, however, the bridges of the Middle Ages were erected from the sale of indulgences. Hutchinson (Hist. of Cumberland, i. 283) reports: 'In the year 1369 a bridge at Great Salkeld was taken away by floods; for the repairing and re- edifying of which Bishop Welton published an indulgence of 40 days. The Bishop of Durham (1311–1316) was fond of the practice, as the registry of his episcopal chancery shows. There are frequent entries such as the following: 'His lordship grants 40 days' indulgence to all who will draw from the treasure that God has given them valuable and charitable alms towards the building and repair of Bytton Bridge' (Regestra Palatium Danes- mense, ed. Hardy, in Rolls Series, 1875, i. 615, 641 [quoted in Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages, p. 41]). Similar cases might be cited from Devonshire and other records (see Walford, Historical Collections in T&HIS new series, 1884, p. 364). Prof. Hume Brown gives the facts for Scotland (Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary, 1904, p. 60).

Most of the bridges erected by priests had a chapel attached, or were finally part of a monastery. Nearly all the early bridges in the Continent of Britain were adorned with these chapels, e.g. that at Wakefield over the Calder in the time of Edward III.; that over the Wye at Monmouth, still extant; that over the Avon at Bath; and the first stone London Bridge erected in 1205, on which the chapel was dedicated to St. Thomas Becket (see Walford and Jusserand, opp. cit.). As a curious perpetuation of the ancient Roman idea that the duty of keeping the bridge intact was a religious obligation resting on the sacerdotal order of the bridge builders, the high nobility, as the heads of the church, and divided the congregation from the reading-desk and pulpit (Fosbrooke, Cyn. of Ant. p. 147; Nash, Worcestershire, i. 329). These bridge-chapels were not used exclusively for devotional purposes. The chapel of the old Norman bridge over the Aire at Leeds was utilized till the middle of the 18th cent. as a cloth market, and the traders were summoned to the spot by the ringing of the bell. In 1276 an ordinance of the Common Council of the City of London forbade the inmates of the Bridge Hospital in London to bring goods to market, and on the other hand, Philip the Fair of France in 1304 ordained that the Public Exchange of Paris should be held on the Great Bridge there, as it was anciently accustomed to be (see Gephyrologia [1754], the basis of Rees' Cyclopaedia; of Arts, Sciences, and Lit. 1810). As a still further development of this sacredness attaching to bridges, the ancient Danes are said to have erected bridges as a pious memorial of their deceased friends. Olaf Wornius in his Monumentorum Donorum, 1684, an account of the Danish bridges, built a bridge on the island of Tøessoe in Denmark, not only to preserve their own names to posterity, but also to commemorate that of Johnstein, who had converted them to Christianity. Others have erected bridges to express their gratitude for rescue from drowning.

Thus with the planting of the river-spirit, the defeat of the devil, and the hallowing of their structure by their association with the monastic orders, medieval bridges eventually became shrines, and their sanctity is taken as the basis on which the process of rehabilitation was completed. The illomened structure of antiquity grew into the holy and sacred sanctuary of the Middle Ages, and memories of their religious character have lingered to the present day. Bridges are no longer objects of portent, but symbols, and the question of their sanctity, and especially their holy spots, across which even material blessings may pass. It is over a golden bridge at Bingen that German tradition asserts that the spirit of Charle- magne annually crosses the Rhine, whenever a season of unusual plentiful betokens that the vineyards and cornfields of Germany have been super- naturally blessed. Thus Longfellow sings (Sonnet on Autumn): 'Thou standest, like Imperial Charle- magne, upon thy Bridge of Gold'; and again (The Golden Legend, Canto v.): 'God's blessing on the architects who built the bridges o'er swift rivers and abysses, Before impassable to human feet, No less than on the builders of cathedrals, Whose massive walls are bridges thrown across the dark abysses of habitation.'

Well has the name of Pontifex been given Unto the Church's head, as the chief builder And architect of the invisible bridge That leads from earth to heaven.'
BRIEFS.—See BULLS and BRIEFS.

BRINDÂBAN (Skri. brîndivana, ‘grove of the sacred bull-tree,’ oceana prana bhaiv.)—A town situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in the Mathurâ District of the United Provinces, lat. 27° 33' 20" N.; long. 77° 42' 10" E. The place is held sacred as the scene of many adventures in the life of Krishna. It has been computed that there are as many as one thousand temples within the limits of the town, of which four of special interest,—those of Govindâ Deva and Gopâthinâ, dedicated to Krishna, as a god of cattle and companion of the Gopi milkmaids; Madan Mohan and Radha-Kishor, representing him in his youthful and erotic character. The temple of Govindâ Deva, built about A.D. 1500, is the most impressive building that Hindu religious art has ever produced, at least in Northern India. ‘The body of the building,’ says Growse (p. 241), ‘is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being 100 ft. in length and the breadth across the transcepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a waggon vault, that presents, as usual in Hindu architecture, the summit, or apex, on the inner side of the temple, the only original feature surviving of the temple, and, as Growse remarks, there are earlier Hindu temples which display a similar design. Ferguson regards this as ‘one of the most interesting and elegant temples in India, and the only one, perhaps, from which an European might borrow a few hints.’ The temple of Madan Mohan is in a ruinous condition, and the idol has been removed to Karauli in Rajputâna. That in honour of Jugal Kishor was built in the reign of the Emperor Jahângir, about A.D. 1627. Among the modern temples, the most interesting is that assigned to planning a Hindu temple, and, as Growse remarks, there are earlier Hindu temples which display a similar design. Ferguson regards this as ‘one of the most interesting and elegant temples in India, and the only one, perhaps, from which an European might borrow a few hints.’

The literature of the sacred groves of India is a vast one, and the giving of names to temples and other buildings is considered an act of great sanctity. The temple of Krishna is the occasion of a local festival, of which Growse (ib. 267) enumerates forty-six.

LITERATURE.—Growse, Mathurâ, a District Memoir (1838), ch. viii., where illustrations of the more important sacred buildings of Mathura are given. The Groves of the Indians is described by Ferguson. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1854), p. 462 ff. W. CHOOKE.

BROTHERHOOD (Artificial).—See BULLS and BRIEFS.

1. ‘Relationship’ in ordinary acceptance means connexion by birth or marriage. Accordingly, it is usual to describe blood-brotherhood, adoption, and the ties formed by sponsorship, fosterage, and the like as artificial relationships, whereas these are described open to serious objection, provided that we do not leave two facts out of sight—the fact that, in the process of their evolution, artificial relationships do not always follow the same course as natural relationships, and the fact that what seems artificial to us may, and often does, seem perfectly natural to uncivilized man.

We propose to treat the subject under the following heads:

1. The ceremony establishing brotherhood.

(a) Where blood is employed (§§ 1–17).

(b) Where blood is not employed (§§ 18–29).

ii. Where the relation is due to force of circumstances (§§ 30–31).

iii. The institution among the Southern States (§§ 32–43).

iv. The institution in Roman and Byzantine law and in modern times (§§ 44–50).

v. Where the compact is entered into with women, dead or living (§§ 46–50).

vi. What persons are bound by the compact (§§ 51–55).

vii. What purposes are served by the compact (§§ 56–59).

viii. Where it is a commercial compact (§§ 60–65).

ix. General observations on the nature and history of the institution (§§ 53–59).

i. The ceremony.——(a) Where blood is employed.

2. Livingston (Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, London, 1857, p. 488) describes the rite as practised by the Balonda and shows us its most usual characteristics. ‘The hands of the parties are joined . . . small incisions are made on the clasped hands, on the pits of the stomachs of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads. A small quantity of blood is taken off from these points in both parties by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put into one pot of beer, and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other’s blood, and they are supposed to become perpetual friends or relations. During the drinking of the beer, some of the party continue beating the ground with short clubs, and utter sentences by way of ratifying the treaty. The men belonging to each then finish the drink, and the ascetics of “Kusendi” are henceforth considered blood-relations, and are bound to disclose to each other any impending evil.’ In some cases the parties drink one another’s blood undiluted. Thus, among the people of Balunga, the ‘brothers’ bent their heads, and sucked the blood from each other’s arms (Henry M. Stanley, Through the Dark Continent, London, 1878, ii. 296); and a like practice prevails among the Rokka of Flores (A. Bastian, Indoensien oder die Inseln a. indischen Archipel. p. 46: ‘Borgen n. Celebes, Berlin, 1880, p. 65), in Syria (H. C. Trumbull, The Blood Covenant, London, 1887, p. 5) and Madagascar (W. Ellis, History of Madagascar, London, 1858, i. 187–188), among the Kares of Buma (R. M. Luther, op. cit. 313), and among the Greeks with so far accommodating themselves to the manners of the barbarians, with whom they made alliances, as to drink their blood (ib. Diss. xxii.; and Tacitus (Ann. xii. 47 (Church and Brodrrib’s tr.) says of the Thracian and Illyrian tribes that it was the custom for their princes, whenever they joined alliance, to unite their right hands and bind the thumbs together in a tight knot; then, when
the blood had flowed into the extremities, they let it escape by a slight puncture and sucked it in turn. Further, Herodotus (i. 74 [Rawlinson's tr.]) tells us that the Scythians and Lydiaans made a slight flesh wound in their arms from which each sucked a portion of the other's blood. Among some of the Australian tribes the drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby "bound together in friendship and obliged to assist one another" (Spencer and Gillen, The Northern Tribes of Central Australia, London, 1904, p. 598; The Native Tribes of Central Australia, London, 1901, p. 161) to the rite drink one another's blood, or sprinkle one man's blood on the other (see below, § 49). So, too, in ancient Ireland, parties to a league are said to have ratified it by drinking each other's blood—a custom derived from the heathen, who were wont to seal their treaties with blood (Giraldo Cumbresius, Typogr. Hik. iii. 22).

3. Sometimes the blood of the 'brothers' is mixed with some other liquid—water, wine, beer, or spirits; and of this practice instances are supplied by Timothi, St. John Forth, Life Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1837-1838, London, 1835, p. 432) and of Bohol (M. de Zuluig, An Historical View of the Philippine Islands (tr. by Mayer), London, 1814, i. 67; see also Relation of Lloren: The Philippine Islands, ed. by Blair and Robertson, Cleveland, Ohio, 1803, v. 161-163), of Ambonua, of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, of the Babar Archipelago, of Wetar, of Ceram, and of Tanembar and Timor-laut (J. G. F. Kiel, De sjuk- en koerbrochtige gebruik van bloed in de Zuid-Aziatische Eilanden, Haarlem, 1886, pp. 41, 306, 342, 446, 128-129, 294), by the Bali of North Cameroon (Hutter, Der Abschluss von Blutverwandtschaft u. Verträgen bei d. Negern d. Grasslands in Nordkamerun' in Globus, 1889, lxv. 1), the Balonda (D. Livingstone, op. cit. p. 488; H. Wissman, etc., Im Innern Afrikas, Leipzig, 1888, p. 151), the Wanyamwezi (J. Kohler, 'Das Bantu- recht in Ostafrika' in Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw. xxv. 41), the Kimbunda (L. Magyar, Reisen in Süd- Afrika in d. Jahren 1839 bis 1857, tr. from the Hungarian by Henriksen, Budapest and Leipzig, 1859, i. 201-202), the Kayans (S. J. View, in The Forests of the Far East 2, London, 1863, i. 116), and the Seythiana (Herod. iv. 70).

4. The 'brothers' do not always drink each other's blood. Sometimes they sprinkle it over another (Spencer and Gillen, Northern Tribes, pp. 598, 572; see below, § 49). It is smeared by the Karens over their lips (Luther, op. cit. p. 313), while the Wachaga wipe it on a piece of flesh, which each of the parties thrusts several times into the mouth of the other (Kohler, op. cit. p. 49). A somewhat similar practice is found in Uhehe (J. Thomson, To the Central African Lakes and Back, London, 1881, i. 243-244). In Uganda and Bukoba each of the 'brothers' dips a coffee-bean from a pot containing two in his blood, and presents it on the palm of his hand to the other, who must take it up with his lips (J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda' in JAI, 1902, xxxii. 68; Kohler, op. cit. pp. 46-41). And, among the Kayans of Borneo, the "Men Selobes et Pusuk (in the Kayanian); after drinking the other liquid and drunk, or is rolled up with a cigarette and inhaled with the smoke (S. St. John, op. cit. i. 116).

5. At Murli, a coffee bean (C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan, London, 1882, i. 100) and a pigeon feather are put in the fugen's liver (R. Niese, 'Die Personen- u. Familien- recht d. Suaheli' in Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw. xvii. 249); and among the Wazaramo, Waeggiesu, Waagara (R. F. Burton, The Lake Regions of Central Africa, London, 1860, i. 114), and Masai (M. Merker, Die Masai, Berlin, 1904, p. 101), a piece of fish or fowl is eaten with the 'brother's' blood. Among some of the tribes to the south of the Welle, a piece of sugar-cane, with which the blood of the parties has been wiped off, is chewed and the fibres are blown over the wound. At the same time the rite is performed, the 'brother' declares the motives which induce him to enter into a compact, and the obligations which he binds himself to perform, and imprecates evil on the breaker of the bond (W. Junker, Travels in Africa during the Years 1879-1883, London, 1891, p. 405; see below, § 56).

6. This last instance introduces us to the performance of the rite by way of inoculation, which in many cases takes the place of blood-drinking. Grant (op. cit. p. 108 f.) gives the following description of this form as practised by the Wanyamwezi: 'The process is as follows: to the Sultan's son, Keren- enga, may be mentioned. My consent having been given, a mat is spread, and a confidential party or surgeon attends on it. All have to pass if they have not already done so. If the two are clean, a little grease, and a spear-head; a drop of blood is made under the hand of each party, a drop of blood put on a leaf and exchanged by each. The elders who rub it with butter twice into the wound with the leaf, which is now joined in pieces over the wound; after the obsequies have taken place. The solemn address is made by the older of the attendants, and they conclude the ceremony by rubbing their own sides with the grease, shaking with a will a little bone, and wishing success to each other. The rounds of ammunition are then fired off, a compliment from each of the four drums is sounded, and they parade the village all the afternoon. An Ugandan lad, the magician of the Sultan, made brotherhood with Rehan, the cook, by cutting marks on his chest and rubbing in the fat of lions.'

Similar usages are said to prevail among the Wajiji (Burton, op. cit. i. 114), on the Congo, and in other parts of Africa (H. M. Stanley, The Congo, London, 1885, i. 355, ii. 24, 29, Through the Dark Continent, i. 493; H. Ward, Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes, 1885; JAI xxiv. 291; V. L. Cameron, Across Africa, London, 1877, i. 333).

7. In Scandinavia, men made brotherhood by letting their blood flow together in a footprint and mingling where it fell ('The Long Lay of Brunnhild, The Name of the Corpse Poems, in British Barelles, by W. York Powell, Oxford, 1883, i. 308), or by 'going under the turf,' a ceremony of which an account is given in The Story of Gisli the Outlaw (from the Icelandic by G. W. Dasent, Edinburgh, 1896, p. 25). We are told that Gisli and the three men who were to be his brothers, 'cut up a sod of turf in such wise that both its ends were still fast to the earth, and propped it up by a spear, scored with runes, so tall that a man might lay his head on the socket of the spear-head. Under this yoke they were all four to pass. . . . Now they bleed each a vein, and let their blood fall together on the mould whence the turf had been cut up, and all touch it; and all afterwards fell on their knees, and were to take hands, and swear to avenge each the other as though he were his brother, and to become the gods to which the Sultan's son, Keren- enga, may be mentioned. My consent having been given, a mat is spread, and a confidential party or surgeon attends on it. All have to pass if they have not already done so. If the two are clean, a little grease, and a spear-head; a drop of blood is made under the hand of each party, a drop of blood put on a leaf and exchanged by each. The elders who rub it with butter twice into the wound with the leaf, which is now joined in pieces over the wound; after the obsequies have taken place. The solemn address is made by the older of the attendants, and they conclude the ceremony by rubbing their own sides with the grease, shaking with a will a little bone, and wishing success to each other. The rounds of ammunition are then fired off, a compliment from each of the four drums is sounded, and they parade the village all the afternoon. An Ugandan lad, the magician of the Sultan, made brotherhood with Rehan, the cook, by cutting marks on his chest and rubbing in the fat of lions.'

Several explanations of this curious ceremony have been suggested. In Jacob Grimm's opinion (Deutsche Rechtsetzethhönder, Götingen, 1881, p. 119), the 'brothers,' by placing themselves underneath the turf and falling on their knees, appear to indicate their abasement before the Higher Powers, and their solemn purification from the world. Konrad Maurer (Die Belchung d. norwegischen Stausmannes zum Christenthum, Munich, 1855-1856, ii. 293) holds that the ceremony is an ordeal of which the purpose was to secure the performance of the promises made. And this view seems to receive some support from the following passage:

'This was then the ordeal at that time, that men should pass under the earth together, that is a turn was cut out in the earth. The ends of the turf shall be fast in the field, and that man who was to undergo the ordeal should pass therethrough. . . . So was he cleansed who went under the earth-collar, if the turf fell not
upon him' (The Story of the Laxdalen, done into English by R. Proctor, London, 1900, ch. xviii.).

M. Papenhein (Die altdanischen Schutzgilden, Breslau, 1885, p. 18 ff.), however, points out that this ceremony was used not only in making love-pledges, but also in those cases where the offence had been committed and the offener was required to humble himself by going under the turf, as a condition precedent to the acceptance of a composition. He holds that one explanation will not suffice for all three cases, and he explains the use of the ceremony in making brothers — the mixing of the blood with the earth — as a symbolical of the common origin of the brothers. They are children of one womb — born of one mother, the earth (see also Vigfusson and Powell, op. cit. i. 243).

T. Makins, London, 1885, p. cxvi) tells us that, in a dispute among the Koraish, the men of one party solemnized their compact by dipping their hands in blood, while their opponents dipped their hands in perfume and rubbed them upon the Ka'a. Robertson Smith (Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, new ed. London, 1903, pp. 57-59) says that at Mecca in historical times a life and death covenant was solemnized by an oath, each of the parties to which dipped his hands in a pan of blood and tasted each other's hands, and he states that the view that these forms are variations of one and the same rite — the rite in which the contracting parties drank or tasted one another's blood. He shows (op. cit. p. 59, note 1) that in some instances water or fruit-juice was substituted for blood; and in this connexion it is interesting to notice Herodotus (iv. 172 [Rawlinson's tr.] statement regarding the Nasamonians that, 'when they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they dust their hands from a chariot, and put their tongues to it' (cf. W. Crooke, 'The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in JAI xxviii. 241). It may be that the practice of ratifying an agreement to take part in a common undertaking by shaking hands dipped in blood (Hector Booths, Scotorum Historiae, Paris, 1520, lib. ii. fol. xvii b; cf. § 15 below), and that of drinking human blood, attributed to conspirators at Rome (Sall. de Conj. Cat. 22; Phil. Vid. Publicoe iv. [both statements are regarded as un- reliable by Casselman, Römische Forschungen, Berlin, 1864, i. 332, n.1]), and in China (Trumbull, op. cit. p. 43), are truly adaptations of the primitive institution of 'making brothers' (see below, § 15).

With the form of the rite in which the hands are dipped in blood Jacob Grimm (op. cit. p. 194) compares the dipping of weapons in blood, mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 70 [Rawlinson's tr.]) in the following passage:

'Oaths among the Scythians are accompanied with the following ceremony: a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wrapping themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine; then they place a sword, a scythe, a battle-axe, a bow, an arrow, and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly the two contracting parties drink from the bowl, as do also the children among their followers.'

So, too, the Benaus, in making alliances or in taking solemn vows, dip their weapons into a mixture of which blood forms the principal ingredient. ('Heads and Swords, Historical and Social Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1839, ii. 395.) Lucian (Toxaris, 37), in his account of the Scythian form, gives the additional fact that the parties, having dipped the points of their swords in the blood, held them together and seeing that swords signified the union of the parties; and this view is corroborated by the curious practice of scraping the spear-shafts and musket-stocks of the 'brothers' on a banana-leaf, and dropping these scrapings, with a pinch of salt and a little dust from a grave, upon the wounds (Stanley, The Congo, ii. 24, 59, cf. Hutton, op. cit. p. 13, as to the Bali of North Cameroon, and see § 13 below). It seems that scrapings of wood from the stool of a chief add strength to an oath (A. B. Ellis, The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, London, 1887, p. 185). A similar observance appears to apply to the ceremony of sword-dipping practised by the Kunowit Dyaks. According to St. John (op. cit. i. 55), a pig was placed between representatives of two tribes, who, after cutting themselves, dipped their swords into water, and then broke the treaty, plunged their spears into the animal, and then exchanged them, each holding the other's sword; and the act of holding the other's sword is to be completed by an instance or touches upon the sword of the other, and so the act is completed.'

So, too, the Garos swear to observe peace by biting each other's sword, and seal the compact by putting food into each other's mouth and pouring beer down each other's throat (E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, London, 1872, p. 62). It is of interest to note in this connexion that the Norman lawyers explained the word 'wapentake' in reference to 'to the formal recognition of the Duke of Normandy by touching his arms' (W. Stubbs, The Constitutional History of England, 2, Oxford, 1885, i. 96). This ceremony is described in a law of Edward the Confessor (c. 33 as follows:


Apo vaece eteca lancea sa ub omnibus sectandus mortem feebus accepit; omnes enim quotque venissent cum lanceas ipsum hastam tangebant et sua confirmabant per contactum armarum, rore palam conseruarent.'

Du Cange (Glossarium mediceum et infima Latinitatis, ed. L. Favre, Niort, 1893, s.v. 'Arma' ['Arma mutare'] understands that it was thus that the subjects of the early kings of England made themselves 'the subjects of the King of Normandy, bound to cherish and protect one another and to join in preserving the kingdom from its enemies. G. Tamassia (L'Affrondamento, Turin, 1886, p. 32, note 2), however, cites authority to show that what is described is not a arma unius conjunctio, but a modus per stipulam commassorem armorum plebiscita continuo (see Grimm, op. cit. p. 7701; Tac. Germ. xi., Hist. v. 15).

10. Sometimes the parties to the compact hold the ends of a forked branch, while one of them cuts it in two, or while a medicine-man draws their blood from their foreheads (The Congo, ii. 82, 104). It is observed by C. A. L. M. Schwanner (Borneo, Beschrijving van het Stroomgebied van de Berito, Amsterdam, 1833, i. 214-215) that, in the district of Borneo with which he deals, a third party knocks the other branch held by the two last-named parties and at the same time pronounces imprecatory upon the oath-breaker. In view of the whole circumstances, it seems not improbable that the act of holding had a twofold significance. In the first place, it symbolized the union of the parties (it had the same meaning as the contact of swords in the Scythian ceremonial), and, in the second place, it was a ritual act similar to the act of holding an animal while it is being slaughtered for sacrifice. An instance of this sacrificial ceremony is also recorded by the Kumi of Chittagong. Among them, the parties to the covenant hold the ropes by which a goat is secured. One of their number stands over it, holding a fighting dâo. He takes a mouthful of liquor from a cup and blows it over the parties and the victim. Then he raises his dâo and invokes the posse civitatis, while he pulls some hairs from the goat and beats them to the winds. With one stroke the head is severed from the body, and the blood is smeared on the foreheads and feet of the 'brothers' (T. H. Huxley, The Wild Races of South-east Asia, London, 1870, p. 228). Among the Bali and the Dusuns, and in Shira (see below, §§ 13, 17, 21), the act of holding or touching the victim forms part of the ceremony.
11. Trumbull tells us of a curious Syrian form of the rite. The parties publicly announce their reasons for entering into the compact. These declarations are only spoken in duplicate; and each party, having smeared his copy with the other's blood, and having uttered the wish that the deceiver may be deceived by God, wears it suspended from his neck or bound to his arm 'in token of the indissoluble relation' (op. cit. p. 51; see below, § 21).

12. Probably Grimm (op. cit. p. 194; cf. Livy, i. 32) is justified in referring to the notion of union brought about by an exchange of blood both the 'hasta sanguinea praestae' of the Romans—the symbol of the declaration of peace and friendship—united, perhaps, with the Cross of the Scottish Highlanders—the half-burnt stake dipped in blood which called the clans to arms against a common foe.

13. A group of observances in which the introduction of weapons forms a prominent feature seems to be susceptible of a different interpretation. Forbes (op. cit. p. 452) tells us that at Timor the contracting parties slash their arms, and collect the blood in a bamboo, into which kerump (coarse gin) or tarum (palm-wine) is poured. Having put into the same fig-tree, they adjourn to some retired spot, taking with them the sword and spear from the Ludi chamber of their own houses, or from the Uma-Luli of their saku, if between large companies. Planting there the fig-tree, flanked by the sacred sword and spear, they hang on it a bamboo receptacle, into which—after pledging each other in the mixed blood and gin—the remainder is poured. Then each swear, 'If I be false, and be not a true friend, may my blood issue from my mouth, as it does from one of the Ludi houses, and enter into the bottom of the receptacle being pricked at the same moment to allow the blood and gin to escape. The tree remains and grows as a witness to the contract. With this tree of witness Trumbull (op. cit. p. 310 ff.) connect—erroneously, we venture to think—the blood-stained 'Fiery Cross' and a similar symbol made use of in Southern Arabia (see A. von Wrede, Reise in Hadhramaut, Brunswick, 1870, p. 197 ff.; see above, § 12). It is not uninteresting to note that the planting of a tree, which, in Timor, is a symbol of peace, is also used in Karon, Kayan, and Burma, in itself constitutive of the bond of brotherhood (Luther, op. cit. p. 313). Trumbull (op. cit. pp. 260 ff., 316) refers in this connexion to the planting of trees in ancient Israel; but the Israelitish practice cannot be susceptible of an altogether different explanation (see Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem., London, 1894, p. 155 ff.). What then was the purpose served by the introduction of weapons? It may be that it was the same as that of planting the tree; and, in support of this view, the instance of the Madagnears may be cited. W. Ellis (Hist. of Madag., p. 188 ff.), in describing the ceremony of the fatadre (a form of the blood-rite), says that 'to obtain the blood, a slight incision is made in the skin covering the arm, the blood is collected in the bosom, signifies the fatadre, "the mouth of the heart." . . . Some gourd-powder and a ball are brought, together with a small quantity of ginger, a spear, and two stones, and the knife, which is also used in each hand. Its handle is nearly cut off; and it is left in this state to continue bleeding during the whole ceremony.' The parties then join in pronouncing a long imprecation upon the oath-breaker, in which occur the following invocations: 'Oh the mouth of the heart! On the ball of the ginger-dense, the indelible foot, the unvanquishable foot, weting her in its blood!' and then follows the statement: 'If we keep and observe this covenant, let those things bear witness.'

Take again Hutter's (op. cit. p. 1 ff.) account of the ceremony among the Bali of North Cameroon: It seems to consist of two parts—the making of 'brothers' and the making of 'friends.' The former is performed by drinking kola and pepper in their open hands, interchange promises of mutual friendship and assistance. The kola and pepper were chewed and eaten, and the blood of the 'brothers' was mixed with palm-wine and drunk by each. Then followed the second part, the making of 'friends.' At this the blood, which in the former part being pronounced upon the oath-breaker, a trench was dug. Each 'brother' pricked his arm, and the bullets, some in twos, some in threes, some altogether, were thrown into the trench. It was filled up and a flat stone was placed upon it. Upon this stone a kiss was given, and the 'brothers,' while the others held it fast, its blood falling on the stone and trench. After the blood was thrown into the trench, the calabash into which bullets were dropped; and the contents of the calabash were emptied out on the trench. Then the 'brothers' poured the contents on the trench, the ground containing redwood on the stone, they rubbed one another's arms and breasts with the wood, while words of magic were repeating said. Later and less properly, as it seems, the wood was distributed among the followers and attendants.

The view that the articles thrown into the trench and the stone placed upon it afterwards is to be interpreted as an act of sacrifice, derives support from the practice of the Chûninhans in making oath, to dig a hole a hole, the place where it was which the one killed by another, and cover the stone with earth; and by these acts they signify that, like the stone in the ground, their word or oath remains unalterable (Kleek Taum. Die Ersforung d. Techinian-Gebiete auf Formosa durch die Japaner in Globen, 1896, Ixx. 22 ff.). A very similar form of oath is found among the Bendawus Dusuns. According to F. Hatton's account (North Borneo, London, 1885, p. 204, cf. pp. 305, 397), the ground having been cleared for a space of about twelve yards, a hole was dug, a foot in depth, a large water-lron was placed in it, the earth dug out was thrown into it, and the two chief men called upon their god. A stone was then placed near the fire, and the two men declared by fire, represented by a burning reed, would be held guiltless to their god. While they are eating, a large bowl of liquor is prepared. The elders add some drops of pigs' or clickers' blood; and the chiefs wound each other and let their blood flow into the liquor. The elders stir the potion with a sword, a spear, arrows, and, in later times, with the muzzle of a musket. Then one of them comes forward and imprecates evil upon the oath-breaker, the other feasters show their concurrence by signs, the chiefs of the two parties begin to drink the liquid, and the rest of the company follow. On a set day a feast is given in the other village, and the bond is then regarded as inviolable. This solemnity is called peta (Riedel, op. cit. p. 125 ff.). Riedel does not give the terms of the imprecation, nor does he state the purpose for which the weapons are introduced. It is, however, instructive to observe that, in the Ceramese procedure, by way of oath for the discovery of crime, a parang and a little arrow-rust are introduced along with other symbols, and that an imprecation is pronounced upon the oath-breaker, with the effect, inter alia, that his throat shall be cut with a parang and his body pierced with arrows (ib. p. 116). Further, in the Tamlembi and Timor-Laut Islands, in making brothers, sea-water, palm-wine, and other ingredients, are added. Then a bunch of sea-water is poured into a bowl and mixed with the blood of the contracting parties. Dududua is invoked as witness to the covenant, and evils are imprecated upon the breaker of the bond. He shall be unstable as the sea, and his life shall be like the tides. Then the parties drink the liquor, and the stone or tooth is broken in two and preserved as a memorial or 'witness' (ib. p. 284). It is thought that these practices throw some light upon the symbolic meaning of weapons in the hela ceremony, which includes, according to Riedel (ib. p. 336, as to brother-making at Leti), and that a similar explanation applies to the two instances which
follow. Among the Wazarano, Waagaruro, and Wasagara, the candidate for the brotherhood seat then puts upon another, his bows and arrows being placed across their thighs, 'whilst a third person waving a sword over their heads vociferates curses against any that may break the brotherhood' (Burton, op. cit. i. 114); and to the woman who has performed the act the triple fusion of blood by inoculation had been completed, one of the proxies held a sword resting on his shoulder, while the other went through the motions of sharpening a knife upon it, both joining in pronouncing imprecations against the oath-breaker (cf. Höhnel, 'Anleitung zur Ethnologie der maleisischen Völker,' Leipzig, 1891, p. 147).

15. It is, of course, plain, from some of the examples of the ceremony with which we have been dealing, that the blood employed is not always that of the eaten animal, but sometimes that of one which has been killed by the agent of the harvest (see C. Höhnel, 'Die Religionsverhältnisse zwischen Men und Animals in Sarawak,' in JAI, 1901, xxxi. 209; cf. p. 185). In very many cases it is that of their proxies (Livingstone, op. cit. p. 488; J. Thomson, 'Through Masui Land, new ed., London, 1887, p. 587; cf. Schalburg, op. cit. p. 239; Macnaghten, 'Through the Dark Continent,' i. 146, 332). Sometimes the 'brothers' shake hands, after having dipped them in the blood of a slaughtered animal (J. M. Schuster, 'Reisen im oberen Nilgebiet, Ergänzungsteil, No. 75, zu Petermanns Mittheil.,' p. 50), or they are marked with his blood—the blood of a pig among the Kinials (St. John, op. cit. i. 117, 75), of a goat among the Knui of Chittagong (Lewin, op. cit. p. 285), of a goat or a heifer among the Shendos (ib. pp. 315, 322). Sometimes they smear their lips with blood drawn from a bull's eye (Le Tchou-Li, ou Rites des Tcheou, tr. from the Chinese by E. Biot, Paris, 1851, i. 126, ii. 247 f.). Or the blood may be that of a human victim, either stoned with drink, as among the wild tribes of Mexico (H. H. Bancroft, 'The History of the Indian Tribes of the Pacific States,' London, 1875, i. 636, 637; see below, § 48), or slain, as among the Danons of Borneo (Schwaner, op. cit. ii. 77).

16. Some of these ceremonies are plainly sacrificial, and recall to us Herodotus' account of the fat being divided among fixing the Arabs (iii. 8 [Rawlinson's tr.]). He tells us that,'when two men would swear a friendship, they stand on each side of a third: he with a sharp stone makes a cut on the inside of the hand of each near the middle joint, and, taking a piece from their dress, dips it in the blood of each, and moistens therewith seven stones lying in the midst, calling the while on Bacchus and Uranis.'

Robertson Smith identifies these diversities with Orotai and Allah (Rel. Sem., p. 310), and observes that at Mecca, within historical times, 'the form of the oath was that each proxy dipped their hands in a pan of blood and tasted the contents. . . The later Arabs had substituted the blood of a victim for human blood, but the custom with which Herodotus is conversant, they licked the blood as well as smeared it on the sacred stones. . . The seven stones in Herodotus are, of course, sacred stones, the Arabic mumsh, Hebrew masbath, which, like the sacred stones at the Ka'Ba, were originally Balyzed, Belzels or god-boxes.' He adds that the essence of the rite was that the parties 'consigned their blood, at the same time applying the blood to the god or fetish so as to make him a party to the covenant also.' (ib. 57, 59, 60.)

17. In some of these sacrificial rites an exchange of garments or weapons or gifts forms a part. Thus St. John (op. cit. i. 117), in speaking of the Kayans, says that 'they would exchange the sacred ceremony, though the variation may be confined to the Kinials, who live farther up the river, and are intermarried with the Kayans. The nose is brought at placed between the two who are to be joined in brotherhood. A chief addresses an invocation to the gods, and marks with a lighted brand the pig's shoulder. The beast is then killed, and, after an exchange of jackets, a sword is thrust into the wound and the two are marked with the blood of the pig.' So, too, in the Tschoukam exchange and re-exchange of clothing enter into the rite (Kohler, 'Das Bonntrecht,' p. 40). Among the Kanowit Dayaks, 'a pig was placed between the representatives of the two tribes, who, after calling down the vengeance of the Spirits on those who broke the rite, plunged their spears into the animal and then exchanged weapons' (St. John, op. cit. i. 55). Again, among the Dusuns, an exchange of weapons followed the ceremony, in which, having invoked his god, the chief and the traveller entered into the head and tail of the fowl with a third person almost severed its head. The movements of the dying fowl were then ordered to indicate the intentions of the parties. Lastly, guns were fired and presents were given (Hatton, op. cit. p. 155; see below, § 29).

(b) Where blood is not employed.

18. We shall now proceed to consider the cases in which the use of blood does not enter into the ceremony; and, first of all, we shall deal with instances where the exchange of food forms the essential part of the rite. When among the Mapuches the compact is made by an exchange of names, one of the parties at the same time presenting a lamb to the other to be eaten by him (E. R. Smith, 'The Araucanians, New York, 1855, p. 261; cf. Robertson Smith, 'Through Unknown African Countries,' London, 1870, p. 297; according to v. Höhnel, op. cit. p. 657, 690, they spit upon the sheep and pour milk upon it; see below, § 21); and of the Abors it is said that they 'hold as inviolate any engagement cemented by an interchange of meat as food. This is called semngung. Each party to the engagement must give to the other some animal to be killed and eaten; it is not necessary that they should eat together, or that the feast be held at the same time' (Dalton, op. cit. p. 462). In this same tribe, so this author tells us, the account of the Mapuches, given above, and that of the magua ceremony among the Khoi-Khoi. The parties to the rite last mentioned must be relatives. A man, for example, may enter into it with his sister's son or daughter's daughter, or with the son or daughter of his own wife, and even with a kinsman or with a brother or a sister, and with the son or daughter of his mother's or father's brother, or with the son or daughter of his own mother or father. The blood boiled with the kidney-fat forms the ceremonial food (cf. A. H. Howitt, 'The Native Tribes of South-east Australia,' London, 1904, p. 751), and of it only the parties and their nearest relatives partake, the rest of the family being apart. At the feast the meal the uncle gives the nephew his hand, promises to be a father to him, and asks him not to injure him in any way. Some days afterwards the uncle gives a feast in return. He slaughters an animal in the house of his sister—the mother of the man with whom he is entering into the magua—and afterwards gives him the best of his cows. The covenant draws the ties of relationship more closely together, but does not form a new bond (C. Waudre, 'Die Khoi-Khoi oder Naman,' in H. S. Schott's, 'Bildung und Kultur der Missionare in Afrikas und Ozeaniens,' Berlin, 1903, p. 315.) The Beni take the oath of friendship by 'chopping juju. A kola nut is placed on a brass tray with water poured on it. One of the parties touches himself with the
water and nut and eats part of it. Then the other party eats the remainder of it (R. H. Bacon, Benis, the City of Blood, London, 1897, p. 100). Again, among the Krenes of Burma, brotherhood is made by eating together, or by planting a tree, or by exchanging blood. Of those methods, the first is said to be of but little binding force, being a mere agreement to abstain from hostilities for a certain time. The Khamiyo of Bagds, Bagds, and Mahulis admit into their caste men of higher caste ranking than their own, on the candidate paying a small sum of money to the headman and giving a feast. He must taste a portion of the food left by each of the guests (H. H. Risley, The Tribes and Castes of Bengal: Ethnographic Glossary, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 41). Among the Mals, he must give a feast, and drink water into which the headman has dipped his toes (ib. p. 49). When a man of the Murni—a Mongolian caste in Nepal—wishes to make another man his brother, he intimates his feelings; and if these are reciprocated, presents are exchanged. A day is fixed for the ceremony, at which a Brahman officiates. The men face one another, each with a rupee at his feet. They exchange the rupees, and each dauls the other with his teeth. This mixture is called us in the marriage rite. The proceedings end with a feast. The tie thus formed is regarded as equivalent to that of actual kinship. 'The adopted brothers may not address or speak of one another by name, nor may they talk to each other's wives, even though these may have taken part in the ceremony. Their descendants, again, are supposed not to intermarry till seven generations have passed' (ib. p. 111). A somewhat similar account is given of the Limbas (ib. p. 10).

With the usages as to eating may be compared what Herodotus (iv. 172 [already quoted]) says of the Nasamoniens: 'When they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground, and put their tongues to it.' In making friendship with the Wawikju, the two parties threw water on their heads and caught and drank it as it fell (v. Hohnel, op. cit. p. 315 f.); and it is said of the wild tribes of the Naga Hills that, when peace is once established, the will, and, as in the proverbial practice of the austere, the chiefs meet face to face on opposite sides of a table raised on the roadside about eight feet from the ground, and approached on either side by a broad ascent, and exchange bamboo mugs of wine (H. G. Wood, op. cit.)

20. Not infrequently the bond is constituted by an exchange of garments or weapons. Thus, in Tahiti, the natives made friends by taking off a great part of their own clothes and putting them upon the voyagers (J. C. J. Hawkesworth, An Account of Voyage in the Southern Hemisphere, London, 1773, ii. 251). It is said of the villagers of the Gangotri valley in the country of the Teri Raja, that with them an exchange of caps is as certain a mark of friendship as an exchange of turbans between two chiefs in the plains (F. Markham, Shooting in the Himalayas, London, 1854, p. 108); and a similar statement is made regarding the khamit (H. B. Roweney, The Wild Tribes of India, London, 1882, pp. 102, 103); while the Anglo-Indian Hyderabad also made a point of the change of clothing (Merker, op. cit. p. 101). Edmund of England entered into an intimate alliance with king Caut by exchanging clothing and arms (du Cange, Glossarivm, ut. cit. supr.); and the same held true of the savvas (see H. G. Wood, op. cit. pp. 171, 172). In Jean sire de Joinville (ut. cit. supr., where many other instances will be found), it was the practice of the Saracens to make friendships by an exchange of arms. The case of Glaucus and Diomedes (Hom. II. vi. 235; see Tamassia, op. cit. p. 6 ff.) is, of course, familiar. Again, it is said of the Khamit that they make friendship by an exchange of weapons even the most deadly enemies become fast friends, and if one falls in fight, it is the duty of the other to avenge him (Roweney, op. cit.); and Dalton (op. cit. p. 20) gives a like account of the Midusins.

21. Sometimes the compact is formed by exchanging pieces of a slaughtered animal. Thus the Reschiat (see Donaldson Smith, op. cit. p. 297, referred to above, § 18) hang strips of its paunch on the necks of those with whom they are making friendship (F. Paulitschke, Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbaren in ZE 1899, 5). Further, Trumbull (op. cit. p. 66) quotes an Indian authority (' Tod's Travels, Journal of the Indian Archipelago, Singapore, 1851, No. 32) to the effect that among the Rajput races of India women adopt a brother by the gift of a bracelet; and with this custom may be compared the Sla- vonic practice of tying the 'brothers' together (see below, § 37).

22. Sometimes the ceremony consists in the application of saliva (see above, §§ 18, 21). The Southern Somali spits on his right hand and rubs it on the foreheads of his friends; and if he is a fellow-tribesman; and among the Oroonó, a like ceremony seems to entitle the guest to tribal rights (Paulitschke, op. cit. p. 246). In the old days, the Masai spat at the man with whom they swore eternal friendship (S. L. and H. Hinde, The Last of the Masai, London, 1901, p. 17); and, among the Dyor, 'spitting betokens the most affectionate good-will;' it was a pledge of attachment, an oath of fidelity; it was to their mind the proper way of giving solemnity to a league of friendship' (G. Schweinfurth, The Heart of Africa, tr. by E. E. Frewer, London, 1873, i. 205). A similar practice is said to prevail in Guiana (Lawrence Keymis, Second Voyage to Guiana in the year 1596; R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation . . ., London, 1588-1600, ii. 577). In the Maba, a friendly visit off Senegambie (E. S. Hartland, The Legend of Persua, London, 1894-1896, ii. 294); and Grium (op. cit. p. 194) observes that the old northern symbol of concluding peace was not blood but saliva (see H. G. Wood, op. cit. p. 172). A few instances in which saliva is employed are collected.

23. A remarkable form of the practice is spoken to by Taplin (in J. D. Wood's Native Tribes of
South Australia, Adelaide, 1879, p. 321ff.). He says in his account of the Narrinyeri that 'the latter suggested a sort of truce between the tribes on the Murray and those near the sea, and a curious sort of provision is made for it, the object of which may be the senet or game of war. The authority person to act the business of the tribes—agents who will not by collusion cheat their employers and enrich themselves. . . . When a man has a child before him and he makes its umbilical cord by tying it in the middle of a bunch of feathers. This is called a kalubu. He then gives this to the father of child or children belonging to another and to whom these children are thereafter nia-giagnampi to the child from whom the kalubu was procured, and that person who gives the child then. From this time none of the children of the man to whom the kalubu was given may speak to their iniala-giagnampi or even touch or go near him; neither must he speak to them.

We learn from the same authority (Taphlin, in E. M. Curr, The Australian Race, London, 1886, ii. 254) that, 'If one nia-giagnampi sees another in need of anything, he or she must send a supply of it if possible; but yet there must never be any direct personal intercourse between the persons. Sometimes the relation is entered into for a time only by dividing the kalubu and giving a part to each. When these parts are returned to the original owner, the relation ceases (Taphlin, in J. D. Wood, op. cit. p. 33).

24. Many names may be cited in which the compact is made by an exchange of names. This is the form observed by the Mapuches, one of the parties to the exchange at the same time presenting a lamb to the other, to be eaten by him.

25. Establishes between them nia-giagnampi a species of relationship which is considered almost as sacred as that of blood, and obliges them to render to each other certain services and that consideration which naturally belongs to relatives' (E. R. Smith, op. cit. p. 392; see also Foppig, op. cit. i. 384 f. as to the Fehmernese).

At Shupanga, on the Zambesi, the exchange of names with men of other tribes is not uncommon. The parties to the transaction regard themselves as close comrades, owing special duties to each other ever after; and each is entitled, if he visits the other, to food, lodging, and other friendly offices (D. and C. Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, 1858-1861, London, 1865, p. 149). In Ugoogo names are exchanged as a pledge of friendship (C. T. Wilson and K. W. Felkin, op. cit. i. 60), and the practice is common in Polynesia (Hawaii [J. Cook and King, Voyages, 2, iii. 251, in the years of 1777-1780, London, 1874, iii. 17], Huahine (J. Cook, in Hawkesworth, op. cit. ii. 251). It is said to be in use in the Marshall Islands (C. E. Meinicke, Die Inseln d. stillen Oceans, Leipzig, 1875-1876, ii. 342; A. von Chamisso, in O. von Kotzebue, A Voyage of Discovery into the Southern Sea and Beering's Straits, London, 1831, iii. p. 172, affirms that the friend is obliged to give his wife to his friend, but is not bound to avenge him); and it is found in the islands of Torres Straits (see Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, 1904, x. 125, 131 f.; see also J. B. Jukes, Narrative of the Surreying Voyage of H.M.S. 'Fly', London, 1847, i. 299 f., where it seems that the exchange forms a bar to marriage between one of the parties and the sisters of the other), and among the Caribs (Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique, Rotterdam, 1861, p. 513), the Chapanish (M. Lewis and W. Clarke, Travels to the Source of the Missouri River . . . in the years 1837-1838, to have exorcised a sort of truce between the parties (Curr, op. cit. i. 251, note), the Shastika Indians (S. Powers, Tribes of California: Contributions to N. American Ethnology, Washington, 1877, i. 427), and the Chincaghmint of Alaska (J. Otto, A Tour around the World . . . in 1875-1878, London, 1878, p. 229; see also J. Menzies, Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N.W. Coast of America, London, 1790, p. 365). It was at one time in use on the Lower Murray (G. F. Angas, Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, London, 1847, i. 254), and in New Zealand (J. C. F. de Sartorius, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, London, 1845, ii. 131). Of the natives at Wide Bay, Queensland, it is said (H. S. Russell, 'Exploring Excursion in Australia' in J.T.W., 1845, xx. 314) that 'they rub their noses with their fingers and mention their name, and you are then expected to follow the example by rubbing your nose and mentioning your name; then rub noses again with names exchanged.' The Kingsmill Islanders make friendship by rubbing noses and exchanging names (C. Wilkes, Geographical Results of the U.S. Exploring Expedition during the years 1838-1842, London, 1844, iv. 51); and de Sartorius gives a very similar account of the ceremony at Tonga (J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe; Histoire du Voyage, Paris, 1839-1836, iv. 349). The Vanikors exchange names and presents (ib. v. 329); and the same usage prevails in some parts of New Guinea (W. W. Gill, Life in the Southern Isles, London, 1876, p. 238; J. Chalmers and W. W. Gill, Work and Adventures in New Guinea, 1877- 1878, London, 1878, pp. 42, 99). As to making 'brothers' with animals by exchange of names, see below, § 46.

26. Among the Yalgans of Cape Horn, artificial ties of friendship are constituted by an exchange of gifts; and by painting the face and body in a distinctive fashion. The friends assume the names of blood-relationship—uncle, brother, cousin, or nephew—and behave themselves as if they were really akin (T. Bridges, 'Mœurs et Coutumes des Fuegiens,' tr. by F. Hyades, Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, 1844, ser. iii. vol. vii. p. 182). And this practice is not confined to males; for women, unconnected by blood, often call themselves sisters, and act as such in all the conduct of life (P. Hyades and J. Deniker, Mission du Cap Horn, 1838-1839, Paris, 1891, vii. 298). So, too, among the Ovaherero, persons of the same sex are frequently united in a formal association (omapenga or ovapanga). The men have their wives in common, and are entitled to use each other in time of need; while married as well as unmarried persons have a specific office, the Die Eingeborenen Sud-Afrikas, Brosel, 1872, p. 227; G. Viehe, 'Die Ovaherero,' in S. R. Steinmetz, op. cit. p. 394; see also J. Kohler, 'Recht der Herero' in Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw. xiv. 298-299. An interesting parallel to these female associations is furnished by the Orinons. (W.) These two girls feel a particular penchant for each other, they swear eternal friendship and exchange necklaces, and the compact is witnessed by common friends. They do not name one another after this rafildation (D. in K. Zelti, but are 'my brother' or "my gino" or "my gino" or "my meet to smile" to each other to the end of their lives (Dalton, op. cit. p. 233). A like custom exists among some of the Papuan tribes on the north coast of New Guinea (J. Kohler, 'Recht der Papuas' in Zeits f. vergl. Rechtsw. xiv. p. 290), and in certain districts of the Alenuzi (E. S. Hartland, op. cit. ii. 218 f.). As to similar usages among the Southern Slavs see below, § 34.

27. Among the North American Indians, we find many examples of companionships in arms. Thus, on the eastern coast, 'the young men are generally coupled out as friends; the tie is very permanent, and continues oftentimes through life' (Edwin James, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, London, 1814, esp. the notes of Major Lown . . . London, 1823, i. 117, 235; see also W. J. McGee, 'The Sioux Indians,' in Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bur-
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ean of Ethnology to the . . . Smithsonian Inst. 1832-1834, Washington, 1897, p. 178); the existence of a similar institution has been noted among the Wyandot (First Annual Report . . . 1839-1840, Washington, 1891, p. 69), and the Iroquois (P. F. X. de Charlovoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1744, vi. 14); and J. Adair (The History of the American Indians, London, 1775, p. 190) says that the Cherokee reckoned a friend in the same rank with a brother both with regard to marriage and any other affair of social life.

In Fiji, 'instances of persons devoting themselves specially to arms are not uncommon. The manner in which they do this is singular, and appears to be an imitation of the practice of the Australians; and the two men entering into it are spoken of as man and wife, to indicate the close connection of their military union. By this mutual bond the two men pledge themselves to oneness of purpose and effort, to stand by each other in every danger, defending each other to the death, and, if needful, to die together. In the case of one of the parties wishing to become married in the ordinary style to one of the other sex, the former contract is forcibly declared void' (T. Williams and P. Koko, Fiji and the Fijians, ed. G. S. Rowe, London, 1890, i. 45-46).

Further, the custom of joining in companionships for mutual defence prevails among many of the African tribes. 'Individuals enter into engagements to support each other in specific enterprises, or in all cases that may arise. These alliances are either adoptions or bonds between a number of persons. The connexion between two persons in the same Goondie is reckoned stronger than that of blood. They are bound to do whatever may be given, and everyEngagement for each other. A Goondie between two chiefs is not dissolved even by a war between their tribes; they may even join in the battle, but as the chief is over his friend, so is his armour. Goondies also take place between tribes' (Al. Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Cambay . . . new ed. London, 1835, ii. 4).

With these brothers in arms we may compare the Celtic 'Soldiirii' and 'Ambethi,' whose name ('de Bell. Gall. iii. 22, vi. 15) mentions.

27. There exist fraternities in many tribes, which are composed of several subdivisions, or exist fraternities and extensive associations, the members of which are 'bound mutually to protect each other, and assist in paying the line of individuals who may commit manslaughter or other crimes.' In travelling, the members enter one another's houses 'as freely as if they were brothers in reality' (J. S. Bell, Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the years 1837-1839, London, 1840, i. 84). All the members of a fraternity are regarded as springing from the same stock; and not only they, but their heirs, are precluded from intermarriage (ib. p. 347).

28. J. Macgillivray (Narratives of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, London, 1852, i. 310) noted at Evans Bay, Cape York, the existence of an association, existing between certain whites and certain natives, by which the latter appeared to be bound to assist the former and care for their safety. The native was said to be the white man's kothaiga—"the term being derived from the Kowarega word for 'younger brother.' The Kowarega are an Australian tribe, altered by contact with the Papuans of the adjacent islands so as to resemble the latter in most of their physical, intellectual, and moral characteristics (Howitt, op. cit. pp. 3, 11). We are not told how this relation was entered into, or whether it is one of blood between natives, as well as between natives and whites. It may be that it is to be classed not with blood-brotherhood, but rather with those associations for the purpose of mutual assistance in trade of which an example is furnished by the Kwaarra Hotentots in their intercourse with the labors of the Khoi (J. Burchell, Travels in the Interior of South Africa, London, 1824, ii. 555; cf. R. F. Burton, op. cit. ii. 55; and J. Chapman, Travels in the Interior of S. Africa, London, 1888, i. 57, note). The Kowarega are said to be a Jacobinical and revolutionary tribe. The Algonquins may be mentioned. They regarded the mingling of the bones of deceased relatives and friends as constituting a bond of friendship between their descendants (S. de Champlain, Œuvres, ed. by C. H. Lavendière, Quebec, 1870, v. 303), and Adair (op. cit. pp. 183-184) seems to indicate that the same notion prevailed among the Chocotaws. He adds that they reckoned it irreligious to mix the bones of a relative with those of an enemy or even of a stranger (cf. Robertson Smith, Kinship, pp. 314, 315).

ii. Where the relation is due to force of circumstances.

30. Hitherto we have been considering artificial relations into which the parties enter by choice. We now turn to relations which are brought about by force of circumstances, and not by the volition of the parties. Livingstone (Missionary Travels and Researches, p. 526) tells us that he became blood-relation to a young woman by accident. As he was removing a tumour from her arm, he was spattered with blood from one of the small arteries. You were a friend before, he exclaimed, now you are a relation.' Some of the Papuan tribes on the north coast of New Guinea recognize the existence of a friendly bond between those who have been circumcised at the same time, especially between two youths who have occupied the spirit-world. 'We who are friends one another no longer by name, but as 'my man' (J. Kohler, 'Recht d. Papuas' in Zeits, f. vergl. Rechtswiss, xiv. 366; cf. Brooke, op. cit. ii. 224). Again, the rite of circumcision (chamene) is observed by the Bemahans and all the Kâris, south of the Zambesi. All the boys between ten and fourteen or fifteen are made the life-companions of one of the sons of the chief. The members of the band (uopato) recognize 'a sort of equality and partial communism ever afterwards, and address each other as brothers' (ib.)

When a fugitive comes to a tribe he is directed to the uopato analogous to that to which in his own tribe he belongs and does duty as a member' (Livingstone, op. cit. pp. 147-148; see E. Cassul, Études sur la langue bhaman, Paris, 1811, p. 70, as to the Basutos). Again, among the Kurnai, all the youths who have been initiated at the same time are brothers, and ever afterwards address each other's wife as 'wife,' and each other's children as 'child.' The tie thus formed is one of strong affection, arising together with the common bond of the times and the companionship of the various clans (L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, Koniaroi and Kurnai, Melbourne, etc., 1880, pp. 198-199).

With this tie may be compared the relation between lads and those who operate on them in the initiation ceremonies (Spencer-Gillen, pp. 249, 250). In some of the islands of Torres Straits, boys who are mates in the initiation ceremony may not marry each other's sisters (Rep. of Camb. Anthr. Exp. to Torres Straits, v. 211). It may be noted that at Nakaliva, professional tanners were bound, under sanction of a tabu, to support those of their fellows who came to be in need (G. H. von Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels in various parts of the World during the years 1830-1837, London, 1813, i. 121).

31. Among the Wakamba, the relation of protector and protegé is one of extraordinary intimacy. The fugitive who touches the penis of his enemy becomes thenceforth entitled to his protection and to that of his tribe; and so strong is the bond between them, that the protegé is made free of the house and the life of the protector (Heidelberg, loc. cit. p. 386 f.). A form of oath in use in ancient Israel (Gen 24v 47v; H. Ewald, Die Alterthumer d. Volkes Israels, Göttingen, 1866, p. 26) and the Kâirin mode of making a vow (H. Sommer, Archiv für Volkskunde, 1885, ii. 243) may be recalled in this connexion, as well as a practice of some Australian tribes in swearing
friendship (G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expositions of North-Western Australia, London, 1841*, ii. 342; cf. Spencer-Gillen's, *op. cit. supra*).

In the Ciszewski that passages, the exchanges, *op. cit.* p. 32, he says that the **exchange** is the ceremony of a marriage (Ciszewski, 1878, p. 541). Hildebrandt says further, that if a fugitive can succeed in putting his lips to a woman's breast, he thereby creates an indis- solute bond between himself and her, which is therefore bound to protect him (loc. cit. supra).

iii. The institution among the Southern Slavs.

32. We now propose to turn to a centre of the institution—the countries of the Southern Slavs, where it is a living force admitted within the walls of the Roman Church. Here we shall meet with many forms, of which some are familiar and some are novel; and we shall commence with an instance in which blood-drinking plays a part. According to a Bosnian authority quoted by F. S. Krauss (Sitten und Brauche d. Slaevnen, Vienna, 1885, p. 628), the priest offers up a prayer in which he dwells upon the reciprocal duties of the 'brothers.' He makes them kiss one another, and repeat after him the words of a solemn oath. Then the younger brother crosses his arm so as to touch the other's mouth with wine. The brothers drink the liquid and the compact is sealed. Krauss doubt the accuracy of this account, but S. Ciszewski (Künstliche Ver- wandtschaft bei den Slaevnen, Leipzig, 1897, p. 60) adds corroborative evidence from many other quarters. (See 30 below.)

33. We are told (M. Chopin et A. Ubicini, *Provinces d'Asie et Roumanie*, Paris, 1859, i. 197, cited by Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 32) of a brotherhood 'per arma,' known to Montenegro and Bulgaria. The two men who wish to enter into the compact go to a church, accompanied by several friends as witnesses. They lay their arms crosswise on the floor, and, after swearing that now they are united in life and death, take them up and exchange them. If one dies, his weapons pass to the survivor.

34. According to Medacović (cited by Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 33), the bond in Montenegro is one not of friendship only but of relationship—the parties to it are not brothers, but brothers-in-law. He distinguishes three grades, of which the first is called the 'little brotherhood.' It is constituted by a kiss thrice repeated. The 'brothers' exchange gifts; and he who first expressed the wish to perform the rite is the senior. The **brothers** in this first degree may determine to form a still more intimate relation, and in such a case the ceremony is one of greater solemnity. They call a priest to say a prayer while they stand under the stola, and, having drunk wine from the chalice to which they set their lips at the same time, they eat a crumb of the bread, receiving the Eucharist in both kinds according to the observance of the Eastern Church. Having kissed the cross, the evangel, and the holy pictures, they kiss one another thrice; and he who first expressed the wish to perform the ceremony is the senior. Presents are exchanged, and the men are brothers until death. So, too, women, married as well as single, enter into similar friendships by drinking wine together, kissing one another, and exchanging gifts. A. Pittis (Pittis, *Opuscoli in Dalmazia*, Venice, 1774, i. 188) to whom we are indebted for the present, describes the ceremony of a marriage. In the church of Perušić when a union between two young Morlak girls was solemnized on the steps of the altar. He observes that in his day friendships of this sort between persons of different sexes were less common. They had 'sisters,' who addressed one another as 'little sister,' 'my goll,' 'my little fawn.' No relationship could be more intimate or more affectionate (see § 35 below). Parallel instances are noted.

35. In some parts of Croatia the bond seems to be formed without wine-drinking or witnesses; while, in the Northern Slavs, the rites exhibit the characteristics of a family gathering, without the intervention of the Church. In some districts the ceremony resembles that of a marriage (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 35-36).

36. All the old ritual books prescribe the same, or nearly the same, formalities. The parties stand before the altar, the elder on the right, the younger on the left. They are dressed as Christians, and each lays his right hand on the Gospel, and holds a cross in his left. According to another form, they stand before the altar with crosses and candles in their hands. The priest utters a prayer, in which the importance of the act is emphasized, the reciprocal duties of the brothers are laid down, and God's blessing is invoked upon them. Then the priest exchanges the crosses and candles which the brothers are holding in their hands, and reads to them certain passages of Holy Writ; and the brothers kiss each other. This ceremony takes place at the end of Divine service, when the church is empty (ib. p. 38; see § 21 above, where parallel instances are noted).

37. It is customary in one of the districts of Bulgaria for the priest to tie the men together with a strip of cloth, which is crossed in front of the body. He then takes off his vestments, and lays them on their heads; and, after having said a prayer suitable to the occasion, he sprinkles them with holy water, and, untying the cord, bids them kiss hands, telling them that they are henceforth brothers in name as well as in spirit. This ceremony takes place at the end of Divine service, when the church is empty (ib. p. 38; see § 21 above, where parallel instances are noted).

38. Among the Bulgarians of Prilep, after the ceremony in church is over, one of the brothers entertains his relatives, with the other brother and his relatives, gifts being distributed among all who are present. A few days afterwards a similar meal is provided in the house of the other brother, and gifts are again distributed. All those who have received the gifts from the He is considered a beneficiary of the union, and may not intermarry; and this kind of **union** may be contracted by men with men, by men with women, or by women with women (ib. p. 39).

39. In Little Russia, brotherhoods and sisterhoods are formed by swearing eternal friendship upon a holy picture, by drinking wine, and by exchanging gifts. In some parts of Russia a meal, to which the whole company is invited, completes the ceremony; and the brothers make it the occasion of an exchange of presents—very often of their baptismal crosses. Their children may not intermarry (ib. pp. 54-59).

40. From Servia, Croatia, and Bulgaria we are supplied with notices of ceremonies by which temporary bonds of brotherhood and sisterhood are constituted. These bonds continue from year to year, and form an actual relationship and a bar to intermarriage (ib. pp. 41-47). Parallel instances have been observed in Italy and among the Poles and Czechs (ib. pp. 48-50). In Servia and Croatia the bond is formed on St. John Baptist's day by the exchange of willow crowns and gifts and kisses. In Southern Bulgaria, on the same holy day, the brothers exchange bunches of twigs, with needles like the pino, in procession. These events, as they have been described, are as follows:

According to Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 641), the 'sisters' are always together—in church, at work, and in amusement. They wear similar clothes and ornaments, and address one another as 'little sister,'

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feet upon it, the guests at the same time beginning the feast. Then the brothers embrace one another, kiss each other, and prolong the feast of twilight, drink out of the same bowl. They give one another presents, and visit their friends and relatives. Upon the corresponding day of the next year the compact is renewed—the elder brother, who on the previous occasion was the host, being now his host (ib. p. 41 f., and see § 32 above).

41. In Bulgaria, a bond of brotherhood subsists between children who have been christened in the same water. Brothers or sisters born in the corresponding month in different years, and also twin children, are invited to the occasion of tying a thread or twine round the neck of the child, or to clasp the hands, or to drink out of the same bowl. Thus, like sponsorship, it constituted a πεντευκατά δέλφινος, and created a marriage bar between the parties to it, and, according to some authorities, between their children (Bruns and Sachau, op. cit. pp. 255—256; Tammuz-Kölnische Kirchen- Kinds, p. 160). It played an important part in the Greek war of independence, and is said even now to survive in certain districts of Greece (J. Kohler, 'Studien über die künstliche Verwandtschaft in Zeits.f. vergl. Rechtsw. v. 438; Ciszewski, op. cit. p. 69).

v. Where the compact is entered into with women, dead persons, supernatural beings, or animals.

45. We have seen that the compact is not confined to males only, among the Syro-Roman, Syriac, Greeks, and other races. The women enter into it with men (Krauss, op. cit. pp. 619, 624, 634, 640), and with women (ib. p. 641); and female associations are likewise found among the Syriacs, the Orions, in certain districts of the Abruzzi, among the Papuans on the north coast of New Guinea, the Ovahero (see above, § 25), and the Swahili (Niese, op. cit. p. 240). Nor are these compacts always confined to mortals, if we may rely on the evidence of Bulgarian folktales and of the modes of address used by the fishermen and hairdressers (see above, §§ 44, 45).

46. This curious ceremony recalls to us the treatment of the bear by some of the Canadian Indians. According to Charlevoix (op. cit. v. 179), as soon as he has killed a bear, the hunter puts the mouthpiece of his lighted pipe between its teeth, blows into the bowl, and, having filled the animal’s jaws with snuff, adjoives its spirit not to go to some present whose life has been endangered, nor thwart him in his hunting expeditions. With this account that of the festival of the bear among the Ainu may be compared (I. L. Bird, Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, London, 1889, H. 97—98); and also that of Maerse (‘Account of the Kookies or Luncetas’ in Asiatic Researches, London, 1803, viii. 180) as to the revenge which the tribesmen take on the tiger, and even on the tree by which a relative has met his death (cf. E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, London, 1871, p. 190, i. 398). In a. minds of the Pygmies, didu in the case of a bad man who was blood-brother of certain beasts (F.L.J., London, 1883, i. 309); and in Sarawak a man sometimes dreams that he has become blood-brother of a crocodile by going through the regular ceremony and exchanging names. Thereafter he has always good fortune, and is accepted and protected by W. McDougall, op. cit. p. 190 f.; see above, § 42).

vi. What persons are bound by the compact.

47. In some cases the compact is obligatory only...
upon those who have personally become parties to it. In Timor and Borneo, and among the Wachagas, a chief may claim a fresh or new bond, if a single tribe or tribesman binds himself only (Forbes, op. cit. p. 452; Schwanev, op. cit. i. 214-215; Kohler, 'Das Banturecht,' loc. cit. xv. 40). Nor does the bond reach further in the factitria of Madagascar, in the other cases seen ceremony of giving under the fire in the compagnies in arms of the American Indians, the Fijians and the Africans, in the brotherhoods of the Syrians of the Lebanon (see above, §§ 13, 7, 26, 11) and of the Swahlil (Niese, op. cit. p. 240), in the friendships of the Polynesians, Yahoas, and the tribesmen of the Abruzzi and the Celts (see §§ 52, 25, 2, 8).

48. In many instances the participants in the rite bind not themselves only, but other persons on behalf of whom they act. Thus, among the Karens of Burma, 'the chief stands as the representative of the tribe, if it be a tribal agreement; or the father as the representative of the family, if it be a more limited covenant.' (Luther, op. cit. p. 313); and in Timor, the parties may be the representatives of families or tribes or kingdoms (Forbes, op. cit. iv. 281). The spirit of the wild peoples of the Naga hills (Woodthorpe, loc. cit. p. 211), the natives of the Bismarck Archipelago (E. Sorge, 'Nassan-Inseln in Bismarck-Archipel,' in Steinmetz, op. cit. p. 405), in Borneo (Schwanev, op. cit. p. 440) and the Balonda (Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches, p. 488 f.), Ceramese (Riedel, op. cit. pp. 123-129, and Bulgarians (see above, § 38). In other cases the tribe is represented by a certain number of tribesmen (Garos and Kanowit Dayaks [see above, § 9], Bali of N. Cameroon [Hutter, loc. cit. p. 1]). A very curios instance of the representation of a tribe by a single tribesman is given by Barcroft (op. cit. i. 636-657). He says of certain Mexican tribes, that if one of them wished to make 'a close connexion, friendship, alliance, family or blood relationship' with another, its members seized a man of the latter tribe, and, having made him intoxicated, pierced his ears with awls and smeared their blood over him.

It is, of course, sufficiently obvious that the blood-brother of a chief may, in the general case, at all events, rely upon the good offices of the subjects of his protector, e.g. among the Kimbundu (Mgany, op. cit. i. 445). Among the Arabs, 'the compact is primarily between two individuals, but the obligation contracted by the single clansman is binding on all his "friends," i.e. on the other members of the kin' (Rel. Sem.3 p. 315; see Herod. iii. 8, quoted above, § 16). By the Southern Slavs each partici- pate in the blood-feast, and among the Kinsmen of his chosen brother, the brotherhood being regarded as a true relationship (Krauss, op. cit. p. 624; Ciszewski, op. cit. pp. 90-101); and, among the Somali and Oromo, a stranger admitted to friendship becomes entitled to all the rights of a tribesmen (Paulitschke, op. cit. p. 246).

vii. What purposes are served by the compact.

49. It is clear from what has already been said that the rights and duties which spring from this relation are not the same in all cases. In some the bond amounts to little more than a formal declaration of mutual goodwill. Thus the friendships between girls among the Orions and in certain districts of the Abruzii are strong and intimate, but they create no new tie (see above, § 29). The magus ceremony is confined to relatives; it strengthens the natural bond, but does not form a fresh or new bond with a single tribe or tribesman binds himself only (Forbes, op. cit. p. 452; Schwanev, op. cit. i. 214-215; Kohler, 'Das Banturecht,' loc. cit. xv. 40). Nor does the bond reach further in the factitria of Madagascar, in the other cases seen ceremony of giving under the fire in the compagnies in arms of the American Indians, the Fijians and the Africans, in the brotherhoods of the Syrians of the Lebanon (see above, §§ 13, 7, 26, 11) and of the Swahlil (Niese, op. cit. p. 240). In other cases the brotherhood seems to effect a complete revision, or, in case of interests, as, for instance, in the case of the Polynesians, Yahoas, and the tribesmen of the Abruzzi and the Celts (see §§ 52, 25, 2, 8).

The same authorities say that the men taking part in the atnings avenging expedition of the Arunta tribe 'assembled together, and, after each one had been touched with the girdle made from the hair of the man whose death they were going out to avenge, they drew blood from their urethras and sprinkled it over one another' (Spencer and Gillen, op. cit. i. 453). An analogous act, by dint of the same purpose, blood is drawn from the arm and drunk, and on rare occasions a man, declining thus to pledge himself, will have his mouth forced open and the blood poured into it (6th p. 598).

Among the Hungarians of the 9th cent. the chief men, i.e. the representatives of the triple oath of fealty to the chief, signified, by shedding their blood in certain cases, that the blood of the oath-breaker should be shed as theirs had been (J. G. Schwaenther, Scriptores rerum Hungaricae, Vienna, 1746, i. 6). Again, it is said of the Karens that, when individuals, villages, or clans unite in confederacies, 'the contracting parties bind themselves by drinking spirits in which the blood of both has been mixed, and in which a number of gifts have been dipped. This mixture is supposed to live as an agent or ambassador in the blood of the other, and thus to prevent treachery. The weapons are likewise invoked to prevent treachery' (Smenton, op. cit. pp. 168-169). The same notion underlies the brotherhood between the king of Unyoro and his servants, especially his cooks (Emo Pasha in Central Africa, ed. G. Schweinfurth, Eng. tr., London, 1858, p. 78), the breaths of the fire of brotherhood, and the nga-agiampe relation of South Australians (see above, §§ 2, 8, 29). So, too, among the Melangs, the object of making brothers by exchange of gifts was to ensure that the Europeans should not cease to be friendly and injure the natives when at a distance from one (J. W. Fairbairn, 'Note on M. Kina Bahu, N. Borneo, London, 1893, p. 123).

50. The members of the companionships of the old Norsemen were bound to avenge one another as if they were truly brothers (see above, § 7), and a like obligation is imposed on those who have entered into brotherhood in Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Bosnia (Ciszewski, op. cit. p. 89). Among the Wyandots, the youthful bravés 'agree to be perpetual friends to each other, or more brothers. Each reveals to the other the secrets of his life, and protects him from the dangers of importance, and defends him from wrong and violence, and at his death is chief mourner' (1 RBEW., p. 68; see § 26 above, where references to similar statements regarding other tribes will be found). So, too, the Afghan tribesmen who join in 'goodness' for mutual defence and support are regarded as more than natural brothers (see above, § 26); and the Fijian brotherhood in arms wears the appearance of a marriage contract (ib.)—a characteristic which may be connected with that of the bond of the "nail," which can be dissolved only by the formula of triple divorce (R. F. Burton, First Footsteps in East Africa, London, 1856, p. 124). The parties to the blood-rite among the Balonda become 'perpetual friends and relations' (Livingstone, Missionary
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Travels and Researches, p. 48); and it has been observed (Wilson, op. cit. 41; L. J. Jander, The Wild Tribes of the Soulems, p. 91) that, if an African be your blood-brother, you may really trust him. 'This contract is never broken.' Among the Somalis and Ormou, the saliva ceremony secures to the stranger a tribal right (Paulitschke, op. cit. p. 246), while, among the Karens, the blood-covenant 'is of the utmost force. It covers not merely an agreement of peace or truce, but also a promise of mutual assistance in peace and war.' Let us, however, turn to the ceremonies which muzzle tribal rights. If they are chiefs, the covenant embraces the entire tribes. If one is a private individual, the immediate family takes the part of the owner, and the abhorrence of incest and the abhorrence of the touch of blood is all of the agreement.' I never heard of the blood-covenant being broken. The blood-covenant of the Wanderer every day he has weared he would have it born a member of the tribe.' (Luther, op. cit. p. 514).

vii. What legal consequences flow from the compact.

In certain cases the relation of brotherhood operates as a bar to marriage. Thus it is said of the Cherokees (see above, § 56) that they 'reckon a friend in the same rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage and any other affair of social life.' So, too, 'Lory (Historia navigations in Bresiliam. cap. 19, in De Dry, Americae tardis pars, Frankfort, 1852) says the Indians and certain Brazilian tribes 'nemo eorum natem, sororem, vel filiam in uxorrem duci; reliquionario ratio nulta habitarum; patrum nepton duci; atque illi, qui casum in eorum nemo filiarum vel sui, Atene a tenerem matrimonio siis jungere potest. It autem Ateneam dicatur cujus tanta est cum quod necessitudo ut bona inter amicos atque consortes commutentur.

In some of the islands of Torres Straits a man may not marry the sister either of his particular friend or of his comrade in the ceremony of initiation (Haddon, JAF xii. 411-412, 315, 336); nor may these intermarry who take part in either of the ceremonies of Cemaran, or in the friendly associations of individuals or villages at Wetar (Riedel, op. cit. pp. 125-129, 446-447); see above, § 14). Among the Murut a similar bar subsists between the brothers (see above, § 18); it is said of the Kanakas of the Bismarck Archipelago, that if two chiefs enter into an artificial relationship, their peoples are precluded by the closeness of the connexion from intermarriage (Joachim Graf Feil, Studien u. Beobachtungen aus der Südsee, Brunswiek, 1859, p. 28); and a like prohibition is observed among those wild tribes who are aga-agamo to one another, and the brothers and even the serfs of a Circassian fraternity (see above, §§ 23, 27). Ciszewski, to whose work reference must be made for details, observers that, among the Batak, 'the most important of the tribal manners is giving way to the influence of modern ideas; and that, if we were to gather from the different districts the various notions held regarding its legal and social consequences, we should be able to construct a complete scheme of the stages through which it has passed. Thus, in some cases, the relationship does not constitute a bar to marriage; in some, it makes a marriage impossible not only between the parties to the rite, but between their children; while, in Prilep, it precludes marriage not only between the children of the relatives who are aga-agamo, but between those of their relatives who participated in the distribution of gifts at the time of the ceremony (Ciszewski, op. cit. pp. 88, 94, 99-100; see above, § 38). We have in the last case, as Ciszewski observes, an interesting example of a collective brotherhood. The rite is performed by the representatives of the two kindreds; but that the relatives are also included in the association by accepting presents from the principals is shown by the fact that they may not intermarry.

The brotherhood of the Timorese is another example of a Timorese brotherhood comes to the other brother's house, he 'is in every respect regarded as free, and as much at home as its owner. Nothing is withheld from him; even his friend's wife is not denied him, and a child born of such a union would be regarded as belonging to the family of the mother. By the terms of the compact of the fadaled the brothers enjoyed community of wives and property; although, in later times, and in the case of Europeans, those obligations may not have been treated as literally binding (Ellis, History of Macassar, 1899). So, too, the Wasa of the portage or of the Ofuhero, and, according to A. von Chamisso, 'brothers' in the Marshall Islands have their wives in common (see above, §§ 25, 24); and in the countries of the Kimbunda, and among the Wambara, the brothers exercised mutual privileges over wives and children (see ibid. p. 201-202; Hildbrandt, op. cit. p. 387). Ellis (Polynesian Researches, London, 1851, iii. 124) observes that the wife of every individual is the wife also of his tolo, or friend; and an earlier authority (W. Wilson, A Missionary Voyage to the S. Pacific Ocean in 1796-1798, in the ship 'Duff,' commanded by Capt. James Wilson, London, 1799, p. 339), in making a similar statement, adds that a tolo 'must indulge in no liberties with the sisters or the daughters, because they are considered as his own sisters, and incest is held in abhorrence.' For the same reasons certain Brazilian tribes 'nemo eorum natem, sororem, vel filiam in uxorrem duci; reliquionario ratio nulta habitarum; patrum nepton duci; atque illi, qui casum in eorum nemo filiarum vel sui, Atene a tenerem matrimonio siis jungere potest. It autem Ateneam dicatur cujus tanta est cum quod necessitudo ut bona inter amicos atque consortes commutentur.

ix. General observations on the nature and history of the institution.

We have seen in the preceding pages that the form of the rite by which the bond is constituted is not always one and the same. In some cases the use of blood is the only requisite; in some it is an essential element; in some it is a mere accessory; and in some it does not enter into the ceremony. And the question presents itself—Is the blood-rite the original type of which other forms are variations? Or is it possible that one of the forms in which the need of man for union with, and security against, his fellow found expression? It is, no doubt, true that, in many instances, the use of the blood, while it is of the essence of the ceremony, may have developed from some other ritual act or acts, such as an exchange of food or weapons or garments or other gifts; and it has been argued that a form in which the performance of such act or acts is sufficient without the use of blood for the completion of the rite is a maimed form, which has lost what was originally essential and retained only what was originally of secondary importance. Such an explanation, however, hardly meets the case: for it does not account for those modes of entering into the compact with an imaginary being or a dead god but one of the forms in which the need of man for union with, and security against, his fellow found expression? It suggests, of course, that even in those cases the use of blood at one time formed part of the ceremony; but there is no evidence to that effect.

Now, in the instances which we have adduced, we have found that the parties to the compact are brought together in a great number of different ways. They exchange blood or wine or food or names or garments or weapons or rings of the skins of sacrificial victims or gifts of some sort or kind. Or they dip their hands or their weapons in one another's blood. The victim is pierced, the blade smears with blood, or the blade slipped as it falls to the ground. Or they join in holding the victim during the sacrifice, or hold branches while an imprecation is being pronounced or blood
is being let. Or one of them rules the other with his saliva; or a father makes his child agiia-agiampa to another's child. Or, lastly, the union may be due to community of aim and interest, as in the case of companions in arms; or to circumstances beyond the power of the parties themselves to control. Those who are initiated together, or associated as operators and patient in the performance of the initiatory rite; or to the pressure of an overwhelming necessity, as in the case of the fugitive and his protector. It is to be observed that the bond thus formed is quite in accordance with primitive ideas to regard the 'nature of anything as inhering in all its parts' (H. Spencer, Principles of Sociology, London, 1879, ii. § 346), even when the parts are separated from each other (cf. E. Durkheim, La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines, L'annuelle sociologique, i. 51); and to treat as parts of a man's substance not only his blood, saliva, umbilical cord, sweat, and other excreta, hair, nail parings, and the like, but also his garments, weapons, and name. To our thinking, blood is, when associated not by way of metaphor with the man himself; but, to the mind of the savage, the connexion is of the same quality in either case. As an illustration of this mode of thought, it may not be out of place to indicate here a feature of primitivo 'giving' which sharply distinguishes it from the more modern kind of gift. The very notion of exaggeration to say generally of uncivilized man what has been said of the Western Eskimo—that 'a free and disinterested gift is wholly unknown to him.' The gift is regarded as an investment, and a return is expected (see P. J. H. Grierson, The Silent Trade, Edin., 1903, p. 18). But it seems probable that this conception has its origin elsewhere than in the desire to lose nothing by the transaction. It is rooted rather in the notion that, unless a return be made, the recipient obtains a power over the donor, from which he may use to the latter's injury. Payment,' says Hartland (op. cit. ii. 75; cf. Crawley, op. cit. pp. 236–245, 256–257), 'is always held to neutralize a witch's power over a person through something received from him'; and instances are not wanting in which savages have refused to touch the articles set out by traders for their acceptance, until the latter have taken what was offered to them (see Gifts). Accordingly, an exchange of weapons no less than of blood is regarded as an exchange of power, not of the parties themselves, but of the parties 'an actual community of nature' (H. Spencer, loc. cit.; see Hartland, op. cit. ii. 55–116, 442 and passim). This community is brought about not only by an interchange of externals, but by the devotion of the parties to a course of conduct which demands an absolute identity of aims and interests, or by outward circumstances which force them into an intimate contact. In other words, they enter voluntarily or involuntarily into a relation in which what is regarded not by way of metaphor or fiction, but in very truth, as the alter ego of the other. Now, it has been said that, according to primitive notions, blood-brotherhood 'is not a relationship personal to the two parties alone, but extends to the whole of each clan: my brother is, or becomes, the brother of all my brethren; the blood which flows in the veins of either party to the blood-covenant flows in the veins of all his kin' (F. B. Jevons, Introduction to the History of Religion, London, 1902, p. 99; cf. W. R. Smith, Religion in Form and Function, ii. 278). We seem, at first sight, at all events, to be in the presence of two conflicting theories. First of all, we have what we may call the 'identity-theory,' which regards the bond as personal to the parties, and therefore not as the typical form, but as one of many forms; and, secondly, we have what we may call the 'kinship-theory,' which regards the bond as a union of kins, and explains all forms, other than that of the blood-rite, as variations, or modifications, or deteriorations of it (see Hartland, op. cit. li. p. 249 ff.; esp. p. 257). It must be admitted, however, that the bond differs from the cases in which rivalry views is, in some respects, very imperfect. Not infrequently we are supplied with full details of the ceremonies performed, while we are left wholly in the dark as to the legal incidents of the bond. In other cases, we are told what is its operation, but not a word is said as to the ritual accompanying its formation. For example, we have no facts before us to show how the compact was constituted in the case of the Brazilian Alourossap, or in that of the Ovalheiro omongara (see above, §§ 51, 75). At the same time, facts are reported which seem to be hardly reconcilable with the 'kinship-theory' as stated. It is, for instance, clear that in many cases the obligations undertaken bind only those persons who are parties to the contract. This is quite the case in certain formal friendships by exchanging gifts, by painting themselves in a distinctive fashion, and by assuming one or other of the titles of blood-relationship (see above, § 25). There is no evidence to show that the reciprocal rights and duties attached to the bond are personal to the parties themselves, or that, by assuming such titles, they mean to do more than emphasize the intimacy of the relation between them. And that this is their meaning is made the more probable by a somewhat analogous instance from Fiji, where comrades in war are spoken of as man and wife, to indicate the closeness of their military union.' So, too, the compact which subsists between those who are companions in arms, or who have exchanged names, or who agree to share arms or to enter into the share of one another's beat, is, in the view of many, merely a declaration of a league, or of an Arunta punitive expedition (see above, § 2). In either instance, its purpose is to prevent treachery; in neither is it productive of a union of kins; and the same observations apply to those who join in 'going under the turf' (see above, § 7). In Timor and Borneo, and among the Wachaga, while a chief may represent his tribe, a simple tribesman binds himself only; and other examples of a like limitation have already been given (see above, § 47). In some of these cases the parties are excluded from share in another's most sacred rights (see above, § 52); and that these privileges are not necessarily connected with the use of blood in the constitution of the bond, appears from the instance of the Polynesian tiao and that of the Wakamba fugitive (see above §§ 59, 31). At the same time it is quite true that sometimes they are found as consequences of a pact solemnized with blood, as in the cases of the Kimbunda and of the natives of Timor and Madagascar (see above, §§ 3, 19, 32). Thus friend and blood-brother are to each other the same, and each has rights as to the other's wife and property; each must regard and treat the other's sisters and daughters as if they were his own. At the same time, the relation is, in its inception at all events, a union of individual individuals and not a union of Kins. The case of the Wakamba is peculiar. The fugitive, by a solemn act, acquires a right of participation in his pro-
BROTHERHOOD (Artificial) 

lector's wife and house, and a claim on the support and assistance of his protector's tribe (see above, § 31). Here the relation extends beyond the parties to it, and is at the same time accompanied by privileges; and it is based on the idea of co-heirs in the inheritance of wealth, in the absence of natural heirs. It may be thought that this instance presents to us the two theories in combination—the theory that the parties are made one, with the result that they, and they alone, enjoy certain intimate rights; and the theory that they are made kinsmen, with the result that the fugitive can rely on the protection and assistance of the tribe to which his protector belongs. This view receives some confirmation from a curious mode of peace-making practised by the Masai. One of their women proceeds with her infant to the border of the tribe, and, as they are about to enter, she takes up the child, and, keeping it to her breast, she places it in the palms of her opponent, with the result that the infant is handed over to the Masai, and the two parties are considered as united. The woman finally takes the infant back to her husband. This ceremony is supposed to have the effect of making the two parties united for the purpose of war or peace, and to have the benefit of the blessing of the god (Hasluck,录入op. cit. p. 110).

We have here a rite compounded of an adoption ceremony and a brotherhood ceremony; and this instance suggests an explanation of the fact that among the Mapuches, a father, by making a stranger his son's locr^, or namesake, adopts him into his family (E. R. Smith, op. cit. pp. 290—292; see above, § 24). The parties become relatives by virtue of an exchange of names, and of giving food and eating what is given; and it may be that, in such cases, the relation with 'accordance above mentioned has yielded to the second—that the 'kinship-theory' has displaced the 'identity-theory.' Further, it is not without significance that, so far as we know, the blood-rite, as productive of a relationship which extends to the whole clan, is not to be found among the rudest peoples, such as the Hjangons of Cape Horn, the Botocudos, the Andaman Islanders, the Sameng, and Aetas, the Kubus of Sumatra, the Veldas of Ceylon, the dwarf races of Central and Western Africa, the Hottentots and Bushmen, and the natives of Australia, while the use of blood is found among some of them in the formation of compacts creative of rights and duties which affect only the persons immediately concerned.

54. Plainly it is matter of no small difficulty to determine what is the relation of these two theories to one another; and, accordingly, we shall content ourselves with an attempt to indicate the direction in which the evidence points. Now, it seems to show that the relation with which we are dealt, having been cut by one of the witnesses, smears the blood from her wound on a piece of a bullock's heart and thrusts it into the other's mouth. During these proceedings the Masai representative and the Kahe headman make protestations of peace, which the evil-minded breaker of the compact (Merker, op. cit. p. 101). Here we have a rite compounded of an adoption ceremony and a brotherhood ceremony; and this instance suggests an explanation of the fact that among the Mapuches, a father, by making a stranger his son's locr^, or namesake, adopts him into his family (E. R. Smith, op. cit. pp. 290—292; see above, § 24). The parties become relatives by virtue of an exchange of names, and of giving food and eating what is given; and it may be that, in such cases, the relation with 'accordance above mentioned has yielded to the second—that the 'kinship-theory' has displaced the 'identity-theory.' Further, it is not without significance that, so far as we know, the blood-rite, as productive of a relationship which extends to the whole clan, is not to be found among the rudest peoples, such as the Hjangons of Cape Horn, the Botocudos, the Andaman Islanders, the Sameng, and Aetas, the Kubus of Sumatra, the Veldas of Ceylon, the dwarf races of Central and Western Africa, the Hottentots and Bushmen, and the natives of Australia, while the use of blood is found among some of them in the formation of compacts creative of rights and duties which affect only the persons immediately concerned.

55. What it may be asked, is the nature of the sanction which the oath is to be accompanied with? There are instances in which it seems to have escaped observation that, in many instances at all events, the institution with which we are dealing closely resembles an oath or an ordeal (see above, § 7). An oath consists in general of two parts—an asseveration that what is said is true, or that what is undertaken will be performed, and an imprecation of evil by the person taking the oath upon himself, if he prove forsworn. Sometimes a divinity is invoked not merely to bear witness to the oath, but to punish the oath-breaker. Such a divinity is introduced into the ceremony to symbolize the evil which will fall upon the perjured person—he will be cut down with a sword, or pierced with an arrow, or run through with a spear. What Polybius (ii. 25) says of the oath with which the treaties between Rome and Carthage were solemnized is very instructive. The Carthaginians swore by the gods of their country. The Romans swore 'in accordance with ancient custom' and in addition by Mars and Quirinus. He who made oath cast a stone to him, and held it in his hand and said— If I keep faith, I may fare well; but if I knowingly deceive, then may I, while all other men are assured of their right to their country, their laws, their gods, and their sepulchres, be alone cast out as I now cast out this stone'; and, with these words, he cast the stone away. It seems plain that we have here an account of two forms. In the later form the gods are invoked to be witnesses to the oath, and to punish the oath-breaker. In the earlier form the gods are not invoked, and the stone is thrown in order to show that the oath is forsworn. The same use is made of stones by the Andaman Islanders. H. A. A. Danz, Der sacrale Schutz, Jena, 1857, p. 13 f.; O. Schrader, Reallexikon d. indogerm. Alterthumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, p. 168; cf. Grimm, op. cit. p. 897; B. W. Leist, Graeco-Italische Rechtsgeschichte, Jena, 1884, pp. 226 f., 703 f.). In many instances an act of touching is an essential part of the ceremony. Thus, in the Indian form, the man who took the oath by touching himself drew down the powers of evil upon his head (Schrader, op. cit. p. 167); and, in old Germany, he must touch some object which he took for stone, and where, if he would enter it into his own free will. They might be kinsmen, as we count kinship, or they might be strangers in blood. But, whether akin or not, they must be so intimate that they become, in the eyes of their fellows, possessed of a common nature. The logical result of this community was that each of the parties became entitled to the rights and subject to the disabilities of the other. Each had a right to share the other's wife and property; each was precluded, wherever marriage of a sister by a brother or of a daughter by a father was prohibited, from marrying the other's sisters or daughters. These marriage bars, even if they did not owe their origin to a recognition of the principle of blood-relationship, certainly flavoured the title of being referred to, and accounted for it, when it came to be recognized; and this explanation would appear most natural when the use of blood entered into the formation of the bond. Accordingly it would hardly be matter of surprise that the blood-relationship of the parties flavoured the change, the 'kinship-theory' gradually encroached upon the 'identity-theory' and finally usurped its place.

56. When we turn to the bond of friendship, and
examine the cases in which blood is employed in its constitution, we find varieties in form, remarkably similar to those which have been discussing. Sometimes the gods are adjured to punish those who break the compact (see above, §§ 10, 11), or simply to be witnesses to it (see above, §§ 7, 13, 14, 16). Sometimes they are made parties to it (see above, §§ 5, 12, 13, 14, 53), or are invoked, while an animal is being slaughtered (see above, §§ 10, 17). In other cases, the parties touch the blood (see above, §§ 7, 8), or dip their weapons in it (see above, §§ 9, 14), or touch or hold an animal while one of them slays it (see above, §§ 10, 13). Where they do not actually introduce the victim into the ceremony either as a 'witness' of the compact (see above, § 13) or as a symbol of the punishment which awaits the breaker of it (see above, § 14, and cf. § 33); and imprecations are frequently pronounced without any direct appeal to a supernatural power (see above, §§ 9, 10, 13, 14, 53). In some cases, as among the Bali, the rite consists of two parts,—of a blood-rite effecting the formation of the bond, and of a blood-rite with the operation of an oath,—while, in other cases, as among the Balinese (see D. Berdine, 'The Bali monotheism' above, § 13), there are instances, however, in which the ceremony consists of drinking or sprinkling blood without invocations or imprecations (see above, §§ 2, 49). In this connexion, Junker's (op. cit. p. 495) account of the rite as practised by certain tribes south of the Wulon is very instructive. The parties sit opposite to one another. A scratch is made on the chest of each, and a drop of blood is squeezed out. Each wipes the blood off the other with a piece of sugar-cane, which lie chews, and the fibres of which he afterwards blows over his wound. At the same time, he repeats the points which have induced him to enter into the compact, and which are to be kept sacred; and at the end of each clause he adds the solemn words: 'If thou dost not hold to this, may my blood destroy thee' (cf. § 49). Here, then, we have an instance of a relation in which blood is the medium not only of formation, but of punishment (see Westermarck, MJ, London, 1908, ii. 206 ff., 566 ff.). We have, in other words, an example of the operation of the principle which underlies the oath, and the ordeal. That the same principle operates in cases in which the blood of the parties is not employed appears from such instances as that of the Léni, where the parties make friendship by eating portions of the same fruit or vegetable, and touching the tips of their fingers (see above, § 18); or as that of the natives of Shira, where the 'brothers' hold a goat while it is being slaughtered, and fit rings of its skin upon one another's fingers (see above, § 21). A further confirmation is furnished by the cases in which the formation of the compact is due not to the volition of the parties, but to the force of external circumstances. The bond between them is of so intimate a character—the union between them is so complete—that the bond which unites the parties cannot be productive of evil consequences to the man who breaks it; and thus the sanction has its origin not in the intention of the parties, but in the essential character of the relation. It may well be that, in many instances, the sole punishment which awaits the breaker is that which follows a breach of tribal custom or an outrage on public opinion. Still, it appears to be not improbable that, even in these instances, tribal custom and public opinion owe their force to a sanction of the nature indicated above.


BROTHERHOODS.—Brotherhood, in its literal sense, is the condition in which a male person is descended from the same father or mother as one or more other persons; full brotherhood, that in which he is descended from the same father and the same mother as one or more other persons. Thus the sons of the same father and one or more other men, or brothers, are termed full brothers. Sometimes a less inclusive relationship is signified by the expression of a few handsmaids together address their unknown brother Joseph: 'They servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan' (Gen 42). In theology, the term is metaphorically applied in two senses: the general sense in which all men are brethren, sometimes limited to those who are of the same faith, as when St. Peter says, 'Honour all men; love the brotherhood' (1 Pet. 2:1); and the particular sense in which it signifies persons living together in artificial communities as natural or supplemental brothers, societies which are founded in the family home to establish families of their own. The ideal of brotherhood is one of the closest of all human relations—the only one that implies equality—there being no difference between brothers other than that arising from age.

The system of living in clerical communities with a religious object belongs to the Brāhman religion, and was adapted by Sakyamuni to the Buddhist religion, and has been largely imported into Christianity. Under it, men have retired from the world by hundreds and by thousands. The grand Buddhist monastery of Nālandā, consisting of six convents, had ten thousand monks. They employed themselves chiefly in the study of the books of their religion and of science, especially medicine and arithmetic. In Ceylon, the monks take upon them vows not to kill, to not to rob, to observe celibacy, not to lie, not to drink strong liquors, not to take food after noonday, not to dance or sing or make music; to use no perfumes, ungents, or ornaments; to have no luxurious bed or chair, and never to possess gold or silver. The general idea involved in these communities or brotherhoods is that of a simple and studious life, devoted mainly to the contemplation of religious subjects, and existing in circumstances of self-denial and asceticism—an ideal which has rarely been maintained without bringing in the elements of superstition. The Buddhist monastic system has been practised from ancient times in Tibet. The monastery is there termed gompa, or 'solitary place'. Lhasa, the centre of religion in Tibet, was till recently inaccessible to Europeans, although it had been visited by Sarat Chandra Das and other Hindus. One of the most ancient and famous of the monasteries in the neighbourhood is that of Samye, visited by Chandra Das in 1882. It contains a chief temple, with four outer temples, and eight lesser shrines, the dwellings of the monks being in a two-storied building near the chief temple. The grand monastery of Tashi-lhumpo is another, and a sketch of it has been published by the Royal Geographical Society. Here the monks are sum- moned for their evening meal at 3 a.m. At the lamasery of Yarlung Shetag live 40 monks and as many nuns, whose children are brought up to succeed them. This is allowed because of the loneliness of the situation of the lamasery. The monks are said to be 15,000 lamas, and in the province of Amo nearly 30,000 in 24 lamaseries; and it is estimated that one-seventh of the entire population belong to the priesthood. The lamasery of Kumbum has a
BROTHERLY LOVE (Christian)

Temple covered in with tiles of gold, in commemoration of Tsongkapa, a Tibetan saint.

In the British provinces of Little Tibet, monasteries exist, which are thus described: The monastery at Keen in Spiti has the appearance of a hillfort, created the uncertainty that Kyelang and Lhul in Lhul stands on the projecting spur of a mountain side, distant from all other habitations, at an elevation of more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is approached by a steep and difficult path, which at some seasons is dangerous. In the spring of 1874 a monk and a nun were buried in an avalanche while walking up this path. In the richer monasteries in Tibet proper are extensive wardrobe of great value. Along the walls of the galleries are arranged numerous praying wheels. On one side of the hall is a wheel 5 feet in diameter, on each revolution of which a bell is struck. Outside the main building are the cells of the brethren. Col. Paske witnessed the performance by the monks of Kyelang of what is termed by him a spirit dance. The abbot took his position flanked by a band of musicians, who played loudly, when a party of 30 or 40 monks entered attired in grotesque costumes and wearing masks; after an excited and noisy dance, they retired to change these costumes.

The brethren have the custom of taking off their hats when they pass a monastery and shuffle past it on their knees. In these circumstances, it is easy to understand that the monks have acquired great political power.

In Siam, the monasteries are recruited from every class of society, especially the higher classes, and every son of a respectable family spends a year in one of them—a system which reminds one of that of the lay brethren in several English orders.

The account given by Herodotus (ii. 37) of the Egyptian priests implies that they lived in communities. He says: 'They are of all men the most excessively attentive to the worship of the gods, and observe the following ceremonies. They drink from cups of brass, which they scour every day; nor is this custom practiced by any other nation, nor is it neglected by others, but all do it. They wear linen garments, constantly fresh washed, and they pay particular attention to this. They are circumcised for the sake of cleanliness, thinking it better than having hands and feet. The priests shave their whole body every third day, that neither lie nor any other impurity may be found upon them when engaged in the service of the gods. The priests wear linen only, and shoes of leather, and are permitted to wear any other garments or other shoes. They wash themselves in cold water twice every day and twice every night; and, in a word, they use a number of ceremonies. On the other hand, they enjoy no slight advantages, for they do not consume or expend any money; for the sacred food is cooked for them, and a great quantity of beef and grease is allowed each of them every day, and wine from the grape is given them; but they may not taste of fish. The service of each god is performed, not by one, but by many priests, for there is in every monastery one whom one is chief priest; and when any of them dies, his son is put in his place.'

It was in Egypt that the monastic movement in Christianity commenced. It is alleged that Frontonius established the first 'laura' in the year 151 at Nairta. In the early part of the 4th century, the movement had taken root. It is said that the sanctity of St. Anthony attracted so many monks to his neighbourhood that he had to undertake the direction of them. St. Pachomius also, who died in 348, was head of a community; and that under Apollonius consisted of 500 individuals. The name Dér el-Bahari signifies the convent of the North.'

From Egypt the practice speedily spread to Rome and to Gaul; and, when Augustine came to England, he found Celtic monks established there. Abbot Gaseel enumerates no fewer than 21 different orders.

They are distinguished into five classes as follows:—1) Four orders of monks: the Benedictines, established at Monte Cassino early in the 6th cent. A. D., and the Cistercians in the 11th cent.; the Cistercians and the Carthusians, from the 11th. (2) Three orders of Canons Regular: the Augustinian, the Premonstratensian, and the Gilbertine. [The last is the only order originating in England, and was established in 1119.] (3) Two military orders: those of the Knights of St. John and the Knights Templar. (4) Four orders of Friars: the Dominicans, or Black Friars; the Franciscans, or Grey Friars; the Carmelites, or White Friars; and the Austin Friars. [These were all introduced into England in the 13th cent., and are commemorated in London by the names of places where their houses formerly stood.] (5) Eight lesser orders of Friars: the Brethren de Penitentia; the Pind Friars at Norwich; the Brethren of St. Mary de Arens at Westminster; the Brethren de Domine; the Trinitarians; the Cistercians; the Bethlehemite Friars; the Boni homines. [These all date from the middle of the 13th century.]

The expression 'brotherhood' was also anciently applied to Gilds. The popular assemblies in the Cinque Ports are styled Court of Brotherhood and Guestling. Before the passing of the Judicature Act in 1873, the judges and serjeants-at-law together constituted the Society of Serjeants Inn, and the serjeants were always addressed by the judges in court as 'brother.' See CINQUE PORTS SOCIETIES, MONASTICISM.


BROTHERLY LOVE (Buddhist).—See LOVE (Buddhist).

BROTHERLY LOVE (Christian).—The principle of brotherly love was not first enunciated by Christianity. Exponents of earlier systems had given it notable expression, both among Gentiles and among Jews (see, e.g., Ex 23:4, Lk 19:18, Dt 22:9-4 24:10-1. To 4, etc.; cf. art. 'Brotherly Love' in JE). Even the 'Golden Rule' had been anticipated, at least in a negative form (see Allen on Mt 7:12), and the association of the Christian with the Jewish doctrine is openly declared both by our Lord (Mt 7:12-22) and by His Apostles (Ro 13:8-9, Ja 2). In the earlier dispensation, however, the conception of love was mediated by racial prejudice. For the practical realization of what was there implicit we must turn at once to the words of Jesus Himself.

1. The teaching of Jesus.—(a) The teaching of Jesus not only indicates the duty of brotherly love (Mt 5:39-42, 26-48 7:12, Mk 10:21, Lk 10:27 etc.), but assigns to it the utmost emphasis. From his doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood He leads us to infer the doctrine of human brotherhood (see the use of 45a from in 23:9-11, 25:39-41 etc., and cf. 2:23). The love of our neighbour is placed side by side with our love of God as the supreme obligation of religion (22:39); and so inseparable are the two, that in Christ's portrayal the heavenly love finds in the earthly love alike its true expression and its unerring criterion (25:29, Mk 10:21, Lk 10:27, cf. Jn 13:35 13:31, 32). No formal devotion grants
exemption from the claims of justice and mercy (Mt 20:15). To be wrong in one's relations with a brother is no less than to be wrong in one's relations with God (Gal 6:2). (b) There is a noble universalism in the love thus enjoined by our Lord. In His thought the term 'neighbor' loses all such limitations as in the earlier Jewish interpretation were imposed by national and material considerations. It embraces all men (77) irrediscernible of race (1K 10:42), of social status (14:21-23), of character (Mt 5:28-49), and of personal relationships (55, Lk 6:7). While the wider human-brotherhood itself includes an inner brotherhood of discipleship (Mk 3:17, Jn 15:15, 16), all Christians——men and women——have a place in the one great fraternity of love.

2. The Apostolic writings.—(a) The prominence assigned to brotherly love in our Lord's own teaching is re-asserted in that of His Apostles. Frequent exhortations are found in the Epistles reminding the early Christians of the obligations it involves (see, e.g., Ro 12:9, He 2:3-4, 1 P 1:2, 1 Jn 3:18). So well known, indeed, are these obligations, that in one place there is almost an apology for allusion to them (1 Th 4). Whether viewed from the standpoint of the early Church's own conception (chrztos), love is to be the inevitable outcome of religion (see Ja 2:1, 2 P 1), and that all is implicit in it St. Paul sets himself carefully to expound (1 Co 13). Its practical influence in the life of the Church is to be seen in its power to place master and slave upon equal terms (Philem 14), and in the adoption of 'brother' as an acknowledged term both of address (see 1 Th 14 etc.) and of reference (1 Co 8:3, Ja 1:3, 1 Jn 2:1). Even so specific an expression as 'the brotherhood' appears to have become the better word to signify the body of Christian believers (1 P 2:7). (b) The brotherly love thus required or assumed is regarded as essential to the Christian life. Its obligation is 'the royal law' (Ja 2:8). Its absence nullifies all other virtues (1 Co 13:1-2); its presence implies fulfilment of all duty (Ro 13:8-10, Gal 5:21). It is, in fact, the pledge of a life faith (Ja 2:14-18), and the criterion of true sonship (1 Jn 2:11 3:18 5:5). In all this the servants' doctrine is as their Lord's.

It has been disputed, however, to what extent the Apostles are also at one with Christ in their conception of the scope within which this law of love holds sway. In favor of a distinction between the two points of view, it may be argued: (a) that the prevalent sense of αδελφός in the NT is that of 'fellow-Christian'—a restricted meaning which is sometimes markedly imposed by the immediate context (see, e.g., 1 Co 5:10 6); (b) that the love required frequently refers to the brotherhood of believers only (Ro 12:9, 1 Th 4, He 13, 1 P 4:7 21); and (c) that, even in the report of our Lord's own teaching, the universalism of the Synoptic Gospels has, in the Fourth Gospel, been merged in the more limited conception (see Jn 13:18, 15). On the other hand, it is quite clear, from such injunctions as are found in Gal 6:20 and 1 Th 4, that the Apostolic love of love towards men possessed an application as broad as humanity itself, and the specific reference of Ro 12:9 appears to show that not even enemies were excluded from its operation. The teaching of Jesus, therefore, has not really been followed. Following this lead, it is necessary to distinguish these two degrees of fellowship (see Gal 6:20, 2 P 1). Yet, though there may be special stress upon the more limited love, the wider love is recognized as its natural outgrowth and its perfect fulfilment (see 2 P 1).

3. The practice of the Early Church.—Certain special practices in which the Christian love of Jesus' first Christians found expression, call for particular mention at this point. (a) The Love-feast and the Lord's Supper.—The early Christians used to share in a common meal, which was intended not only as a means of assisting the poorer brethren, but also as a manifestation of the Church's unity of spirit (see Ac 2:42 26 46 28, and Tertullian's famous passage, Apol. 39). At first these love-feasts were connected with the Lord's Supper (see 1 Co 11:26, and Ign. Supra. 8; and cf. art. AGAPE). But it was not long before the love-feast in the union of the Father with the Son and the other members of the Trinity (see 1 Co 11:23, Jude 12, 2 P 2:3)—a fact which, along with the Roman government's suspicion of all secret societies, led, in the 2nd cent., to their ultimate separation (see Phiny's Letter to Trajan, 96). Even after the separation, however, the Lord's Supper, as well as the Agape, would constitute an expression of the disciples' common brotherhood (see 1 Co 10:17). In the 15th cent. John Wesley made an interesting attempt to revive the love-feast in his own societies, and in an attempt to meet the suspicions of the state that their brotherly love was not merely of the 'bishop' (1 Ti 5.1), but also of the ordinary disciple. In various Scriptural injunctions its exercise is confined to the case of fellow-believers (1 P 4.7, 3 Jn 4); and the absence of restriction to a clear place shows in any case the broader conception of the duty was also appreciated (Ro 12:11, He 13:2, 1 Ti 5:16, Clem. Rom. 1). See HOSPITALITY.

(c) Charity.—The practice of liberality towards the poor was another expression of the Church's brotherhood. As was natural, this was directed mainly to relieving the necessities of fellow-disciples (Ro 12:13, He 6.1, 1 Jn 3.13, and probably Ac 4.32). A signal illustration of such charity is found in St. Paul's collection for the saints at Jerusalem (Ro 15:2, 2 Co 8:13 etc. See CHARITY)

(d) The 'communism' of the Early Church.—It was in connexion with such care for the poorer brethren that an experiment was undertaken which has sometimes been described as the 'communism' of the Early Church. 'And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need' (Ac 2:44; cf. also 4:32).

We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the significance of this beautiful manifestation of brotherly love. 'There is,' in the words of Peabody (Jesus Christ and the Social Question, p. 24), 'no evidence that what is reported of the little community at Jerusalem became a practice, as taught by the teaching of Jesus. No other instance of communal ownership is cited in the book of Acts; but, on the other hand, the market of Mark continues to own her home in Jerusalem (Ac 12:2), and voluntary relief is sent from Antioch by "every man according to his ability" (11:21). The Apostles knew nothing of such communal regulations (2 Co 9, 1 Co 16). . . . In short, the communism of the days of Pentecost was the gift of tongues. The reception of one chapter, was a spontaneous, unique, and unrepeatable manifestation of that elevation and unity of spirit which possessed the little company at Jerusalem. It is not that the Apostle wrote of the fact that all this sharing of each other's possessions, which was thus for the moment a sign of their perfect brotherhood, was ever that to be final or formal or permanent. (See Ac 24; cf. further, art. COMMUNITY or COMMUNION.)

It is probable that the disappointment of the love of the apostle of Parousia, the rapid growth of the Church, and the presence of unworthy members in the Christian community, prevented the repetition or the expansion of this experiment (see J. H.

4. **Later development.** The history of the world's social progress, since the days of the Apostles, has been largely that of the unleashing of love. There is little to report to Mr. Greenham, for love is inherent in the Christian gospel. It is to its spirit that we owe the abolition of slavery, the cleansing of the prisons, the care of the sick poor, the suppression of infanticide, the exaltation of womanhood, the improvement in conditions of labour, and in general, the heart of the philanthropists concern for the down-trodden masses dwelling in our great cities. And, as men look forward to future progress, working towards a reformed society securely based upon truth, justice, and mercy, it is in the gospel of Christian brotherhood that the adequate motive-power is to be sought. Only when the universal brotherhood of man is acknowledged as an inevitable inference from the universal Fatherhood of God, only when the world's law of greed and hate is vanquished by the Christian law of service and love, will the principle of love have received its perfect fulfilment, and the City of God at length have been built upon earth.

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H. Bisseker.

BROTHERS and SISTERS.—See Family.

BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE, etc.—See BRETHREN of the COMMON LIFE, etc.

BROWNING.—See POETRY (Christian).

**BROWNISM.**—I. Life of founder. —Brownism derives its name from Robert Browne, third son of Anthony Browne of Tolethorpe, * Rutlandshire. Born about 1559, of his earlier years nothing is known, but he appears to have entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1570, and to have graduated in 1572.† The college at that time was noted rather for licence than for learning or seriousness.§ The university, however, as a whole was a centre of Puritan influence; and Browne, yielding to this, became one of those known and counted forward in religion.‖ In other words, he was concerned about "the woeful and lamentable state of the Church," and its need of a further reformation. He debated these things "in himself and with others," and "suffered some trouble about them" ‧ from opponents. Then, at some indefinite time after 1572, he taught "schollers" for the space of three years‖—having a "special care to teach religion," and keeping them "in such wise and good order as all the townsmen who he taught gave him witness." Moreover, he still "bent himself to search and find out the matters of the Church"; he "laboured to put in practice all he found, both in his school and the town;‖ in consequence he "got himself much enmity of the preacher," and was frequently driven away. For a time, however, he continued to teach "with great good will and favour of the townsmen ‭‖ till an outbreak of the plague occasioned his recall home to Tolethorpe. Next, with his father's leave, he returned to Cambridge, not for study so much as with the hope of staying "his care" about the absorbing Church question. To this end he reported to Mr. Richard Greenham, rector of Drayton, "whom of all others he heard say was most forward.‖ Mr. Greenham allowed him—"with others"—to expound in his house "that part of Scripture which was used to be read after meals"; and, contrary to law, did not forbid him to teach "in the morning and evening, and on holy days" being "mov'd" by "certain in Cambridge," and also with consent of the Mayor and Vice-Chancellor, to his preaching in Cambridge. He was not unwilling, but was checked by his objection to receiving the Bishop's "license and authority.‖ He could go so far as to be 'tried' (i.e. examined) by the Bishops, and to 'suffer their power, though unlawful, if in anything it did not hinder the Truth.'‖ But he would not admit their right to authorize or ordain him; and when Archbishop Grindal's 'censure' was pronounced, he was "constrained"—apparently three times over—he lost the first, barred the second, and, though he kept the third by him,§ openly declared that they meant nothing to him. He preached to his Cambridge congregation for "about half a year," but refused to take charge of the town, and lived in such spiritual bondage that whosoever would take charge of them must also come into that bondage with them. This confirmed him in the principle which had gradually been growing clear to his mind, that "the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest were they never so few;‖ and, failing to convert the people to a like view, he "sent back" the 'stipend' they had 'gathered' for him, and gave warning of his departure.‖ His next sphere was in Norfolk, where some very forward ‡‡ were to be said. He lodged with Robert Harrison,‖ master of an hospital in Norwich; but went out from that city on preaching tours which roused the whole neighbourhood, and soon embroiled him with the Bishop.‖ Another result, however, was the gathering of a "company" who agreed to join time after he 'conformed' in 1638. The statement (Styrye's *Parke*), bk. iv., that he entered his college at Cambridge with the Duke of Norfolk before 1571 is due to the confounding of him with another Robert Browne, the Duke's messenger, often mentioned in the Letters and Acts of the English and Scottish Immigrants in 1571 and 1591. Nor is there any proof of his identity with the Browne cited in connexion with 'Underdike's Plot' (bk. vi. iv., sub. 1574), nor with his death in 1638. See also (a) *The Family* (Christian)—"Browne's CP*; (b) *The Family* (Christian)—"Browne's CP in connexion with the Bishop.‖ Another result, however, was the gathering of a "company" who agreed to join

* The family is described as "ancient and worshipful." For full accounts of it, see *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*.† An inference from the fact that he was over 80 at the time of his death in 1633.‡ See *History of Corpus Christi College* (sub. 1548).|| See his own *True and Short Declaration* (unengraved). A copy is in the Congregationalist for 1883; the original is in the Lambeth Library.

† 1b. **1b.‖ Perhaps Stamford.

‖ Tradition says Ilfracombe, but his residence there was some
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together, on the basis of his teaching, for Church fellowship, by means of a solemn covenant to the following effect:  

(1) That they would ‘keep and seek agreement’ one with another under Christ’s law.
(2) That they should “pray, and watch, and obey, certain to ‘teach them and warn the salvation of their souls’,—having had due ‘trial and testimony’ of their fitness.
(3) To hold regular meetings for prayer, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, exhorting, and edifying—either by all men who had the gift, or by those who had the special charge before others.
(4) That they would allow any member of the Church to ‘protest, appeal, complain, even dispute, reprove’, etc., as he had power to do in the order.
(5) That they would ‘further the Kingdom of God in themselves, and in every other’, that they might ‘be any; or in their friends and companions, and whosoever was worthy.’

By that they would observe the rules agreed upon for gathering and testifying voices in debating matters; for an order of choosing teachers, guides, and rulers; for separating clean from unclean; for receiving any into the fellowship; for presenting the daily success of the Church and the work thereof; for seeking to other Churches to have their help bring better reformed, or to bring them to reformation; for taking an order that none contend openly, nor persecute, nor reproach the (the) Church, disdained to be his false doers, nor evil cause (into it)—after once or twice warning or rebuke.

This took place at Norwich,† probably early in the spring of 1581, and marks the formation of the first Church of its kind in England.‡ The covenant here described presents an outline of Bishops Church upon its positive or constructive side; its negative or aggressive side may be illustrated by Browne’s own report of a conversation which he had with his colleague Harrison some time before. From this it appears that Browne (showing himself extreme in some points than Harrison) maintained that ‘preachers who submit themselves to the popish power of the Bishops, or any way justify or tolerate it, cannot do duty as lawful pastors and preachers; that the Parishes guided either by such preachers or by the Bishops and their officers cannot be lawful and the Churches of God; that such preachers cannot really beget faith by their preaching, neither can they really call or win men to goodness, nor can any profit be got from their blind reading of chapters and the (Church) service.

With these convictions fierce invectives against the preachers came naturally. Here, e.g., is a specimen: ‘Therefore say no more ye wicked preachers that ye hold the foundation, or that ye preach. For what is it worth to set up unto Christ to found the Church and bring the knee before Him, when you cast your filthy disorders and popish government as dung on His face. You have not yet gathered the people from the popish parishes and wicked fellowship, neither have planted the Church by laying the foundation thereof. . . . Declaration in this strain made a sensation. The common people of Bury St. Edmunds and thereabout heard him gladly, and ‘assembled themselves to the number of a hundred at a time in private houses and conventicles to hear him.’ It also had the effect, not by the Bishop ‘upon complaint made by many godly preachers for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine.’  

© Released at the instance of his kinsman Burghley, and straightway required by his ministry, he presently found himself a prisoner at London.’ * Harrison, too, was imprisoned† with others of the Church. So ‘at last, when divers of them were again imprisoned, and the rest in great trouble and bondage out of prison, they all agreed and were fully persuaded that the Lord did call them out of England.’‡ The place selected for this, because of ‘the. . . (cartwright’s congregation) there was Middelburg; § and thither the greater portion of the Norwich ‘company,’ including Browne and Harrison, transferred themselves—near the end of 1581. In Middelburg Browne’s ideal seems to have encountered little or no outward trouble, but it broke down woefully under the stress of inward difficulties.† Two years later, Browne, sore at heart but keeping a bold front, was on his way to Scotland—accompanied by just four or five men and their families.

The rest of his career need not be dwelt upon. Landing at Dundee, he reached Edinburgh by way of St. Andrews on Thursday, 9th January 1583–4, and was soon in trouble. On three successive Tuesdays he appeared before the Edinburgh Presbytery—maintaining that ‘his adversaries at this time were not a thing indifferent, but simply evil’; alleging (on the 21st) that ‘the whole discipline of Scotland was amiss’; and acknowledging (on the 28th) the authorship of certain books exhibited. Out of these Mr. James Lawson and Mr. Robert Gibson had made the charges which the articles deemed erroneous for presentation to the King—Browne, meanwhile, being, it would seem, held in custody. But His Majesty, assured rather to spine the Presbytery than to befriended Browne, let him go free.**

After some months he appears to have returned to Stamford; then to have gone abroad, leaving his wife behind; and then again to have come back to Stamford. This was about March 1585; and in the autumn of the same year, October 7th, he betrayed the crushing effect upon him of several months’ imprisonment by a promise of ‘conformity’ to the Established Church.†† Next day he set out for Tolethorpe, bearing a letter of intercession from Burghley to his father. Here he lived, under paternal surveillance, till February 1585–6, when his father, not having found him sufficiently docile, asked and obtained leave to remove him ‘to Stamford or some other place.’ Whether Browne actually removed is doubtful—since there is proof that later in the year (April 1586, Middelburg 25th) he was three times cited—on a charge of non-attendance at church—in the Bishop of Peterborough’s Court by the churchwardens of Little Casterton, the parish in which Tolethorpe Hall is situated.‡‡ The next certain fact is his appointment on November 21st, as schoolmaster in St. Olave’s Grammar School, Southwark—first between 1585 and 1588, when Burghley solicited Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, for his re-admission into ‘the ministry of that holy office. This was done under a cope, in the proviso that he ‘hath now a good time’ been an obedient son of the Church. III Two years later, on the

* True and Short Declaration
† Harrison, A Little Treatise upon the first verse of the 100th Psalm . . . 1583, Introduction (Lambeth Library).
‡ True and Short Declaration.
© Atter Scotland ‘Jersey or Guernsey’ had been prepared and waivered aside by Browne (ib.).
† Some remained behind and still continued as a Church called the ‘Church of the Laird’s Sister’ (see George Johnson, Discourse of some Troubles, 1605),
§ True and Short Declaration, pt. iii.
• Cambridge History of the Kirk of Scotland, iv, 1–3.
© See Burges, op. cit. pp. 20–31, 37–40. The ‘five points’ to which he submits practically cover the whole ground of conformity; and imply a thoroughly broken spirit at the time.
†† Burges, op. cit. p. 41.
‡‡ An extract of the preface of the (dramatic) terms of his engagement is printed by Burges, op. cit. pp. 44, 45.
|| Lansdowne MSS, cit. 69.
30th June 1591, Robert Browne, clerk, was admitted and instituted to the rectory of the ecclesiastical parish of Little Casterton in the county of Rutland and diocese of Peterborough—of which parish his father had been rector—by Peter, then occupant of Tolethorpe Hall, was the patron. * Finally, on September 2, 1591, he became 'rector' of the parish of Auchurc-chum-Thorpe, Waterville, in Northamptonshire; 'was admitted to the holy orders deacon and priest' by George Browne, then appointed of Tolethorpe that Peterborough and in the false Prince's companie. The Avas disciple true may admitted of passages removal astical uncle tional sphere was the Christian Equally concerned civil power, Fatliers. (3) Bronriism, (1) term demanded words, some period of 10 years) he lived out the remaining forty-two years of his existence. He died in Northampton gaol, and was buried at St. Giles' Church of that town on October 8th, 1582.‡

2. Browne had receded from some of his extreme views and taken office in the Church he had so bitterly condemned, there is proof § that he still held to the essentials of his Church theory; and if this be taken as evidence of conscious insincerity, it may be remembered as a plea for delay on the ground of a 'Prince's own words, he was 'broken ... much with former troubles,' that the influences brought to bear upon him in his weakness were of exceptional force, † and that the limited extent of his 'conformity' seems to have been general to the Leader—his sphere.

Some indication of the principles commended by the term Brownism has already been given. But a more systematic statement is desirable.

(1) First, then, it should be said that Brownism concerned itself merely with a doctrine of the Church. Theologically, Browne was even more orthodox in the current Calvinistic sense. Equally so were his successors. ‡ (2) With Protestants generally, of the consistent sort, he accepted the Scriptures as the sole rule of Church faith and practice—uninfluenced by the traditions of men, including those of the Early Fathers.

(3) Starting from this basis, he came to the conclusion that the Protestant Churches (particularly the English Church), while Scriptural as to their faith, were far from Scriptural as to their practices. Reformed up to a certain point, the English Church had stopped short of the full Reformation which was demanded if it would correspond to the NT model of a Church. Many even of the more 'famous' leaders of the Church, Browne thought, had set the civil power as a sufficient excuse that the needed reforms were not to be had without concurrence of the civil power, and that till such concurrence was forthcoming they could only 'tarry.' Here Browne took his stand. He thought the evils arising from an imperfect Reformation of the Church so great and pressing, that the very existence of Christianity called for the instant removal of them. Since, too, the will of Christ—made clear in the NT—necessitated their removal, to plead for delay on the ground of a 'Prince's unwilliness was intolerable disloyalty to Christ. The Prince is supreme in his own sphere, but his sphere is not the Church. He is 'to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice, to maintain the high welfare and honour thereof with outward power, bodily punishment, and civil forcing of men.' He is also to 'look to the Church so far as 'outward provision and outward justice' are concerned: for it is of his 'charge' 'because it is in a commonwealth.' But the Prince has no manner of right to compel the Church to be, or to remain, what Christ forbids. Nay, he has no right directly to 'compel religion' at all, i.e., to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties. If a true Church is already established, the Prince either is or is not a member of it. If he is, then—as God is no respecter of persons—he is, like every other member, subject to its discipline. If he is not, and has no mind to further or favour its establishment, then those who are Christ's freemen must proceed without him; and even though he should oppose them to the uttermost, they must go on just the same. Thus it appears that separation from a false Church, or from one persistently corrupt, in order to set up and rescue the pure and true, is a right which the Prince dare not withhold, and a duty which the 'faithful' dare not decline.

Such is the pitch of Browne's Treatise of Instruction without tarrying for anise, which he wrote and printed at Middelburg in 1582. Not without reason has it been called * the first plea in English for the Church's independence of the State and essential autocracy. But on the Continent he has been more than a master to the Anabaptists † for, in one respect at least, his plea, as compared with theirs, presents a remarkable limitation, viz., that he seems to permit, if not to oblige, the Prince—after the example of the 'good kings of Juda'—not indeed to 'force the people by his power' to the practice of the Church government, † yet, when once they had received it, to keep them to it, and even to 'put them to death' if 'then they fall away.' How entirely subversive this might become of his whole position—supposing him serious—Browne did not pause to reflect.

(4) Published at the same date and place, and (in some copies) bound up with the Treatise, was a Catechism to which the Treatise was meant to serve as an introduction. Its title began, 'A booke oriad, 35 which shorte setth the orders of things in the Church and Christian ... ,' and if the Treatise urged the instant need of proceeding to establish the true Church, this sets forth the character of the Church to be established. In some points it obviously agrees with the Presbyterian ideal, as expounded, e.g., by his contemporary Cartwright. The conception of the sacrament is the same; its permanent officers are the same—Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, Widows—and also its description of their functions; and it makes the same demand for 'discipline.' But there are notable divergencies. Thus the definition of a Church is much more strict—'a company or number of believers which by a willing covenant made with their God as under the government of God and Christ, and keeps his laws in one holy communion,' and again, it was more democratic. From first to last the people of the Church, as just described, are accounted supreme. This appears (a) in the

* Burrow, op. cit., p. 65t. † 1b. † 1b. p. 72.

† In a MS of his recently found in the British Museum by Mr. Richard Bland, and edited for him by Mr. P. L. Eyre, of the Congregational Historical Society. It is in the form of a letter to his uncle Mr. Flower, dated 31st December, 1588, and contains the passages quoted Dr. Bencroft in his famous 'St. Paul's Cross' sermon of the following February.

‡ Burrow, ibid. MS, where he speaks of having been imprisoned 23 times.

§ e.g. the breakdown of his Church experiment at Middelburg had been due less to his leadership than to the treasures brought to bear upon him at home and by Burghley, etc.

Bredwell, e.g., assumes this in his Easing of the Foundations of Brownism, 2nd ed.

** Cf. Questions 2-35 of his Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, 1591.

† † Cf. e.g., their Confession of Faith, 1596.


† † 1b. for the American edition; see § 35 of the (Mennonite) Confession quoted by Walker (p. 5). The latter's date is 1600, but it expresses their earliest views. See also pp. 15-17 for possible influence of Anabaptist views on 'Brownism,' and above, p. 9, nearest the truth that 'Brown owed nothing to Anabaptist influences, and that he was a disciple of no one' (Congregationalism as seen from Literature, p. 88).

† The first words are — 'Christians are a company, ...' Browne did not believe that Christians could be such and live apart from Church fellowship.
declared equality of all the members as regards spiritual privilege: 'Erever one of the church is meant to know that he is the protestant, the pater, the bondman, and Christ, to uphold and further the kingdom of God, and to breake and destroie the kingdome of Antichrist and Satan.' (6) In the mode of appointing and ordaining officers. These must first be tried by the whole Church as to their 'gifts and godlines.' If, indeed, a man has already given proof of his 'gifts and godliness' by the right gathering of a church, then those composing that church, or those who afterwards join it, must tacitly receive him 'by obedience' as their 'guide and officer.' Should, however, a church find in need of any officer, then the free and clear 'consent of the people,' gathered by the elders or guides, must proceed his appointment. (c) In the power of the Church as a whole to discipline and even depose unworthy officers. (d) In the right of the Church, through its own 'elders or worshippers,' to recognize its officers by ordination 'as called and authorized of God.' Usually this is done 'with prayer and imposition of hands'—but as to the latter it 'is no essential point of theirs calling,' and ought to be left, which it was turned into point of superition. (e) In the fact that, while the holding of 'synodcs or meetings of sundrie churches' may be expedient, it is voluntary. Their use is to enable the stronger churches to help the weaker in 'deciding or redressing of matters' when such help is sought or when it is evidently needed. (5) Brownism, as thus outlined, became the accepted platform of all the early Separatists. Younger leaders like Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, Francis Johnson, and Henry Ainsworth may have varied the emphasis, clarified away ambiguities, or given to this or that principle a more rigorous and detailed application; but, notwithstanding their vehement desire to repudiate all connexion with Browne or his name, it could not reasonably be denied that he was 'the shop of their store and the seed of their strength.' Proof of this lies hand in their writings, particularly in a series of authoritative documents which they issued for the chief Separatist Church during the first twenty years of its existence. § Only one point of importance seems to doubt, and here the difference between Browne's teaching and that of Barrow seemed great enough to warrant a description of the latter as 'Barrovism.' This point is the eldership and its relation to the Church. According to Deyter, the teaching of Barrow presents the Church as having power to elect the elders, but not to control them or 'seriously limit their action' or remove them from office for any cause whatever. Thus he practically destroyed the Church's self-government, and erected the eldership into 'a ruling oligarchy,' whereas Browne made it a pure democracy. But against this view may be set Barrow's explicit statement of the contrary. 'I never thought,' he says in one place, 'that the practice of Christ's government belonged only to those officers. I rather thought it had been their duty and office to have seen this government faithfully and orderly practised by all the members of the Church, . . . so that if those officers or any of them transgress, the Church must rebuke every member freely (according to the case), and to the end to prevent and reprove the whole, to cen- sure and excommunicate such officers so offending.' No less conclusive is the evidence of a document published in 1596 under the title, A true confession of the faith and humble acknowledgment of the gaps in Brown's Confession of 1592; called Brownistes doo hould towards God and yeild to hir Majestic.' It emanated from the Separatist Church formed in London, 1592, and soon afterwards exiled to Amsterdam. This Church had been set up by Francis Johnson, the learned lawyer, a steady, religious teacher—joint authors of the Confession, and both disciples of Barrow. Thus its words on the point in question may be taken as Barrow's own. But these say decidedly: 'That as every Christian Congregation hath power and commandement to elect and ordaine their own ministerie according to the rules prescribed, and whilst they shall faithfully execute their office to have them in superabundant love for their works sake—to provide for them, to honour them and reverence them, according to the dignitie of the office they have received, and to make them respectable; they also have power to discipline their ministrice in any such defect, either in their life, doctrine or administration: breaketh out, as by the rule of the Church, and from the practice of their ministrice, so to depriue them from, or deprive away or trim down their ministration in a worthy way, and cut them off by excommunication.' Johnson, it is true, drew off from this position and split the Church by urging a strictly Presbyterian view of the eldership. But a majority of the people adhered to Ainsworth in his more moderate defence of the confessional view—which he calls the Church's 'ancient faith'—and he had also the warm support of John Robinson § with his church at Leyden. A more plausible case of difference between Browne and Barrow seems to lie in their respective ways of speaking about the relation of the Civil Power to the Church. For, while Barrow declares it to be 'the office and duty of Princes and Rulers to suppress and root out of their dominions all religions, worship, and ministries other than the true, Browne's language is certainly more restrained. But here also the contrast is less in reality than in appearance. One drastic assumption of his has already been noted. And the following from his reply to Mr. Cartwright is not so very far short of Barrow's position: 'If the commonwealth (as it ought) had long ago taken from the ministry those tenths and popish livings, then Jericho being once desecrate, and the antichristian churches put down, had not so soon been built again. . . .'

NOL Diod he show himself (previous to his conformity) less extreme in a third point—his practical attitude towards the establishment. Barrow's attitude is perfectly explicit in the Confession of 1596 (Art. 32), which calls upon all who 'will be saved' to come forth with speed from this antichristian estate; upon all its ministers 'to remove and leave' their unlawful offices; and upon all people of what sort or condition soever to withhold their goods, lands, money or money worth. (See the present writer's Henry Barrow (p. 100) for this and other references. The only argument alleged to the contrary seems to be one drawn from the 'silence' of what is called the London Confession of 1589: 'A true description out of the record of the church of London.' The reference to the point may be explained by the ideal character of this document. It is a declaration rather than a Confession. § 1589.)

1. He defends it in his latest book, A Christian Plea (1673), p. 49. See Henry Barrow, 1596 (see present writer's Henry Barrow, pp. 254 ft. & 386 ft.).

2. See his Justification of Separation . . . against Mr. Richard Barnard, 1603, where, re the 8th error alleged by Mr. Barnard, he goes into the question with great thoroughness. Johnson defended in his Answer (1611), p. 27; and Robinson rejoined—at Ainsworth's instance (see the latter's Amenderadser to Mr. Cliffon's Advertisement (1613), p. 38.)


from the maintenance of its false ministry and worship. Brown's was the same. It is, e.g., the burden of his letter to Mr. Cartwright that you cannot be an Englishman (or a minister) (2a) without partaking in its pollution; and so neither the true Church as a whole nor any 'part' or 'member' of it ought to communicate. ♦ Perhaps the utmost which can be conceded to him is that he may not have forfeited his priesthood—'even of prelatic ministers or attendance at their services as did the authors of the Confession.'

Brownian of the strictest type—that which pushed its differences from the Church of England to the fore—found a temporary asylum in the semi-Separate or Dutch, and the single point of experience. In Leyden—under the leadership of John Robinson, who at first was as thorough-going as Barrow or Ainsworth, but became with time increasingly tolerant—it learnt to lay the stress upon constructive elements; and to develop these in a form of church-life which could bear translation to the shores of New England, and there plant the germs of a vigorous democratic Church-State. In England it ran a somewhat similar course. Stripped of its harshest features, it is found for centuries in the hands of Congregationalists,

by Henry Jacob (1633–1624), who 'gathered' at least some of the scattered 'remnants' of the London congregation of 1592 and organized (on a semi-Separatist basis) what has been called the first distinctively Independent Church in England. But the name 'Brownism' did not stick out. It lived on as a descriptive or abusive epithet of 'all and sundry' who, for whatever cause, broke away from the National Church. Nor did the extreme views originally suggested by the name cause much overt opposition. In 1658, for example, a petition was made to the Council by all the churches in England 'to provide for the order of public worship and the salvation of the church.' This appeal from time to time fared the 17th century. ♦

Indeed, such advocates have never been absent altogether from the ranks of English Nonconformity. But, on the whole, it may be said that Brownism has survived only on its milder side; and that its essential witness has been continued and fulfilled in the principles which give life and power to modern Congregationalism. See also art. CONGREGATIONALISM.

BRUNO. L. BRUNO'S WRITINGS.—A list of these so far as known to us is printed in the Historical Dictionary, The True Story of Robert Bruno (1906), p. 74f. The most important are those numbered: (3) A Book which sheweth the Fraud and Massacre of the Turks (1596); (4) A Treatise of Federation without tarrying for arms, Middelburg, 1552, reprinted by Congregational Historical Society, 1893; (5) A Treatise of the True Christian Faith, London, 1583, reprinted early in 1588 (a satisfactory account of these, with full titles, is given by Burrow, pp. 12–25); (6) A True and Short Declaration Touching the Birth of the Protestant Church and also of the Lamebed Branch and Division which fell not amongst them, Amsterdam, 1589 (alleged to be a facsimile of Cartwright's Letter for Joining with the English Churches, 1584–50 (?)(MS printed and published at London, before Oct. 7, 1600); (16) A Epistle written to Mr. Brown, Father of Congregationalism, London, 1587; (11) The Reticulation of Robert Brown, Father of Congregationalism.

The schismatical persons are taken to be Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and their congregation. E. Brown is expressed on this point—or any as to its authenticity. But the present writer is not convinced of the latter, at least (27) A Letter written to Mr. Flower, Dec. 31, 1588–89 (MS in the B.M., under the title A New Year's Gifte; the printed copy contains a narrative of the finding of the MS by Burrow in 1901).

II. BRUNO'S LIFE LITERATURE.—The words of Robert Harrison (d. 1582), Henry Barrow (1550–1593), John Greenwood (d. 1593), John Penny (1550–1593), Henry Ainsworth (1571–1672), Francis Bunting (1580–1661), Henry Jacob (1563–1624), for which see Dexter, Congregationalism, 1576–1641 (pp. 8–30), and T. G. Crippen, 'Early Nonconformist Bibliography' in Transactions of Congregational Historical Society, vol. 1, 1, 1908, pp. 11–65.


FRED. J. POWICKE.

BRUNO.—I. Life.—Giordano Bruno was born in 1548 in the ancient township of Nola, not far from Naples. At the latter town he studied, and in 1563 he entered the monastery of the Dominican order there and lectured. It was about this time that he took the name of Giordano, his original name having been Filippo. In 1572 he became priest. Early in his monastic career charges of heresy had been brought against him, and these were renewed in 1576. Bruno escaped to Rome, and there, hearing of his excommunication, made his way to North Italy. Earning a livelihood by various means and in various cities, he finally crossed the Alps, and in 1579 reached Geneva. There he attended the Protestant services held by an Italian pastor, and thus became formally a member of the Protestant community, although he does not seem to have entered into full communion or to have adopted the Calvinist confession of faith. A violent dispute with a Professor of Philosophy at the Geneva Academy led to his departure from the city in the autumn of the same year. He passed to Lyons and thence to Toulouse, where for two years he lectured on Aristotle and other subjects, being elected (by vote of the students) to a chair at the University. We next find him at Paris, in one of whose colleges he was appointed (as extraordinary professor). Here he published two works on the Art of Memory (a subject concerning which he had been interviewed by the king, Henry III.), and a curious comedy, Il Condeletto. Appointed a lecturer in the University, and in 1583 he crossed the Channel and came to London. There, after a three months' stay in Oxford, where his reception was the re-
verse of cordial, he took up his abode in the house
of the French Ambassador, Mauvissière, probably
as a secretary, and remained till 1585, when the
Ambassador returned to Paris. During his stay
in London, Bruno had some acquaintance with Sir
Pauuer, with whom he discussed a number of his writings), Fulke Greville, Florio, and others of the
literary men and courtiers of the time.
Seven of his most important works, six being
written in Italian, were published in London at
this period, although false names are usually
given on the title-page for the place of publication.
These works included the dialogues La Cena
de le Cenerei (1554), De la Causa (1554), De
Infinito (1584), Spazio de la Bestia Transfante
(1554), and De glis Evocii furori (1585). At
the same time he had already begun the Latin work
through which they were completed in Germany, so that his
stay in England represents a period of extra-
ordinary productiveness. With Mauvissière he
returned to Paris in October 1585, but was com-
pelled to leave it again in the following summer.
For the next three years he lived (first at reza,
acclamation with the Church, his hope being that
he might be allowed to return without renewing his
monastic obligations. The negotiations were
broken off, however, and he made his way to
Protestant Germany, settling for another brief period in Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Würzburg.
Here was associated with the then dominant Lutheran or
Reformed Church party, was welcomed by the
University, lectured on such subjects as the
Organon of Aristotle and Lullism—avoiding dan-
gerous topics—and continued his philosophical
writings. With the overthrow of the Lutheran by the Calvinist party in 1588 he was compelled
once more 'to take to the road.' With varying fortunes he visited Prague, Helmstadt, Frankfort,
Zürich, and again Frankfort, where he remained from March 1591 till a fatal illness led him to
Italy in the autumn of the same year. During
this period he published various works: the 150
Theses adv. Peripateticus (Paris, and also Witten-
berg), the Oratio Valedictoria at Wittenberg, the
Oratio Consolatoria, or Funeral Address on Duke
Julius, at Helmstadt, and two mathematical writ-
ings at Prague. The Latin poems (with prose
commentaries), which contain the sum and final
statement of his philosophy, the De Minimo, De
Monade, and the De Immenso, were published at
Paris, 1588, and with other works, the De
Euenium Composition, in 1591. In response to an
invitation of the patrician Mencenigo, who wished to
learn his art of memory and his supposed magical
powers, Bruno re-entered Italy in August 1591.
He was again anxious to be reconciled to the
Roman Church, and to be allowed to live and
write at peace as a layman, being curiously un-
conscious of the reputation his writings had built
up for him. No doubt he trusted also to Mo-
cenigo's influence for protection. In May 1592,
Mencenigo obtained knowledge he expected, denounced him to the Inquisition at Venice. In the process that followed Bruno at one point made solemn abjuration of all
errors and heresies of which he had been guilty,
and later made entire submission, throwing him-
sel on the mercy of the court. Meantime, how-
ever, Rome had intervened, demanding that the
heretic be sent to the Papal court. For political
reasons Venice yielded, after considerable dispute
and under strong pressure; and in February of
1593, Bruno entered the prison of the Inquisition
at Rome. For some unknown reason no further
steps were taken till January 1599—a most un-
usual delay. The process was then renewed and
carried on to December of that year; but the
unfortunate man, refusing to recant any of his
philosophical opinions, or to acknowledge the right
of the Church to dictate in matters of philosophy,
was condemned to death in the usual cynicall
formula, and, on 17th Feb. 1599, was publicly burnt
alive in the Campo dei Fiori, where the statue by
Ferrari now stands. Bruno suffered not for the
Protestants, but for or rather in defense of every
form of religion, but for Science, and for the freedom of the scientific spirit from the Church.
2. Works.—Apart from the comedy of Il Can-
didato, and one or two occasional works such as
the Orations at Wittenberg and at Helmstadt,
Bruno's works fall into three groups, viz. (1) com-
mentaries and summaries; (2) works on the Art
of Memory and the Art of Knowledge; (3) philo-
sophical works.
(1) The first group includes expository and
critical accounts of Aristotle's Physics, the post-
humous collections De Magia, the Medicina Lulli-
ana, and perhaps a number of the accounts of
the LLullian Art of Knowing. (2) Such works as
the De Compensatio Architecture (1582), the
Languis Cartographiae (1587), the
Compozitione, the Laevas Triginta Statuum present in various forms a scheme, based on the writings of Raymond Lully (13th cent.), for the analysis of thought, and
its reduction to a few elementary concepts, from
which, with their combinations, all possible know-
ledge may be derived. Bruno attacked the several
universal philosophers, and Leibniz also, and others after him, devoted some attention to this idea of a Universal Art of know-
ning or discovering truth by thought alone, or, more
strictly, by the manipulation of words. Along
with these works may be placed the De Umbra
Idearum (1582), Cantus Corocen, Sigillus Sigil-
orum (1553), and other works on the Psychology
and supposed Art of Memory, upon which Bruno
laid great stress, but to which the familiar
criticism applies, that what is good is old, and
what is new is worthless. (3) The main philo-
sophical works, Italian and Latin, have been enumerated above under their short titles; there
remains to be added only the Summa Terminorum
Metaphysicorum (1609, the first part having been
previously published by itself in 1593). The
Cena introduces us to the Copernican theory of
the universe, and Bruno's extension of it; the
Cause gives the metaphysical basis; the Infinito
places the new cosmology in a fuller light, and criticizes the prevailing theory and its Aristotelian origins; the Speculum Philosophorum, the De
Magna Composition, and the Ethica, treat of the
law and religion of the common man; while the
Eroici furori give those of the speculative phil-
osopher, imbued with the true amor Dei intel-
lectualis. Finally, in the Latin poems the system
receives unity and finish; its relations with, and
its advantages over, previous theories are ex-
pressed in clear and dignified, if not inspired,
verse. There is no doubt that in these later works Bruno comes nearer to a spiritual Monad-
ism such as that of Leibniz, while in the earlier
deeply metaphysical writings, he is more of a
secret knowledge, and has a more Pantheistic
rather than a Neoplatonic type.
Bruno has been called the Philosopher of As-
tronomy (Kiehl, p. 28). What is new in his teach-
ing is his whole-hearted adoption of the theory of
the universe foreshadowed by Copernicus, and
already in Bruno's time being established by the
astronomical discoveries and calculations of Tycho
Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and others. Early in his
studies he became dissatisfied with the prevailing
philosophy of the Church, —and turned with fresh interest to the cosmic specula-
tions of the pre-Aristotelian thinkers, and to the
mythical imaginations of the Neo-Platonists.
These, with the Scholastics, orthodox and un-
orthodox, the alchemists, the astrologers, and
finally Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, last of the
Medieval, and first of the Moderns, were the chief influences that determined Bruno's thought, and gave his philosophy its strange confusion of old and new, of crisis superstition and daring speculation, of dull pedantry and vivacious originality, of ignorant folly and supreme insight.

(a) The physical universe.—The universe is infinite, without bounds, no where the same in nature or kind, everywhere diverse in its individual forms or modes. Its centre is at once everywhere and nowhere; it is all centre or all circumference; or again its centre is relative to the spectator; thus to us the earth appears the point about which the universe revolves, but precisely the same way, said Bruno, the inhabitant of the moon would regard the moon, and the inhabitant of the sun the sun, as the centre of his world. Each sun, each star, each planet is a world like our earth, with living beings in its air, on its soil, in its fire and its waters; but the worlds are of two kinds, each complementary to each, each necessary to the other's existence; the two kinds are the suns, including the fixed stars, and the earths or planets, including the comets. The suns and the earths are two unalterably distinct elements; Bruno thought of as a formless fluid, a passive, yielding, yet unchangeable, medium through which light, heat, and bodies pass without loss of force. Underlying all movement, small or great, is spirit or soul; all things have soul; the ether itself is a soul; sometimes identifies with the Soul of the Universe. Again, since Nature is everywhere the same, everything is implicitly or potentially the whole universe; and what it is implicitly it strives to become explicitly or in actuality. Thus every element passes, in the course of its history, through every portion of the universe, and every composite being becomes, by gradual change, every other nature or thing. Thus suns and earths, like all other beings, have had a beginning in time and will decay and perish in time. Nature never reproduces itself, it is not cyclic or periodic; yet it is in this moment of time two forms or things exactly alike, and nothing is ever for two successive moments the same: nowhere is there a perfectly straight line or a perfect circle or arc of a circle. There are three kinds of monads, i.e. of simple souls, forms or elements; the atom, the Supreme Unity, Monad of Monads; (2) the soul, the substance or spirit of the composite body; and (3) the atom, the simple element of body or matter. All are immortal, each soul passing, as has been said, through every type of body the universe contains. In this metamorphosis there is, however, a possibility of progress; the soul has in its power to rise gradually to higher and higher types of being, until it approaches unity with God and is absorbed into the eternal life of the Divine being.

(b) God and Nature.—Relatively to us God has two modes of existence and two ways of access. As a transcendent Being, outside of and prior to the universe, its Creator and Source, He is accessible to us through the Soul, of which the universe is the soul, or inner nature of the universe, which is His image or expression. He is knowable by sense, understanding, and reason. But as the universe He is in all and every part; all things are one, and the one is God. Indeed, in the earlier phase of Bruno's Pantheism the individual or finite being has no real existence at all; it is not a part or a division or even a special mode or expression of the Divine or of God, but simply the world-soul itself in a particular aspect. Again, in the infinite (sub specie aeternitatis, in Spinoza's phrase), there is neither less nor greater; a man is no higher, no nearer God than an ant, a star than a man; all values are relative to the finite standpoint of the Infinite, as Nicolas Cusa taught, all opposites, including good and evil, coincide; liberty and necessity, the possible and the actual, power and will, will and thought or idea, all these in God are one. Hence the universe that exists is the only possible universe, and because it is all and one, the universe as a whole as it is. But again Bruno's nature thought compelled him to recognize gradations in value, in spite of himself. In law, natural and moral, in the beauty and order of Nature, God is more fully, more adequately, expressed than in any single being or individual thing (Op. Lat. i. 2, p. 316).

(c) Ethics and religion.—The end and aim of a Church is the same as that of a State; it is social and practical—the security of the community, the prosperity and well-doing of its members. Dispersion and internal strife are dangerous, as the enemy about the sun, but the suns themselves are also in motion. Nowhere is there any permanence or fixity in Nature; all these worlds are alive, are living beings, and the condition of life is change. Peace and quiet are dangerous, as the calm of the sun, but the universe, or the solar system, is in motion. Thus the universe, like society, is immanent rather than dialectic or rational, and, indeed, the need of an authoritative doctrine, and the enforcement of its acceptance and of outward conformity with it; but the Church has no right to go further, to interfere with the pursuit of knowledge, of truth, or the exercise of philosophy or science. Thus the Bible teaches not science but morality, an ideal of conduct. No discovery therefore may be condemned because it conflicts with a supposed statement of fact in the Bible. God does not need the worship of men, He cares nothing for what they say or think of Himself, but only for what they do to each other, i.e. for their happiness. Thus all worship, all religion has a purely practical and human end. The ordinary man must be governed by authority, by fear of punishment, whether in this life or in the next; ignorance and bodily pleasures are his paradise. He must live by faith. But the wise or heroic soul is able to attain, through reason, and through the love with which it is inspired, to the knowledge of and to eternal union with the Divine. Thus Bruno thought that the end to the same conception as that with which Spinoza concluded his Ethics—the amor Dei intellectualis. His philosophy of religion is a rationalism, but limited always by a belief in the Transcendence of God, by which the idea of faith is separated from that of reason, and indeed remains, as Bruno sometimes saw, above it.

3. Influence.—Although his writings were placed upon the Index in 1603 and became very scarce, and although in his lifetime he aroused antagonism wherever he went, Bruno nevertheless had many followers in England, in France, and in Germany. No doubt his Lullian works formed the first attraction, but through them his philosophical ideas received an entrance into current thought. The influence was general rather than specific; the courage, independence, and enthusiasm with which he defended the new and lofty conception of the universe and of Nature in its relation to God made themselves felt and were imitated. Traces of his teaching may be found in Bacon, Descartes, and in the related works of many with both of whom he has many doctrines in common. Except, however, for the somewhat mistaken admiration of the English Deists, he was generally neglected until the German idealists rediscovered his work in the first half of the 19th century. Ample amends has now been made by his countrymen in the study of his writings, their careful editing, and complete publication; and a multitude of monographs upon his life and phil-
osophy have appeared during the last thirty years in various languages.


J. L. McIntyre.

BRYANTES.—See Methodism.

BUDDHA, LIFE OF THE.—Gautama, the Buddha (*Pali Gotama*), the founder of the Buddhist faith, which at one time numbered in all probability more adherents than any other form of religion, belief, was born in or about the year 560 b.c., in the ancient kingdom of Kapilavastu, the ruins of which have been sought but not found by the British border in the dense tarai region of south Nepal, a few miles north of the Basti District of the United Provinces. The place of his birth, unknown and unidentified before, was determined by a curious discovery, in the year 1805, of a pillar erected there by the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka (*q.v.*) during a pilgrimage which he undertook for the purpose of visiting and worshipping at the chief sites made sacred by the presence and acts of Buddha while he lived upon earth. The route which he followed led him from his capital city of Pataliputra (Patna *q.v.*) to the Lumbini Grove and Kapilavastu, Bodh Gayâ, Sârnath, near Benares, Sâravasti, Kusânagarâ, and other sacred sites, the exact position of some of which is still uncertain; and at each place he appears to have set up a pillar or built a stûpa commemorative of his visit, and of the incident in the Buddha's life of which it had been the scene.

The inscription on the Lumbini Grove pillar is perfect, and the letters are clear and legible as on the day they were inscribed; of a few words, however, the meaning is uncertain:

"The king Devakarmiprā-buddhist, when he was twenty-year-old and prince, the honour of coming (buddha) in person. Because Buddha was born here on the Sakyā saint, he caused a stone surrounding and screening wall to be made, and a fence. Because the king was here, he made the village Lumbini free from rent and entitled to the (king's) eighth share of the grain."

The name *Gautama*, by which the future Buddha was known, is perhaps derived from that of Gotama, the ancient *țsii*, or seer, to whom are ascribed some of the hymns of the Rigveda. He becomes *buddha*, or the Buddha, the 'enlightened,' or 'wise,' only after his attainment of perfect wisdom under the Bod-tree. Other titles given to him are Sâkyamuni, 'the sage of the Sakyas'; Siddhârtha, 'he who has accomplished his aim'; and Tathâgata, 'he who has arrived at the truth.' His father was named Sudhdhodana, the chieffair or prince of a Sâkyan clan, who ruled from Kapilavastu over a small kingdom in the N.E. part of the United Provinces and the neighbouring District of southern Nepal; and his mother, Maya or Mahâmâyâ, is said to have conceived him after a dream in which she beheld the future Buddha descending from the heaven, and entering her womb in the form of a white elephant. Hence the elephant is sacred to all Buddhists. Maya herself, according to the tradition, died within seven days after the birth of her son, and was carried to the Trayasadhie heaven of Indra, whether the Buddha himself ascended later, to give her instruction in the Law.*

In the *Jâtaka* (*q.v.*) the story of the life and experiences of Buddha, as a child, in his earlier existences is narrated, and how the character and qualifications of a Buddha were exhibited by him in patience, self-sacrifice, and the other virtues. As the time drew nigh for him to enter the world in this the final birth, the gods themselves prepared the way before him with celestial portents and signs: 'Earthquakes and miracles of healing took place; flowers bloomed and gentle rains fell, although out of season; heavenly music was heard, delicious scents filled the air, and the very water of the ocean grew sweet and became sweet and refreshing.' Before his birth his mother was under concern, that he would become either a Universal Monarch (*chakravartin*), or, abandoning house and home, would assume the role of a monk, and become a Buddha, perfectly enlightened, and free from all sin. His mother was advised by the gods to get himself, in the *Tatasa* heaven, before consenting to undertake the office, makes the 'five great observances,' in order to determine the right family in which to be born, the right constellation, the appropriate district, the proper time, and the predestined mother of the Buddha. He is accordingly conceived in the womb of Queen Mâyâmaya, and she is delivered of a son in the Lumbini Grove, under the shade of a Sal-tree, a branch of which bends down to her, that she may grasp it with her hand. *The body of the child born at birth the thirty-two auspicious marks (mahâbhāvajñāna) which indicated his future greatness, besides secondary marks (*anuvyayajñāna*) in large numbers. The chief of the divinities, including Indra, were in attendance, and the boy was received by four Brahman angels. Immediately also he uttered the 'shout of victory,' taking seven steps forward, and finding in none of the ten directions a being equal to himself. At the same moment his future wife was born at the sacred Bo-tree, under which he was destined to establish religious truth.*

In many of the legends the young Gautama performs marvellous feats of strength. His father also, mindful of the prophecy that he would retire from the world, surrounded him with all manner of luxury and indulgence, in order to retain his affections, and prevent him from undertaking a vow of solitariness and poverty. In particular, he endeavoured to keep from him the 'four signs,' the sight of which, it had been announced, would move him to enter upon the ascetic life.

"Then said the king, 'What shall my son see to make him retire from the world?'"

"The four signs, what are they?"

"What four?"

* Beckhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 81; *Warren*, op. cit., p. 42 ff. The story of the virginity of Maya, the mother of the Buddha, is late, and owes its inspiration, it can hardly be doubted, to later sources. According to Pousin, the doctrine is asserted in the *Mahâbhâsita* (*q.v.*) but not elsewhere in the Sanskrit *Sūtras*, and in the references in *V. A. Smith*, op. cit. Not far from the Lumbini (Rummindei) pillar there was found, near the village of Nigâ-ri, a pillar of Ashoka, with an important inscription recording his visit to the stupa of Kosâgamas (Skr. *Kosâkâma*), one of the four Buddhists of the present age (Kosâkâman, Kosâgamas, and Gautama) in Kosâgamasimha, in the District of Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 52 et al.; *V. A. Smith*, op. cit. p. 145.


Other pillar-inscriptions are known; *see art. *Ashoka*.

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A decrepit old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a monk are the so-called four signs in all the narratives of the Buddha's early years (cf. e.g. Buddha-Charita, bk. iii.). It would seem to be one of the best-attested cases of the Buddha's life. 1

1) The description of Hanuman's visit by night to the palace of Râvana in Ceylon, finding his wives asleep (Râmâyana, v. 145-149, 151), speaks of the noble Yasa (Mahâbhârata i. 15), who bore the title of dharma-ketu, 2 and of the tree (safigha) on which the great king was sitting (ibidem, v. 158). 3

2) Buddha-Charita, v. 80 ff., etc.

3) According to one form of the tradition, the horse died of grief on the spot, and was re-born as a god in the trayâsttridhâvan heaven.

The horse of the Buddha, following the four signs, however, issuing from the palace, he is confronted by the four signs the sight of which fills him with amazement and distress; and, realizing the impermanence of all earthly things, he determines to forsake his home and take refuge in the forest for solitariy meditations in order to find the road to his own deliverance. 4 His resolution is strengthened by the appearance of the attendant women of the palace, whom he finds asleep in all manner of uncomely attitudes; 5 and he pays a final visit to his wife and child in the inner chamber, checking himself in his desire to waken and bid them farewell, lest their entreaties and caresses should avail to turn him from his fixed purpose. He is said to have been twenty-nine years old when he thus made the 'Great Renunciation.' On his horse Kauhâka he left the city; by the side of the road he was accompanied by his father, in the same manner as when he had been born. The gods themselves silenced the neighing of his steed, lest the city and its widers should be aroused; and bore up the horse's hoofs, preventing them from touching the ground; while the city gates, heavy with bolts and bars, opened noislessly to his own accord. 6

And Mâra, the prince of evil, sought to win him back by the promise of universal dominion, which he should immediately obtain. 

Not far from the city of a broad stream Gautama dismissed his horse and attendant, the latter seeking permission, which was refused, to remain with him; 7 and the two returned to the city, to announce that their master had finally and for ever renounced the world. The prince himself proceeded alone and on foot to Râjâgriha (Râjgrî), whose king greeted him as the future Buddha, and obtained from him a promise that, after gaining enlightenment, he would re-visit his kingdom and give him instruction in the right knowledge. There he made his wife’s grove (Sukhavattika, or Urâlubhî, the great or wide-spreading Bel tree, the wood-apple), a village or grove near Gaya, and there in the company of five ascetics entered upon a course of extreme self-discipline, carrying his austeritys to such a length that his body became utterly emaciated and lost all its brightness and grace; finally, he fell down senseless and was believed to be dead. For six years the 'Great Struggle' continued, at the close of which, becoming convinced that the truth was not to be won by the way of asceticism, he resumed an ordinary course of life as a beggar living on alms. These six years are said to be 'like time spent in endeavouring to tie the air into knots.' His companions, however, the five ascetics, now deserted him, because they regarded his action as a proof of faithlessness to his principles, and departed to the Deer-Park at Benares.

There followed the assaults of Mâra, who with his hosts endeavoured by every means, first by dancing and drinking, and then by drift and argument, to distract his attention and turn him from his purpose. Seated under the Bo-tree on a platform of grass, on its eastern side and facing the east, Gautama remained steadfast and immovable, taking no notice of the showers of rocks and darts which, as soon as they reached him, turned into flowers. It is said that during this entire time he sat from this seat will I stir, until I have attained the supreme and absolute wisdom.' The period of the temptation closed with sunset, when the army of Mâra was finally driven off in utter defeat. During the following night, in deepest meditation, he attained the four noble truths and the holy order was thus attained, and Gautama became Buddha, 'the enlightened one,' to whom all the secrets of the universe were laid open—omniscient.

A legend relates that in the first night-watch he gained a knowledge of all his previous existences; in the second, of all present states of being; in the third, of the chain of causes and effects; and at the dawn of day he knew all things.

During the seven weeks spent under the Bo-tree, he is said to have been miraculously sustained on an offering of milk-rice, brought to him by a woman of Uruvelâ, named Sujâtâ, and neither to have moved from his place nor to have taken any further nourishment. Until then there had been more than twenty Bodhisattvas (g.v.), one who is destined to gain supreme wisdom, on the way to Buddhahood but not yet perfectly enlightened.

For a discussion of the doctrine or truth which the Buddha thus believed himself to have grasped, in which he made it his business henceforth to preach, see art. HIST. &c. All existence involves suffering; suffering is caused by desire, especially the desire for continuance of existence; to a suppression of desire therefore will lead to the extinction of suffering; this deliverance can only be effected by the Noble Eight-fold Path. These propositions are contained in the Sûtra called the Dharma-pa, whose four terms which are dhûkha, 'pain'; samudaya, 'cause'; sañcchicchay, 'remedy';灭, 'end'; are eternal. These four truths or axioms are propounded in the Sûkhyâ philosophy (Mahâbhârata, i. vi. 19; SBE xii. 95, etc.; see also J. Garbe, Sûkhyâ wûthitha 1895, 15, and art. Sûkhyâ).

With regard to the events immediately succeeding the Buddha's attainment of omniscience, the traditions are more than usually divergent. That which is perhaps the best attested, and most generally finds expression in Buddhist art, represents him as spending in succession seven days under the Bo-tree, in deep meditation, enjoying the bliss of emancipation; the same period under the 'Goat-herd's Banyan' (apâyâla), where a Brâhman is said to have approachd him with the request that he would do something to make it clear to the faithful Brâhman; the Buddha replied that he only could justly claim the name who was 'free from pride, free from impurity, self-restrained, wise, and who has fulfilled the requirements of holiness.' A third week was spent under the Muchalinda-tree, from which, as appearing in an open field, he is said to have been saved by the Buddha. Thus were completed four periods of seven days. During the last week, two merchants, moved by a divine suggestion, approached the Buddha, and with respectful salutations offered him food, rice-cakes, and honey. The gift was accepted, and received in a bowl (or four bowls of stone), presented to him at the moment by the four divinities that guard the four quarters of the globe. The merchants declared their faith in the Buddha and his Law, 9 and begged to be received as disciples. The Buddha henceforth fitted them so that they thus became the earliest lay-disciples in Buddhism.

After his return the Buddha is represented as

1) Monier-Williams, Buddhism, p. 34; cf. Warren, p. 82.
3) Employing the 'two-refuge' formula, because the sâkya, the order of monks, was not yet instituted.
deleting in his mind whether he should undertake the wearisome and thankless task of communicating to men the profound truths which he had thus perceived. Brahmapīta appeared to him, and with reverential obeisance recalled him to high office and duty, reminding him of the misery and ignorance of mankind, if they do not hear the doctrine preached, cannot attain to salvation. The Buddha assented; but a further doubt arose to whom he should first proclaim his doctrine with the assurance that they would understand. He decided that the five ascetics with whom he had previously traveled farthest in the mission were the one to receive the new teaching. He therefore sent them out in the Deer-Park, Isipatana, at Benares, and to them delivered his first sermon, or brief exposition of the doctrine, setting in motion the wheel of the Law, and founding "the highest kingdom of truth." The bhikkhus accepted the truth, and at their own request were duly ordained, becoming the first members of the Buddhist Order (sangha) of monks.

The number of the disciples rapidly increased; and within a short time the Buddha set forth his mission upon tours hither and thither, bidding them wander everywhere, preaching the doctrine (dharma) and teaching men to order their lives with self-restraint, simplicity, and chastity. Of these, his earliest converts were Assaji, the brother of Devadatta, and Mogallana (Mundagalyogana), members of an ascetic community resident at that time at Rajagriha, who received the truth from the lips of the monk Assaji, one of the five original disciples; he taught them the substance of Buddhist doctrine, explaining that he himself, being only a novice, was unable to expound it at length.

Of laws or principles that originate from a cause, the cause of these the Buddha hath declared, and also the destruction of them. The Buddha hath spoken.

The recitation of these words by the venerable monk Assaji is said to have aroused in the mind of the hearers a clear understanding of the fact that whatever is subject to origination is subject also to cessation or destruction. They were thereupon admitted into the Order by the Buddha himself. Both are recorded to have died before their Master. Other disciples, whose names and actions fill a large place in the early chronicles, were Uppali, who recited the text of the Vinaaya at the first Council after the Buddha's death; Kasaya (Kassapa) or Maha-Kasaya (Mahakassapa), who presided at the cremation of the body of the Buddha was delayed; and Ananda (q. v.), his cousin and favourite attendant, who seems to have watched over him during life with closest care, and to have been nearest to him at death. Others of high birth became lay-disciples. And there were also female followers, who, later, were permitted to form themselves into an Order of Buddhist nuns (see art. MONASTICISM [Buddhist]).

The Lord Buddha spent a life prolonged, according to tradition, over forty-five years. In his journeys from place to place, and preaching the doctrine to all who would listen. The details of his journeys, as recorded in the chronicles, are

* Dhamnachakra passports (Pali Dhamnachakkapassetana; see SBE xiii. 94 ff., and the references there given; Kern, Jidou Buddhisme, p. 25). The wheel is a continually recurring symbol in Buddhist art; the original intention probably was to represent the perfecting of the doctrine, the circle denoting all-round completeness, as its unceasing, unresting progression. The sermon itself, as given in the texts, is a manifesto of Buddhist doctrine, laying down the principles upon which the two extremes of a life of sensual pleasure or of ascetic self-mortification, and urging the pursuit of the 'Middle Path' which the Buddha specifies. (See Maudgalyya,ibid., pp. 390 ff.)

† Ye dhammaka ca prabhatam hetum tejan Tathahitakhatah by a monk, Ananda, expounded—The Buddhist creed or confession of faith. (See SBE xiii. 144 ff.; Kern, p. 25; Warren, pp. 87-91.)

‡ Maha. i. 22.; cf. Warren, p. 57 ff.

not of much interest; they seem to have been confined to the kingdom of the gods,* and especially the country around Rajagriha and Svaratva; but are traditionally said to have extended also far into the north-west of India and the Punjab. During the whole of this period he appears to have had no settled dwelling-place, although his residence was at times at Sarnath, near Benares, and at Varanasi, where he received gifts of gold pieces. Jeta retained a portion, and built thereon a vihara for the monks; whence the whole estate was known as Jetavana, the grove or park of Jeta. In the rainy season (Vassa [q. v.]) it was his wont to abstain from travelling, ostensibly lest the animal and insect life which then abounded should be inadvertently injured or destroyed; but partly also, no doubt, because of the physical difficulty which the heavy rains placed in the way of much movement. The doctrines which he brought only gradually received with approval, often with enthusiasm, although opposition was at times aroused. His chief rival was Devadatta, a cousin of the Buddha, who is represented as being jealous of his influence and personal power, and more fanatically seeking to compass his death. Devadatta then became the Order at the time of a visit which Gautama paid to Kapilavastu in the sixth year of his ministry, but had never been a sincere believer. The final attempt which he made to poison the Buddha was foiled, and he returned, as a false profession of faith, fell down into hell, where he was condemned to remain for an entire world-cycle.

At the age of over eighty years, according to the tradition, at the close of a long life devoted to teaching and preaching, Gautama Buddha realized that the time drew near for him to die, to leave his disciples and his work, and to attain perfect nirvana. The authentic account of the death of the Buddha, as related by Kassapa, the principal disciple of Buddhaghosha, is contained in the Mahavira Pitaka Vuttis of the Dipa-Nikaya, the Book of the Great Wheel, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and R. H. Withers, vol. xi., Warne, pp. 95-110. See art. LITERATURE (Buddhist). The narrative from Tibetan sources is given by W. W. Roehl, in the life of the Bodhisattva and the Buddha, pp. 125-147. The text seems to have been discussed at great length, and by many scholars. The Sinhalese reckoning, representing the tradition of the South, places the event in 544 B.C. (cf. 543 B.C. or 542 B.C.); the one that this is too early. More than fifty years ago, Sir A. Cunningham. Eastern Maha-Parinirvana Sutta, p. 1644, from a Southeastern text, gave his decision for the year 477 B.C. Prof. Max Muller arrived at the same conclusion (SBE xvi. p. 93 ff.; History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 290 ff.; 329), which was endorsed by Dr. Bühler. Others, as Westergaard and Kern, bring the time of his death down to a considerably later period, c. 570 B.C. The most recent essay in favour of a yet earlier date is by the Indian scholar P. C. Mukherji, who argues for the early part of the 4th century (see review in JIAS, 1930, p. 565 ff.). There can be little doubt that Sir A. Cunningham's date is very near to the truth. Dr. Flett re-examines the whole question with great care in JRAI, 1934, in order to determine the precise day of the year on which the Buddha died, which he concludes to have been Oct. 13th, 483 B.C. (cf. also M. de Zepet. Wickremesinghe, in Fiteg. Religious, p. 142.)

Amma was accompanied by Ananda, the Buddha then came

* Real. Sibb., ii. 89 ff.; cf. art. MAHAPRATIKASA.

† Legge, Fa-hien, p. 65 ff.; Real. op. cit. ii. 1 ff. The site of Svaratva was identified by Cunningham and others as the site of Bandaragala, in the middle of the Western Ghat, where a large temple has been confirmed by recent discoveries (see JRAI, 1909, pp. 97-103; 1913, p. 100; 1911; 1917, 1919; 1920, 1921; 1923). There is no mention in the Pali texts of a cremation in Svaratva, or of the ashes being brought from Bandaragala to Sravasti. The site of Svaratva is shown on a map of Ceylon, compiled by D. Sinha-Hansen, Strassburg, 1913, p. 14 f.

† Yasava, the adhere to the Law, and in this respect apparently both sects followed the earlier practice of the Hindu monastic orders.

‡ Pali and Sanskrit, see art. NIVRAÑA; nirvana is a state of final and attained and attained during life, and was enjoyed by the Buddha himself and by many Buddhist saints; parinirvana is reached only at death, with the dissolution of the bodily frame.
to the Sāla-tree grove Upavartana at Kuśinagara,* where, by his direction, he sent for the Buddha to come to the grove, his body tree, with its head to the north, on which he lay down - on the right side after the manner of a lion, and placing foot on foot remained mindful and conscious.† The trees bloomed out of season, and scattered their flowers on him as he lay. His last hours were spent in giving counsels and directions to Ananda and the assembled monks. Subhadra also, a wandering ascetic, was admitted to his presence, listened to his teaching, and was converted, thus becoming the last disciple made by the Blessed One.† Finally, he invited his disciples to state any doubts or perplexities they had, and to let him with regard to the teaching of the Buddha or the rules of the Order, that he might remove it; and bade them regard his Doctrine and Discipline as their teacher after he was gone. Three times the question was repeated.

"It may be, brethren, that some brother has a doubt or perplexity respecting either the Buddha or the Doctrine or the Order or the Path or the course of conduct. In any question, brethren, and do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, Our Teacher was present with us, but we failed to ask him questions."

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

"It may be, brethren, that it is out of respect to the Teacher that ye ask no questions. Then let each one speak to his friend."

And now, brethren, which of you spoke the brethren were silent.

Then the venerable Ananda spoke to the Blessed One:

"How wonderful a thing it is, Reverend Sir, and how marvellous are the words of the Lord Buddha. This whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or perplexity respecting the Buddha or the Doctrine or the Order or the Path or the course of conduct.

"With you, Ananda, it is a matter of faith, when you say that the Buddha, etc., Ananda, it is a matter of knowledge that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or perplexity respecting either the Buddha or the Doctrine or the Order or the Path or the course of conduct. For of all these five hundred brethren, Ananda, even the most backward has become converted, and is no longer liable to be in a state of suffering, but is assured of final salvation."

Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren:

"And now, brethren, take care! And at the close of your life:

"And rising from the fourth trance, immediately the Blessed One passed into Nirvāṇa."

In the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism a mystical doctrine of three bodies (kāyāt) of the Tathāgata is taught—the dharmakāya, or body of the Law, sambhogakāya, or body of perfect bliss, nirvāṇakāya, the illusionary or apparitional body. The first is said to be discernible in the whole air of the Tathāgata, the second in the whole air of a Bodhisattva, the third in the air of different pious men. The underlying idea would seem to be that of completing the connexion, or chain of evolution, between the living earthly Buddha and his spiritual or celestial or heavenly Buddhas.†

A curious tradition, the origin of which it is not easy to trace, represents the death of the Buddha as due to over-indulgence in 'dried boar's flesh,'+ at a feast which Chunda, the blacksmith, had prepared for him and his disciples. Recognizing the danger of the dish, Gautama refused to allow the others to partake lest they should suffer injury, and gave orders that what was left over should be buried in the ground. In view of the Hindu aversion to a meat diet, or the taking of life in any form, it is hardly likely that the tradition is a mere invention in this case, and may betray the fact that the preparation consisted of some vegetable or root, perhaps truffles; a "boar's delicacy," or favourite food; or the name of some dish prepared for the feast may have been confused in course of time with 'boar's flesh' or 'pork.' The refusal to permit his disciples to share was then invented to exalt his magnanimity, and to account for the fact that he alone suffered after the meal. If this were really the case, his great age would itself be a sufficient explanation. It should be noticed also that in the Tibetan narratives no reference is made to the pork, although the last feast in the Buddha's honour is described as in the Pāli narratives.‡

The death of the Buddha, like his birth, was accompanied by signs and portents from heaven; and the spirit of the earth and sky united in lamentation with his disciples and the men of Kuśinagara.

The Mallas of the town paid due honour to the corpse, with processions and garlands and music, for a space of six days. On the seventh the body was carried by eight of their chieftains to a shrine outside the city, on the east, where a funeral pyre was raised of sweet-scented woods. The Mallas chiefs, however, were unable to set fire to the pile; and it was explained to them that the final ceremonial of cremation must await the arrival of Śākyapa, who with five hundred brethren was at that moment approaching Kuśinagara. When Śākyapa reached the shrine, he saluted with reverence the Buddha's corpse, and with his companions passed thrice round the funeral pile, bowed down in homage. The pyre then was lighted and the body consumed. After the flames had done their work, they were again miraculously extinguished.

The bones and relics that remained from the fire were claimed by the Mallas of Kuśinagara (Kusināra), on the theory that their territory was the last to be visited by the Buddha. The Mallas, however, refused to give them a share in the relics.+++†


† Saṅkarā (śākara) maddana, Parinibbāna, S. iv. 16 ff., SBE xi. 71 ff. J. F. Fleet (J. R. A. S., 1906, pp. 858, 851) suggests the "suncrowned parasol" (maddana, Skr. maddana, 'softness,' 'delicacy' (madda)."

‡ Rockhill, p. 136 f.

§ Probably represented, according to Dr. Vogel, by the ruins at Kasia; see JRAS, 1906, p. 933 ff.

The scene of the Buddha's death has not been certainly identified. According to Fa-Hien, ch. lxxvi, it lay on the nāgasāha east of Kapilavastu (cf. Beni, Sinhik, li. 21 ff.). Sir A. C. Maxon, however, and the village of Kasia, about 40 miles of Gorakhpur, in the United Provinces, where there are extensive Buddhist ruins; but doubt is thrown on the connexion between the village of Kasia, and the saha of the recent discoveries and investigations. See Y. A. Smith in JRAS, 1902, p. 130 ff.; J. F. Fleet, ib. 1906, p. 907 and note; J. H. Marshall, ib. 1907, p. 900 ff., with plate showing the supposed cave of the Buddha. The Kasia (Kasi) in the Saha, Ceylon, as it is mentioned in the Pāli texts is a place in Madras Presidency, not far from the famous temple of Madura, but there is no clear indication of the connexion of either branch of the Kasia with the Buddha."

The attitude and scene are represented from sculptures, e.g., in the Magadha-Buddhists Art in India, p. 149 ff. Maha-Parinibbana Sutta, vi. 1. 61 ff.; SBE xi. 112 ff.; Warren, p. 108 ff.; Kern, p. 44 f.

The attitude and scene are represented from sculptures, e.g., in the Magadha-Buddhist Art in India, p. 149 ff. Maha-Parinibbana Sutta, vi. 1. 61 ff.; SBE xi. 112 ff.; Warren, p. 108 ff.; Kern, p. 44 f.
Among the prophecies uttered by the Buddha was one concerning the future of the religion which he established, and its ultimate decline and disappearance from the earth. The declaration is contained in the Aṅguttara-βuddha (‘Narrative of the Buddha’ in the Aṅguttara Nikāya), and is repeated in response to a question by Sāriputta. The history of the future Buddha, Maitreya (Pāli Metteyya), is described; then at long intervals after his own death will occur the five disappearances: the attainment, when his disciples will rise to ever higher degrees of sanctity; of the method, when the knowledge of the precepts and the way of salvation shall be lost; of learning, when the sacred texts themselves shall be forgotten; of the symbols, the monastic robe, bowl, etc.; and at the last the religion will cease to exist. And then, failing of honour and worship, and will go wherever they can receive honour and worship. But as times go on they will not receive honour and worship in any place. Then ... the relics will come from every place ... and lying congregated together at the throne under the great Bo-tree ... will teach the Doctrine. Not a single human being will be found at that place; but all the gods from ten thousand worlds will come together and listen to the Doc-
tre, and many thousands of gods will attach to the Doctrine. Then the Deity will weep, saying, ‘From henceforth we shall be in darkness.’ Then the relics will put forth flames of fire and burn up ... without remainder.’

[The subject of Barlaam and Josaphat, which was referred to in the article by a cross-reference at Bar-
LAAM, it has been found more convenient to treat in a separate article under the title JOSAPAT.]


BUDDHAGHOSA.—This was the name of several members of the Buddhist Order. It will be sufficient here to deal with the best known among them, the celebrated author and scholar who flourished early in the 5th century A.D.

1. Life. The authorities regarding the life of Buddhaghosa the Great are as follows. In the first place, certain important portions of his works have already been published. The few details they contain as to the life of the author are the only contemporary records of the events of his life. Secondly, Dhammakittis, in the middle of the 13th cent. A.D., wrote a continuation of the Great Chronicle (tr. in Turnour’s Mahavamsa, p. 250 ff.) of Ceylon. In it he inserted an account, in thirty-three couplets on the life of the author.

It is not exactly known from what source this account was drawn; but it probably gives


† J.R.A.S., 1896, p. 150. Dr Fleet reads the text, and translates as follows: ‘Parinibba-sutta. Of the last words, the words cast in the form of a future optative made as a promise, ‘if I should live to see the meeting of the Kelsis together with children and wives, this is a deposit of relics; (namely) the kinship of the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas. Early interpreters understood the prepositional phrase to be a relic of the Buddha himself, set up by his own brethren. See Fleet’s article, loc. cit., in which he discusses the inscription: and for a description of the original discoveries, 1898, p. 574, etc.; Mukhjerji, Antiquities in the Nattapala Jaina, 1917; cit. Fleet in J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 679 ff.; and for the inscription at Kapilavastu, 1906, p. 555 ff.†

† Legge, Fo-ien, ch. xii.; Beal, Sinopie, l. c. 197 ff.

‡ Beal, loc. cit., p. 92.

†† Times, Aug. 1900; see J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 189 ff.
BUDDHAGHOŚA

the tradition as preserved at the Great Minster in Anurādhapura (q.v.) in written documents now no longer extant. Thirdly, we have a life of Buddhaghośa, written in Pāli, in the middle of the 16th cent., by a Burmese bhikkhu named Mahā Mahā-gala. It is of a legendary and edifying character, and of little independent value. The title is, Buddhaghośa-uppatti ('Advent of Buddhaghośa'); and the text has been edited and translated by James Gray. The results to be obtained from these sources will best be stated chronologically.

In the introductory verses to his commentary on the Vinaya, Buddaghosa says that he compiled it in accordance with the opinions of the Elders at the Great Minster; and that since he had already, in his Visuddhi Magga ('Path of Purity'), dealt with certain points, he would omit these in his commentary. Lastly, he says that the authorities on which he relied were in the Sinhalese language, and that he reproduces the contents of them in Pāli. In his commentary on the Vinaya (quoted J.R.A.S., 1871, p. 295) he gives the names of some of these authorities. In his commentary on the Pāli Commentary, the Raft Commentary (i.e. written on a raft), and the Kurundi Commentary (i.e. the one written at Kurunda Veju). In his commentary on the Piṭātāra, Buddaghosa states (testo Gray, p. 183) that he had written a commentary on the Buddha dhamma, and a commentary in the Sinhalese language, which he ascribed to Attha-sālinī (ed. Müller), Buddaghosa also quotes as his authorities these and other commentaries written in Sinhalese; refers frequently to his own Visuddhi Magga, and mentions otherwise (apart from the canonical works) only the Mīlinda and the Pāṭokapadda.† These meagre but important details show conclusively that Buddhaghośa worked at a date subsequent to that of the two books last mentioned, under the auspices of the scholars at the Great Minster in Ceylon, and on the basis of materials written in Sinhalese.

The authority next in point of date explains how this was supposed to have occurred. It tells us that, during the reign of Ceylon of Mahā-Nāma (who ascended the throne in 413), there was a young Brāhmaṇa born in India who wandered over the continent maintaining theses against all the world. In consequence of a discussion that took place between him and Revata, a Buddhist bhikkhu, he became convinced in Buddhist doctrine, and entered the Order that he might learn and spread it. It was not long before he became converted, and wrote a treatise entitled Jātānodaya ('Uprising of Knowledge'); and also an essay entitled Attha-sālinī ('Full of Meaning'), on the Abhidhamma manual included in the Canon under the title Dhamma-saṅgāṇi. On Revata observing that he contemplated a larger work, he urged him to go to Anurādhapura, where there were better materials and greater opportunities for study, and make himself acquainted there with the commentaries that had been written in Sinhalese at the Great Minster, with a view to re-casting them in Pāli. Buddhaghośa agreed to this, went to the Great Minster, studied there under Saṅghapāli, and when he had mastered all the subjects taught, and given full satisfaction to the masters, he completed the work which he had undertaken. The authorities of the School gave him two verses as the subject of a thesis, to test his ability. What he submitted as this thesis was the work afterwards to become so famous under the title of Visuddhi Magga. This was written in Sinhalese at the Great Minster, and a commentary was added on the subject of this work, which is, we may say, the commentary of the bhikkus, so satisfactory that his request was granted. Then, according to the chronicler, 'he translated the whole of the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli.'

We need not take every word of this edifying story au pied de la lettre. We know, for instance, that it was not the whole, but only a part, though a very important part, of the Sinhalese commentaries that he reproduced in Pāli. Other scholars, some of whose names we know, while some are not yet known, reproduced other parts of it. The work was by no means a translation in the modern sense. It was a new work based on the older ones. And the intervention of the fairies (devatā) is only evidence of the curious literary taste of the time of the poet. But, in the main, the story bears the impress of reality.

The Buddhaghośa-uppatti takes over this story, telling it with many flowers of speech and at greater length. It adds a few details not found in Dhammakītā's couplets, giving, for instance, the names of Buddhaghośa's father and mother as Kesi and Kesini, and the name of the village they dwelt in as Ghosa. Both the authorities locate it at Gayā in Magadhā, near the Bo-tree. The Gandhāvānīka (J.P.T.S., 1896, p. 60) adds that Kesi was the family chaplain (puruhāta) of King Saṅgātāma. The Saṅdhammavānīka (J.P.T.S., 1898, p. 59) gives additional detail that Buddhaghośa worked at his translations in the Padhānagha, an apartment to the right of the Great Minster. The Sinhalese chronicler concludes his account with the simple statement that Wijayaghośa (i.e. the Buddhist) had accomplished, returned home to India, to worship at the Wisdom tree. The Burmese authorities (quoted by Gray in his introduction) all agree that he went to Burma. This is merely a confusion between our Buddhaghośa and another bhikkhu of the same name (called more accurately Buddaghoga the Less), who went from Ceylon to Burma towards the end of the 15th cent. (Forschhammer, p. 65).

2. Works. The extant book written by Buddhaghośa would fill many volumes. Of these only one, and that one of the shortest, has so far been edited in Europe. The most important is probably the Visuddhi Magga, a compendium of all Buddhism, in three books: on Conduct, Concentration (or mental training), and Wisdom respectively. Henry C. Treetsch has published an abstract of this work (J.P.T.S., 1891); and a complete edition, with translation, introductions, and notes, is in preparation for the Harvard Oriental Series. The rest are all commentaries. Those on the four books of the Vinaya, the Dhamma-saṅgāni, and on the Pītātāra, would each fill three or four volumes. A late authority, the Saṅdhanmā Saṅgāha (J.P.T.S., 1890, p. 56), gives 137,000 lines as the extent of these six works. Another late authority, the Gandhāvānīka (J.P.T.S., 1896, p. 59), in giving a complete list of Buddhaghośa's works, mentions in addition commentaries on the Pāṭimokkha, Dhammapada, Jātaka, Khuddaka Pāṭha, and Apanāvā, adding on p. 68 the Sutta Nipātā. This list probably errs both by excess and by defect. It does not, for instance, mention the Jātakas, which are now known, from the edition published by the Pāli Text Society, to have been written by him, and it does include the commentaries on the Dhammapada and the Jātakas. Now we have before us the text of the introductory verses to each of these works. In each case these verses are introductory, and contain the names of those under which, and names the scholars at whose instigation, he undertook and carried out the work. In neither case is any reference made to Buddaghosa. In both style and matter each of these books is the work of one author, though in such portions of the works of Buddaghosa as are accessible to us. In the similar cases of Nāgarjuna and Saṅkara, works not written by them have been ascribed to famous writers. The tradition of Buddhaghośa's authorship of either of

† See the references given in Mrs. Rhye Davia's 'Buddhist Psychology', pp. xx—xvii.
the books above named has not as yet been traced back earlier than the 16th cent. and, for the above reasons, it is at present very doubtful. A large number of short quotations from Buddhaghosa's commentaries have been printed by the editors of the various texts with which he deals; and sixty consecutive pages from the historical introduction to his commentary on the Vinaya have been edited by H. Oldenberg (Vinaya, vol. iii.). Rhys Davids and Carpenter have published one volume, out of three, of the Sarnagata Vilasini, his commentary on the Digha. And one complete work by him, the Abhac-sulisini above referred to, has been edited by E. Muller. This turns out to be, not the essay under that title said by Dhammakitti to have been composed in India, but another work written in Ceylon subsequently to the Visuddhi Magga and the six great commentaries. It is doubtless an enlarged edition of the essay, and the latter has therefore not been preserved. Manuscripts of the undoubted works of Buddhaghosa, containing the texts, sufficient to fill some twenty-five volumes more, are extant in European libraries; and the Pali Text Society, having completed its edition of the several useful works, is now engaged on the publication of these.

3. General conclusions.—Buddhaghosa's greatest value to the modern historian is due largely to the limitations of his mental powers. Of his talent there can be no doubt; it was equalled only by his extraordinary industry. But of originality of independent thought, there is at present no evidence. He had mastered so thoroughly and accepted so completely the Buddhist view of life, that there was no need for him to occupy time with any discussions on ultimate questions. In his "Path of Purity" he gives, with admirable judgment as to the general arrangement of his matter, and in lucid style, a summary of the Buddhism of his time. There is no argument or discussion. In his six great commentaries—those on each of the four Nikayas, containing the Doctrine; on the Vinaya, containing the Canon Law; and on the Abhidhamma, containing the advanced Psychology—he adheres to one simple plan. He first gives a general introduction—dealing mainly with literary history and the composition of the books; then, in the matter of the most important Dialogues, or Suttas, he gives a special introduction on the circumstances under which it was supposed, when he wrote, to have been originally spoken, and on the places and the persons mentioned in it. He quotes in the comment on the Sutta every word or phrase he considers doubtless or deserving of notice from a philological, exegetical, philosophical, or religious point of view. His philology is far in advance of the philology of the same date in Europe, and his notes on rare words are constantly of real value, and not seldom conclusive. He gives and discusses various readings he found in the texts before him; and these notes, together with his numerous quotations, go far to settle the text as it lay before him, and are of great service for the textual criticism of the originals. Of the higher criticism Buddhaghosa is entirely guiltless. To him there had been no development in doctrine, and all the texts were the words of the Master. He is fond of a story, and often relieves the earnestness of his commentary with anecdote, parable, or legend. In this way, without in the least intending it, he has preserved no little material for the history of social customs, commercial values, folklore, and belief in supernatural powers. His influence on the development of the literary faculty among Buddhists throughout the world has been very considerable. It is true, no doubt, that the material adopted in his commentaries followed very closely the method of the original ones preserved in the Canon; but the literary skill with which he uses it is a great advance, more especially in lucidity, over the older documents.

LITERATURE.—Abhac-sulisini, ed. E. Muller (PTS, 1897); Sarnagata Vilasini, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (PTS, 1899); Mahadhatu, ed. G. Turner (Colombo, 1857); Buddhaghosa-aptattti (ed. J. Gray, London, 1893); Digha, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (PTS, 1899, 1903); E. Porshammer, Juristic Prize Essay (Rangoon, 1885); Mrs. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Psychology' (LASS, 1900). T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

Buddhism.—The character of Buddhism varies according to the country in which it prevails, so that a general sketch would be of very little value. The origin of Buddhism has been given in the article BUDDHA: its early developments will be described in two articles, one on the Hinayana, or Little Vehicle, the other on the Mahayana, or Great Vehicle. Then the Buddhism of each country will be separately treated under the name of the country. See BRUTX, buddha, Ceylon, China, India, Japan, Java, Korea, Siam, Tibet. See also Sects (Buddhist).

Bulgarians.—See Bogomils.
names of 'the two divine bulls' of Ea of Eridu are given (W. A. ii. 56, 59-60).

A bilingual hymn in Sumerian and Semitic (ib. iv. 98, 105-106), in the bull who is 'the offspring of Zu,' the storm-god, describes it as 'the great bull, the supreme bull which treads the holy pasturage . . . planting the corn and making the field luxuriant.' Between his ears, it is added, 'is the month of the deep; or 'sea,' a great basin of water which surrounds the bull.' It is his temple. As there is also a reference in the same hymn to 'the twelve gods of copper,' we are reminded of the 'sea' of Solomon's temple which 'stood upon twelve oxen' (1 K. 6:23).

Among the Phoenicians the bull symbolized strength, and hence was a synonym for 'hero'; it was probably on this account that the spirit which protected the gate was supposed to have a bull-like form. For the same reason Jahweh of Israel was compared to a wild bull (Nu 23:24 etc.), and it is possible that the abib of the OT should be rendered 'bull' rather than 'mighty one.'

According to the Epic of Gilgamesh, Ann, the god of heaven, created a bull to avenge the insults offered by Gilgamesh to his daughter Ishtar, and to destroy Tyre by means of it. The bull, therefore, is associated with the destruction of his countrymen. The bull is called an alâ (a word of Sumerian origin), and its horns are described as being of laqaz lазу, and of enormous size. The bull, however, was killed by Gilgamesh and his companion, in consequence of which, it would seem, Gilgamesh was afflicted with disease, while his companion suffered a premature death.

The bull was really the constellation Taurus or the star Gud-anna, 'the bull of heaven'—a name which goes back to the age when the vernal equinox coincided with the entrance of the sun into Taurus. Jenson believes that the bull was erected before being thus transplanted to the sky, and that a connexion was assumed between alâ, 'the bull' and alâ (Sumer. alâ), 'a storm-demon' (Asyry.-bab. Mythen und Epic, 1890, p. 425). The suggestion is supported by the fact that the bull is called the son of the storm-god (see above), and that it was a symbol of Hadad-Rimmon, the god of the air and the thunderbolt. Hadad is often depicted standing on the back of a bull. Hadad, however, was not known in Babylon as Amurru, 'the Amorite god,' and it is only in connexion with the bull that the divinity was derived from Northern Syria. A recollection of the bull as a malevolent storm-deity may survive in the Mithraic representation of the sun-god slaying a bull.

In Northern Syria, where Hadad, the Cilician Sandes, was specially worshipped, the bull was his sacred animal. When the worship of the god under the name of Jupiter Dolichenus (Jupiter Dolichenus) was transplanted to Rome, monuments were erected to him on which he is figured standing on a bull, with a double-headed battle-axe in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other. At Hierapolis (Memhî), the successor of Carchemish, he was worshipped upon bulls as his consort was upon lions (Lucian, de Dea Syria, 31), and bulls were among the sacred animals kept in the court of the temple. On the stele of Esarhaddon found at Zinjerî he also stands upon a bull, and the same is the case in the rock-sculpture of Maltaisy (Place, Pl. 45) to the N.W. of Mosul. The earliest known representation of the god in a similar position is upon Babylonian seal-cylinders of the age of Hammurâbi.

Further south the association of the bull with the supreme Baal can also be traced. Europa was carried from Phenicia by Zeus, i.e. Baal, under the form of a bull. A bull was even termed 'Asterius,' pointing to a belief in a connexion between the bull and the Phenician Ashethoth. Bulls of iron existed in the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrius in Rhodes which may have owed their origin to Phenician influence; and Silius Italicus in P. 1045, etc. (Dea, ib.) says that the cornigera frons of Milichus or Melkarth. The name (Ashethoth-) Karmain seems to imply the existence of a cow-headed Ashethoth; and a cow is found on an early Bab. seal-cylinder as a symbol of Ishtar. A cow-goddess naturally presupposes a bull-god. Carchemish, in fact, makes it evident that there was a god whom Suchan identifies with Kazia or Kasios (PSBA, 1896, p. 1036).

According to Ex 32, a golden 'calf,' or more correctly a bull, was made by Aaron during the absence of Moses. The Hebrews were impressed with the idea that the Israelites were worshipped by the Israelites as a visible representation of the God who had brought them out of Egypt. At a later date, Jeroboam set up images of bulls in the sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom, where they were adored as likenesses of Jahweh. This Israelitish worship of bulls has been thought to have been derived from Egypt. But against this it is urged that the Egyptians worshipped the living animal, and not the image of it. The objection, however, is not convincing, for the image-worship of the Egyptian bulls Apis and Mnevis are numerous, and the Semitic equivalent of Egyptian beast-worship would have been image-worship. But the bull-worship of the Northern Kingdom was unknown in Judah, and it is therefore probable that it was derived from Northern Syria, Jahweh being identified with Hadad.

The bull-worship even of the Semites in Northern Syria was probably of foreign origin. The divine bulls of Babylonia were originally Sumerian, and the names applied to them by the Assyro-Babylonians were borrowed from the Sumerian language.

On the other hand, Hititite influence was strong in Northern Syria, and 'the bull-god' was one of the chief Hititite deities in whose honour images of bulls were dedicated. At Eyyuk, near Boghaz Koi, a bull, mounted on a pedestal, is represented as being worshipped; and among the Phrygians the stealing of an ox was punished with death (Nic. Damascenus, 148, ed. Orelli). Asia Minor, in fact, was a land of cattle-breeding and agriculture, where the ox which drew the plough was held in high esteem; and the bull-god was introduced from Babylonia, the human god accompanied by the animal took the place of the animal alone as an object of worship. The eunicestriform tablets from the Assyro-Babylonic colonies near Kalsarion show that this must be dated at latest in the Hammurâbi age.

It would thus appear probable that Northern Syria was the meeting-place of a twofold Sumerian conception of the bull: as a beneficent guardian of the herdsland, and a malevolent storm-demon—derived in the one instance from the character of the domesticated animal, and in the other from that of the wild bull—and the Hititite worship of the bull-god as the protector of the cultivated land. Sumerian beliefs in regard to the bull were adopted by the Semitic Babylonia, and the association of the bull with the Syrian Hadad would have been the result of foreign influences. Bull-worship, in short, would seem to have been unknown to the early Semites, as indeed must necessarily have been the case when the primitive home was Arabia. It is significant that the Heb. word for 'wild bull' is borrowed from Babylonia, and is not found, at all events in that sense, in Arabic. The custom of hanging up buvernus, or ox-heads, above the doors of houses, a very primitive custom, is derived from the belief in the protecting powers of the divine bull, and, like the Bab. lamassû, of
which they were a survival, the buccherae prevented the entrance of evil spirits into a house, as a horse-shoe is still supposed to do in certain parts of England. The custom was also known to the Nubian settlers in Egypt in the time of the XIXth and following dynasties, from whom the usage, described by Herodotus (ii. 39), of making an ox-head a scaepoagut, may have been derived (see also Di 214-6). In Arabia and Palestine the apotropaic use of the buccheraeum was practically unknown.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited above, see Basser, Studien zu Rechtsgegenwart, Leipzig, 1896; A. H. Sayce, Halberst Lectures, London, 1891, pp. 259-93.

BULL (Teutonic).—Plintarch in his life of Marinas (chap. 23) states that the Chinibri took with them on their expedition into Italy a brazen bull, on which they were accustomed to swear solemn oaths. Apart from this, there is little evidence for the sacred character of cattle among the Teutonic races. An important fact is that they were used for sacrifice. A primitive cult of the cow would appear to be reflected in the Edda account of the creation of the world, where the cow Audhumbla exists before either gods or men, and plays an important part in their origin. There is, moreover, in the sagas of Snorri Sturluson, a curious legend, which relates that a certain Ogwald worshipped a cow, which he took everywhere with him, and which at his death was buried beside him in a second cairn. The only addition to these vague indications is the statement of Tacitus (Germania, 40), that the sacred cow of the goddess Herthus was drawn by yoked cows; and it may be noted that in the Middle Ages oxen drew the chariots of the Merovingian kings.

BULL-ROARER.—' Bull-roarer ' is the English name (Germ. Schweirhorz) of a common toy in the country districts of Great Britain and the Continent. It is merely a thin slat of wood, with a hole for the insertion of a string, and is usually either oval or rectangular in shape. It is whirled at the extremities; sometimes the edges are serrated. Tied to a string, and the string firmly held, the bull-roarer is swung round, and produces a kind of muffled roar. The mystical or magical connotations of the bull-roarer in Europe will be noticed later. In the Teutonic races it had a very important part in the religion of the most backward races. It has been most carefully studied among the aborigines of Australia, and its uses are analyzed by Pye P. W. Schmidt in his paper ' Die Stellung der Aranda ' (Arunta), in Z8., 1918, Heft 6.

Beginning with the Arunta, in the exact centre of Australia, we find a people who, in one region described by Spencer and Gillen, have no conception of a sky-dwelling superior being, or ' All-Father ' ; while in the area studied by Strehlow the sky is understood to be tenanted by a magnified man, Altjira, called marra ( ' good ' ), but as indifferent to mankind as they are to him. In this tribe, as in most other tribes, the legendary account of the sky is identical with the idea of a huge, black-fellow. The oldest men, however, the N., told me that this large man was originally a man. Life and death, the rising and setting of the sun, illness and sickness, various other things, were connotated by them in a single manner to the idea of a huge man, who was credited with the duties of the All-Father. It is also evident that the sky-roarers are not the all-powerful deities of the more advanced tribes, but remain in the minds of the commoner folk as the spirits which hearse, to the idea of a huge man, who was credited with the duties of the All-Father. It is also evident that the sky-roarers are not the all-powerful deities of the more advanced tribes, but remain in the minds of the commoner folk as the spirits which brought, and which still bring, death and illness upon the earth.

The boy is told that women of his tribal kin will be slain if he lets them see the bull-roarers. So far, Twanyirika seems to be a mere bogle, in whom the initiated do not believe. Among the tribe next to the north of the Arunta, the Unmatjera, the bull-roarer is used as a terrorizing symbol. The boy will carry him away if he reveals any of the secrets of initiation. After the process of subfuscion he is told to swing the bull-roarer, while in the bush, or else another orukwerta (youth ceremony), and not yet subincubated, walks in the sky, will come down and carry him away. If this orukwerta bears the ' lirungas ' —that is, the noise of the bull-roarer—he says, ' That is all right, and will not harm him. ' 

This idea of a sky-dwelling being, concerned with the initiations, is not found among Spencer's branch of the Arunta; the being of the Unmatjera is not an All-Father; nor are the Unmatjera known to have any belief in an All-Father. This notion of a sky-dweller, however, forms a link with the belief of the Luritja or Loritja tribe, whose lands march with those of the Arunta on the east. They believe in a celestial and powerful being, Tankura, who has no concern with ethics or any interest in men, but does perform ceremonies like those of the tribe, and on the occasion of initiating of celestial young men. Tankura is known to the women, as is Altjira, the sky-dweller of Strehlow's Arunta, or Aranda; but Altjira does nothing but hunt, eat, and amuse himself. Among the Loritja, beings named Maini play the part of Twanyirika; one cuts off the heads of the boys, sticks them on again, and is slain; another receives food from the boys. He has a sharp-pointed leg-bone, like Darrumunlik among the Wiradjuri of the south-east, and Darrumunlik is, with them, the being of the bull-roarer, but subordinate to the sky-dweller, or All-Father, the ethital Baina.

North of the Arunta are the Kaiiti tribe, who are but half-converts to Arunta ideas. They believe in an All-Father, Atmatu, who ' arose up in the sky in the very far back past, ... made himself, and gave his name to the world, and to every one of his (ancestors) he gave a son (y.e.) he drove some disobedient sons out of heaven to earth, whence he dropped down everything which the black-fellow has, ' including bull-roarers. These sons are the ancestors of half the tribe. Two of them became bull-roarers, and, after the second became men, who, making wooden bull-roarers, initiated the round of Atmatu's bull-roarer in the heavens, that is, obviously, thunder. They were named Tumana; they died an ill death; but now the women (who know not Atmatu) believe that Tumana plays the part of Twanyirika among the Arunta. Atmatu himself is an All-Father, insisting on ceremonies and bull-roarers, but unconnected with morals.

The Warramunga have no Atmatu, as far as is known; their bull-roaring being is Martu. Martu, like the Tumana, was killed by a dog, which could not destroy the bull-roarer, martu-marti. The spirit of martu-marti instantly sprang up in certain trees, of whose wood bull-roarers are made.

The N. by E. Spencer and Anne have also, like the dysanths of the Dyaks, a phallic bull-roarer, and to the idea of a huge man, who was credited with the duties of the All-Father. It is also evident that the sky-roarers are not the all-powerful deities of the more advanced tribes, but remain in the minds of the commoner folk as the spirits which brought, and which still bring, death and illness upon the earth.

...
form of the exoteric myth is very common, occurring even among the tribes of the south-east. The S.E. tribes had not the spiritual philosophy of the central and northern communities. In that philosophy primal souls are perpetually re-incarnated, or in some regions spirits, retapota, emanating from the primal totemic beings, are incarnated, and, after one earthly life, retire to the isle of the dead. Among the Western tribes, there is no place of rewards and punishments for souls, while the evolutionary theory (see Alcherina) makes a creative being superluous, though, as Atanata, he survives among the Kaitish.

The S.E. tribes in parts of Queensland, and in Victoria, New South Wales, had not the spiritual and evolutionary philosophy of the northern tribes, or among them it was not dominant, and they believed in a great sky-dwelling anthropomorphic being, the maker of most things, ethical and the source of customary laws, who gives his sanction to morals, and is invoked at the initiatory rites, where a temporary image of him is made. Like Atanata, he is unknown to the women and children. The thunder is his voice, and the bull-roarer, imitating the thunder, is sacred. Like the central and northern tribes, the S.E. tribes give the bull-roarer the belief in a being closely connected with the bull-roarer, but this being is taken more seriously than in the north and centre. He is the son, or 'boy,' practically the deputy, of the superior being, the All-Father. Among the Kurnai he is Tundun (which is also the name of the bull-roarer) ; among the Eunhlayi and Kamarilo he is Gayundi, under Biaame; among the Wiradjuri he is Daramulun, under Biaame; but among the Yuin, Daramulun is himself the All-Father.

Among the Arunta the bull-roarer, being, with the exoteric myth that he swallows the boys and disgorges them, are practically identical with the functions of Twanyirika and Tumana and the rest in the centre and north. The Wiradjuri Daramulun, like the Manitoo of the Lorijla, has a leg which ends in a sharp bone. § There is a seven of these tribes a larger (male) and a smaller (female) bull-roarer are used; among the Kurnai the larger represents Tundun, father of the race, the smaller represents his wife; but the distinction of sex is not always observed. The Cakirra and Turbal; § with the Chepara the small bull-roarer is even given to the initiates are only tokens of initiation. Mr. Howitt thinks, 'but could not be sure,' that the female bull-roarer among the Kurnai indicates ceremonies in which the women take a certain part; § the Parnkalla also use a larger and a smaller bull-roarer; nothing is said of their sex.* Among the Wiradjuri the bull-roarer (mudijjung or bugol) does not, as among the Kurnai, bear the name of the bull-roarer being, Daramulun. * There is an absence in the western tribes of a belief in an anthropomorphic Being by whom the attributes and functions were first instituted. ** These western tribes conform to the ideas of the Dieri, who have no known All-Father, but believe in a multitude of Murra-mura-fabulous primal beings like those of the Arunta. Alcherina. Among them only bull-roarers marked with notches indicating their use at ceremonies are sacred; others are made a joke of. †† Practically they have not been consecrated. 'Changes in custom,' according to Howitt and Spencer-Gillen, 'the changes in the seasons; the changes in the movement of the sea, down from north to south,' from the Arunta and Dieri, the sea at Port Lincoln, among the western tribes. The ideas of Alcherina and evolution appear to be northern and western; the All-Father belief is southern and eastern.

Pere Schmidt, who finds the bull-roarers of sex in the reports of R. H. Matthews* among the Wiradjuri and other tribes (where Howitt found nothing about sex), and of Streelh, in connexion with the maternal totem, has a theory that the large bull-roarer represents Twanyirika, Manitu, etc., as fathers of the race, the small their wives as the mothers or mothers-in-law. He also connects this with the sun and moon myths, and a period of so-called 'matrarchate' among tribes now reckoning descent in the male line, also with the 'sex totems' (animal friends of either sex) of the Kurnai and many other Australian tribes. There is also a theory of Papuan invasions, but the whole hypothesis cannot here be criticized.‡

The bull-roarer is in general use, among the central tribes, for magical purposes, and the spiritual element of their philosophy, as regards conception, is involved, especially in connexion with the stone churinga, with totemic markings, are not found in use among the Australians.

Marett has advanced the opinion that 'the prototype' of the All-Fathers is nothing more or less than the bull-roarer. 'Its thunderous booming must have been eminently awe-inspiring to the first inventors, or rather discoverers, of the instrument, and would not unnaturally provoke the animatistic* attribution of life and power to it . . . a genuine Religion . . . has sprung up out of the Awe inspired by the bull-roarer.'§

But, as we have seen, there are, even in Australia, plenty of bull-roarers where there is no All-Father. Among the Arunta and other tribes there is only the bull-roarer, nor has Ulthana, another sky-dwelling being of the Arunta.* It is usually not the All-Father, but his 'boy,' as Tundun, who manages the bull-roarer. Moreover, it is thunder, not the bull-roarer, which very naturally inspires awe; it is the voice of the All-Father; the bull-roarer only represents that voice. Finally, the All-Father is found all over the world, in places where the bull-roarer is unknown.

The bull-roarer is of more importance in Australian religion, myth, and ritual than elsewhere. Its use at the Greek mystery, and later, in the Dargle mysteries, is explained by the story that it was a toy of the child-god.¶ Two or three bone bull-roarers of paleolithic times have been discovered and published. Like those of the north and central Australian tribes, they are decorated with incised concentric circles or half-circles. Thus paleolithic man may have had a religion akin to that of the Australians.

Bull-roarers in connexion with religion or magic are found in South America, as among the Apache and Zuavi tribes, among the Navaho and Hopi. and Zuni, and among the people of the semi-arid region the implement is used to invoke clouds, lightning, and rain, and to warn the initiated that rains are being performed, in the humid

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* Ethnological Notes of the Tribes of N.S. Wales and Victoria, p. 153.
§ Streelh, l. i. ; Gillen, Horn Expedition, iv. 183.
¶ Loeck, Aphrodisian, i. 700.
* To these tribes he added the Eskimo, Kwasuttii, Arapaho, Ute, Central Californians, Pueblo, and the ancient cliff-dwellers. 'The Hopi, who regard the bull-roarer as a prayer-stick of the thunder or lightning, making noise in the wind that accompanies thunderstorms, make the tablet portion of the bull-roarer from a piece of lightning-rich wood. The Navaho make the bull-roarer of the same material, but regard it as representing the voice of the thunder-bird, whose figure they often paint upon it. The Hopi, and Zuni bull-roarers bear lightning symbols; and while in the semi-arid region the implement is used to invoke clouds, lightning, and rain, and to warn the initiated that rains are being performed, in the humid
bull-roarer being, as in Australia, is said to carry away the young initiate. This fable is, of course, intended merely for the women and children; the heroes, when initiated, discover the absurdity of the fiction. Central Brazil, New Guinea, the Torres Islands, Florida in the Melanesian group, the North-West Solomon Islands, and Sumatra are all familiar with the bull-roarer. For modern Europe, as well as for the lower culture, see A. C. Haddon, The Study of Man, pp. 277–287, and G. R. iii. 424. In Aberdeenshire the cow-herd boys used to swing the bull-roarer as a charm against thunder.

The most astonishing parallel to the Kaitkh speculation is a bull-roarer dropped from heaven to earth by Atanatu occurs in the following note of the present writer, which, fortunately, is dated: 'Bull-roarer in Cantyre' (Argyll) 'Saraman, pronounced Streanthan, the first in this quarter fell from Jupiter.' Macalister, October 26, 1826.' Mr. Macalister was a Gaelic-speaking schoolmaster at St. Mary's Loch, in the parish of Yarrow, Selkirkshire, and was an aged man in 1885, full of vigour and intelligence. The parallel myth of the Kaitkh was not published till 1804. For a drawing of a Maori bull-roarer, from Mr. Macalister, anorther early study of the subject, see 'The Bull-Roarer' in Lang's Custom and Myth, pp. 29–44 (1884 and later editions). For the use of j'aparapi pipes in Brazil, to scare away the women from the rites of the men, see A. R. Wallace, Travels on the Amazon, 1853, p. 299.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given throughout the article.

A. LANG.

BULLS AND BRIEFS.—Under this heading may be conveniently considered not only those documents of the Papal chancery which are technically so designated, but also the various other classes of apostolic letters which in comparatively modern times have been increasingly employed by the Roman Pontiffs in their most important utterances. For this wider interpretation of the name 'bulls' there is excellent authority. Both bulls and briefs are in their essence Papal letters, and the official collection known as the Bullarium Romanum includes Eucalleus, Motu Proprio, and other similar constitutions which possess just the same force, as sources of the Canon Law, as the bulls, briefs, and decreets which we should primarily expect to find there. The prefatory list appended to vol. i. of the Bullarium of Benedict XIV. For the same reason any calendar of Papal Urkunden, such as the important Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (from the beginning to 1198) of Jaffe-Löwenfeld (continued to 1304 by Pothast), might be correctly described as an abstract of the letter-books of the Holy See; and in point of fact the first authentic document which Jaffé has summarized, or in other words the first Papal bull, in the wider sense, of which the text is appended to us, is the first bull letter addressed by Pope Clement I. (Clemens Romanus) to the Church of Corinth. This, and two other letters of the time of Pope Cornelius, form the only complete specimens we possess of the official correspondence of the Popes down to the end of the 4th cent.

1. Early Papal letters.—Beginning, however, with the time of Pope Julius I. (337–352), a much larger collection of documents becomes available. This fact alone is a certain probability to the conjecture based upon the language of the bull-roarer, that the babies were actually brought up by the infant God. The original organization of the Papal archives took place under this pontificate. We hear of a body of officials (schola notarium) and of a responsible director (primicerius), while only a few years later an inscription of Pope Damasus seems to speak of the construction of a special archivium, later called the aerarium (see de Rossi, 'La Bibliotheca della Sede Apostolica,' in Studi di Storia e Diritto, v. 340).

The natural result of the official registration of documents which all this organization and activity imply must have been to create by degrees a recognized Pontifical chancery, and to establish the use of traditional forms and customs with regard to the drafting, dating, and expediting of Papal letters, which we find fully developed in a later period. Down to the time of Hadrian I. (772–795) our knowledge of these forms is somewhat vague, and in no case founded upon the original documents themselves. For the most part the texts of which we have copies are of an epistolary or legal oratory, an oration in which addresses, salutations, and subscriptions are naturally little regarded. The earliest Papal writings known to us which have any claim to be regarded as legal instruments date from the beginning of the 5th cent., and were addressed by Pope Zosimus to the Bishops of Arles (see Mansi, Concdlia, iv. 359; and H. J. Schmitz in Histor. Jrbhr. xii. (1891) 1 ff.; but cf. Nestiz-Rieneck, ZKT xxx. (1897) 6 ff.). Still, the number of Papal letters of earlier date than the year 772, preserved to us in whole or in part, amounts in round numbers to nearly 2400, and in some cases, notably in that of Pope Gregory the Great, we can argue back to the arrangement of these letters in the Regesta, or letter-books, from which they have ultimately been copied. Even from an early period it seems that the Papal chancery was carefully organized, for already in the time of Gelasius I. (492–496) we find traces of the numbering of the letters in the Regesta, and we know that the primicerius, or head of the archivium, or even one of the most important officials in the Roman Church. He was the Pope's counsellor (consilarius), by which name he is sometimes designated, and during the vacancy of the See he exercised for the time being a supreme authority in conjunction with the aedile, or the archon, or the deacon. We have also reason to believe that the secundicerius, or second in command, was regarded as holding an important post of trust.

As regards the drafting of the documents of this early period, it seems clear that they were all modelled on the type of an ordinary Roman letter. Like a Roman letter, the missive is preceded by an intitulatio, or formal naming of the writer, and an inscriptio, or naming of the addressee, this last being often coupled with a form of salutation. Thus: 'Leo Episcopus, Presbyteris et Diaconibus Ecclesiae Alexandrini, dilectissimi filiis, in Domino Salutem.' In many cases, however, the inscriptio precedes the intitulatio, as, for example, 'Gloriosissimo et clementissimo Filio Justiniano Magnis Apostolicae Sedis Episcopo,' Gregory I. seems to have been the first to employ habitually the formula 'servus servorum Dei' in the intitulatio of his letters, but this style was not at once adopted by his successors. It seems, however, to have gradually won its way back to favour, and in the Papal letters of the 5th cent. it is rarely omitted. The salutation, which was by no means always appended to the inscriptio, takes different forms. In the earlier letters we find simply
BULLS and BRIEFS

'salutem'; under Julius I. (337–352), 'in Domino salutem,' and later on, other amplifications. Pope Adeodatus (672–676) adopted the form 'salutem a Deo benedictionem postea, and this perhaps paved the way for the usual usage 'salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.' At the close of the Papal letter was appended, first, the subscriptio papae, and, secondly, the date. The subscriptio papae was completely different in form, sluggish now a call a signature, i.e. the writing of the Pope's own name, but consisted simply of a word of blessing and farewell. For example, 'Deus te incoluim custodiat, frater carissime,' or, more commonly, 'Bene vale, frater carissime; but from the fact that these sentences were composed of a more formal and legal character rarely had any other subscription than the simple 'Bene vale,' or 'Bene valete.' As for the date, which comes last of all, it was probably never omitted in the originals, though it is so often lacking in the copies which have been preserved to us. Down to the end of the 6th cent. we usually find only the day of the month and the names of the consuls, e.g. 'Data tertia dieus Februarias, Aescardo et Bantone consiliarius;' but from about 490 onwards the names of the consuls, and later, the names of the succeeding consuls, and after that, on invariably, added. With regard to the body of the document, it is easy, especially with the aid of the numerous extant letters of St. Gregory the Great, to recognize the gradual introduction of certain traditional forms and phrases. The occurrence in our copies of such abbreviations as 'secundum morum,' or 'de moro solito,' implies the same, and in the so-called Liber Diurnus a collection of Papal formulaires is preserved to us, the earliest portion of which is believed to have been compiled shortly after St. Gregory's time. We meet also in these early letters, particularly from the time of Leo I. (440–461), a certain rhythmical cadence known as the cursus, which, after falling into abeyance for a long period, re-appears at the end of the 11th cent. (see Duchesne, 'Note sur l'Origine du Cursus,' in the Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes, vol. i. p. 162), and was then maintained until near the close of the Middle Ages. Finally, the document was probably written on papyrus, and had attached to it a cord, with a leaden seal, the latter, it is to be noticed, was not used in this period remain to us, but we have the leaden seals which must once have been attached to letters of Pope John III. (560–573), of Deusdedit (615–618), and others. These bullae are about an inch in diameter, and bear on one side the Pope's name in the genitive, and on the other the word PAPAE. It is, of course, from this feature that the Papal letters themselves have come to be called 'bulls;' but this designation is not used officially in any early document. The Popes speak of their own letters, or of those of their predecessors, as epistola, pagina, scriptum, or, less generally, as privilege, praescriptum, or auctoritas.

2. From 772 to 1043.—With the accession of Hadrian I. it is convenient to begin a new period in the history of the Papal chancery, and this for two reasons: first, because the name of Bullen, which might be the name of an original bull—then even a mere fragment, seemingly of a letter on papyrus addressed to Charlemagne—belongs to this pontificate; secondly, because some re-organization of the chancery was necessary at this time, which result probably of the improved political status of the Holy See, now strong in the support of Pepin and his son. Already we may begin to trace that broad division of Papal documents into two classes, that is certain or official communications (Papal urkunden, in Meister's Grundriss, i. 198), which is practically perpetuated in the popular location of 'bulls' and 'briefs,' though, perhaps, for these earlier periods it is better to retain the terminology of Bresslau, Diekamp, and Léopold Delisle, and to speak of 'privileges' and 'letters.' The latter class was, as its name imports, simply letters. They were written on sheets of papyrus of smaller size, and elaborate formulas of dating were dispensed with. Their purpose was ephemeral, and as a result the originals have almost completely disappeared, only one entire specimen (of the time of Clement II. (1046–1047)) being preserved to us. Of 'privileges,' however, though these must have been far more rarely issued, a comparatively large number of originals remain, their preservation being the natural result of the great, and sometimes almost historic, interest, title in matters either of property or of jurisdiction. A catalogue of these early Papal documents on papyrus, twenty-three in number, has been given by H. Omont in the Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1904 (cf. also Meflango in Miscellanea di Storia e Cultura Ecclesiastica, 1905–1907). Concerning these more formal 'privileges,' therefore, to which it is usual to give the names of bulls, we are fully informed, and their peculiarities have often been described. They are made of broad strips of papyrus, and have been decorated, usually, with an inscription as much as 10 ft. long and from 18 to 24 in. broad. A wide margin is left at the top; then follows in large writing the intitulatio and subscriptio, with the form 'in perpetuum.' The body of the document comes next in a ruled column of letters, and beneath it the so-called 'double date.' This consists of two distinct entries, of which the one seemingly has reference to the engrossing of the instrument, for it begins with the words 'scriptum per manum N.N.,' with the day of the month and the indication, the other concerned with its final expedition or delivery, and expressed in the words 'Data' or 'Datum,' with month and day and fuller details of the year, 'per manum N.N.' Between these comes the subscriptio papae, which takes the form of the words 'BENE VALETE: generally written in two lines in uncial letters with a cross preceding and another cross or SS (subscriptio) following. That this was at first written by the Pope's own hand is rendered probable by the fact, first, that of the 74 letters of this period, only 35 always differs from that of the body of the document and of the dates; and, secondly, that in the cases in which we possess more than one original bull of the same Pontiff, the identity of the character of the BENE VALETE seems well established. Further, in certain 'privileges' of Pope Silvester II. (999–1003) we find invariably added to the BENE VALETE a few words in the so-called 'Tironian notes' or short-hand, for example, 'Silvester Gerbertus Romanus episcopus subscripsit, or 'Gerbertus qui et Silvester episcopus' (see Ewald in Neue Archiv, ix. 321 sqq.). Still it would seem that already in the time of Clement II. (1046–1047) the practice was being given up, and that the Pope henceforth was usually content with marking a cross or other private signs beside the BENE VALETE already written there by the engrisser. Finally, the bulla, or leaden seal, was attached to the document, strings of hemp or silk being passed through the lower margin of the papyrus, which was folded once or twice to give greater strength, while it was usually undeciphered, except in the strings. Down to the end of the 11th cent. the bullae bore nothing more than the name of the Pope on one side and the word 'papae' on the other, though the arrangement of the letters, complicated with certain decorative compositions. At this period also, as we may often learn from the details given in the second (or 'delivery') date of the 'privileges' just described, the chief position...
BULLS AND BRIEFS

in the Papal chancery was taken by an official known as the bibliothecarius sacros apostolice sedis, who no doubt was originally no more than the custodian of the archives. By degrees, however, he seems to have taken over the functions of the primicerius notariorum. He was generally a bishop, and soon we find him commonly invested with the title cancellarius. As an illustration of the kind of details given in the second dating clause, the following specimen taken from a bull of Silvester II. of the year 999 may be worth quoting:

```
Data VIII Kal. decembris, per manum Johannis, episcopi sancte Albanensis ecclesie et bibliothecarii sancti apostolice sedis, anno pontificatus domini nostri Silvestri secundi pape primo, impetratos a me, Petro, cancellario ordinis Sanctissimae Matris Dei, nostri pontificatus, namb pontifices, in mensa et indictione suprascripta.
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Although the year of the Incarnation is not here mentioned, it is to be met with occasionally in Papal documents somewhat earlier than this. Details of this kind, which are often of great critical importance, will be found noted at the head of each pontificate in Jaffé-Löwenfeld's Regesta and in Mas Latrie's Trésor de Chronologie, 1899, pp. 1055-1148.

3. From 1048 to 1198.—After the accession of Leo IX. in 1048, the more stable traditions of the Papal chancery seem to have given place to a period of very rapid development. There was at first a tendency, sharpening in the same period, of dividing in classes, each with characteristics of its own. To begin with the more formal and elaborate documents (the 'privileges'), the era of Leo IX. seems to have introduced the general use of parchment in place of papyrus, and possibly as a consequence of this, the employment of minuscule instead of 'Lombardic' writing; but there were also other changes which may be said to have transformed the external features of the great bulls and to have lasted down to the present day. The subscriptio popne ceases to consist in the writing of the words BENE VALETE, this being now represented by a monogram followed by three dots and a large comma (see, upon this, Pflügk-Harttung in Mittheil. Inst. Oest. Gesch. vi. 1882, 534 et seq.). The conventional dots, which appear but for a short period, probably stood for 'subscripsi.' In place of the BENE VALETE, the Pope's sign manual now took the form of a 'rota' drawn in the blank space below the centre of the document, but a little to the left. The 'rota,' or wheel, derives its name from the two concentric circles, from 2 to 5 in. in diameter, inside which a cross was drawn, with the words 'ses petrae ses paulus' and the Pope's name arranged thus:

```
SCS | SCS
PETRVS | PAVLVS
PASCHALIS | I P II
```

Between the concentric circles was written the Pope's motto—usually a brief text from the Psalms. That of Paschal II., for example, was 'Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt.' Before the first word a rude cross is marked, and this at least is believed to have been done by the Pope's own hand. Between the two circles is almost always, on the left and above the BENE VALETE monogram standing parallel to it a little to the right, the Pope's name was engrossed in the following or some similar form: 'Ego Paschalis Catholicae Ecclesiae Episcopus subscripsi.' At somewhat later time the attestation of a certain number of Cardinals present there and written below the name of the Pope in three columns, consisting respectively of Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, and Cardinal Deacons. We may say that the 'rota' and B.V. monogram, which appear first in the time of Leo IX. and which with slight variations have lasted down to the present day, still constitute the most striking external feature of the most solemn kinds of bulls. Of the other changes connected with this period it is only needful to notice that the Scriptum clause, i.e., the date of the engrossing, disappears from all Papal documents, and that the leading bulla, which was, as a rule, appended to the Roman, German, and 'letters,' assumed under Pope Paschal II. (1099–1107) the type which it has retained ever since; that is to say, the obverse of the seal shows the busts of St. Peter and St. Paul facing each other—St. Peter to the spectator's right, St. Paul to the left, with a rude cross between them, while above their heads appear the letters S. P. and S. PE. On the reverse we find the name of the reigning Pope in the nominative, e.g., 'Urbanus PP.' The exact number of these dots for any given pontificate was a point carefully attended to, and was meant to be used as a test of authenticity. There can be no doubt that, like the documents themselves, these were frequently engraved, and were freely fabricated at a later date. Even in the British Museum Catalogue of Seals a number of these early bullae are entered (vol. vi., Nos. 21081–21098), without any indication of the fact that the examples so described are forgeries.

The tendency to reserve the more elaborate forms of authentication with 'rota,' monogram, and signatures, as above explained, for certain very solemn 'privileges' became accentuated even during this early period; and Schmitz-Kullenberg already distinguishes from them a class of 'simple privileges,' which, while of substantially the same nature as regards their inscription and contents, lack these and some other formalities. In the case of the 'letters' also, we may note two kinds, viz., the bulla cum filio cornis (i.e., in which the bulla hung by silken cords) and litterae cum filio canopis (in which hemp was employed). The authority just named also attributes to this period the first appearance of litterae clausae. This does not mean to say that ordinary Papal 'privileges' and 'letters' were sent out bearing these marks that all men could read them, but only that their fastening, which seems to have been effected by the strings to which the bulla was attached, could be undone without mutilating the document. In the case, however, of the litterae clausae the parchment was so folded and the bullae so attached that nothing of the contents could be read without destroying the bulla as an authentication (see Dechamps in Mittheil. Inst. Oest. Gesch. iii. 1882, 565 et seq.). It is possible that the 'fisherman's ring' may also date from this time (cf. Jaffe, Regesta, Nos. 5225 and 5242), but no specimen is now in existence.

4. From 1198 to modern times.—The pontificate of Innocent III. (1198–1216) marks an epoch of the highest importance in the history of the Papal chancery. From this time forward not only do the original documents exist in abundance, but the official Regesta, or letter-books, of which only a few fragments are known before this date, are preserved so carefully that no fragment can be said ever to have been lost. Furthermore, Innocent III., like the great organizer that he was, devoted special attention to this most important matter (Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie, vi. 106 ff.). He built new premises for the chancery, and it was no doubt due to his per-
sonal influence that a strict uniformity and an adherence to certain recognized rules are henceforth observable in all its instruments. With the greatly extended authority of the Holy See and its more frequent intervention in matters other than purely religious, the scope of the many Papal pronouncements is accordingly to be widened. This was emphasized by the distinguished canonist Alexander III. (1159-1181) by his litterae decretales (letters containing decisions of points of law submitted to him) who had already built up a vast edifice of Case Law, which was soon to be published to the world by Pope Gregory IX. in the Book of the Decretals, to be the Bible of Canon Law. This was directed by St. Raymond de Pennafort (1234). The great mass of this material was furnished by the replies of Alexander III., Innocent III., and his two successors, Honorius III. and Gregory IX. himself; and the tone of the law-giver seems insensibly to have been emphasized in all subsequent Papal utterances. Moreover, we now touch upon a period when such documents often seem to be addressed to all Christendom, and no longer consistently observe the form of letters directed to an individual or to a place. In the Bull, the 'great privileges' with their 'rota' and B.V. monogram and their elaborate attestations of Cardinals become less numerous; while, on the other hand, only a few years later, under Innocent IV., we are for the first time confronted with that form of Papal document, the Bull, in which, published as a 'bull,' which is something intermediate between the formal 'privilege' and the simple 'letter.' In this, as in a 'privilege,' the first line is written in tall letters, but it ends not with the abbreviation 'dicit,' but with the phrase 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam' or something equivalent, e.g. 'ad certitudinem perpetuam et memoriam futurorum.' There is often no mention of the person addressed; but the document concludes with certain minatory clauses, 'Nulli ergo,' etc., and 'Sic quis autem,' etc., directed against all who may contravene what is therein laid down, ending, without any other subscription, in a simple date mentioning the place, the year of the Incarnation (but this was a later addition), and the name of the pontificate. To this document the ordinary by-letters and the metatrajectories were attached. It was in this form that many important pronouncements were given to the world during the 13th and 14th cent., more particularly the manifestos of Boniface VIII., e.g. the Ausculta fili, addressed to Philip IV. of France, would suffice to show, many of these utterances were still letters in form and addressed to individuals, but in their scope they appealed to Christendom at large.

In Innocent III.'s days some of these quasi-political documents took the form of 'privileges.' Thus the 'words' acceptata nostrae humanitatis et sanctae innocentiae, and the sacred resistance from their appeal to the authority of 'the two swords' and the consequent claim to far-reaching authority in temporal matters. As the initial words themselves of the bull Ausculta fili, directed to Philip IV. of France, would suffice to show, many of those utterances were still letters in form and addressed to individuals, but in their scope they appealed to Christendom at large.

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those of an administrative nature, more expedi-
tious. But though the formalities observed in the
issuance of a consistorial bull, still even in the former the
endorsements of the various officials of the chancery,
mostly entered upon the plicae, or fold of the
parchment, show that it must have passed through
a large number of different hands. The abbreviations
scriptores, registratores, and finally the department of the
bullatores, who affixed the seal (see Baum-
garten, Aus Kitsch und Kommer, Freiburg, 1907).
No wonder we find that under the pontificate of
Benedictus ledean, a new form of Papal letter or
a more summary kind was instituted by the Holy
See, and that henceforth this was commonly
employed in all matters requiring dispatch.
This was known as a 'brief,' and it soon almost
entirely took the place of the earlier mandates.
A brief was a document written upon fine vellum,
and sealed, not with a leaden bulla, but with
a wax seal bearing the imprint of the 'Fisherman's
ring.' It was written in a fine cursive Roman
hand, and at the head occurs simply the Pope's
name standing by itself thus:
EUGENIUS PP. III.
Immediately below this, the Pope greets the
addressee in the vocative, according to his rank
and condition, e.g. 'Dilecte fili,' or 'Carissime in
Christo filius.' The formulae patris et filii, etc.,
with the salutation 'salutem et apostolicam bened-
dictionem.' In constitutions of a more solemn and
permanent character we often find, instead of this
greeting, the formula, also already long familiar in
bulls, 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam.' Another
distinctive feature of briefs is the final clause
expressing the date. It almost invariably takes
this form: 'Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum,
sub annulo Piscatoris, die IX Novembris MDXXI
pont. xii. anno primo.' In contradistinction to
the dating of bulls, which generally, though not
invariably, at any rate down to the pontificate
of Innocent XII., is to be referred to the years of
the Incarnation, beginning 25th March, the years
are here to be understood as those of the Nativity.
Beneath the date the name of the Cardinal Secretary
of Briefs is generally written as an attestation of
authenticity.
With regard to the form of instrument chosen,
let us note that this has little to do with the
importance or binding force of any Papal pro-
munication. In the consistory or the decemviral
fabric of Canon Law was largely built up, almost
invariably took the form of lesser bulls, i.e. simple
letters or mandamenti. The first known Bulla
in Coena Domini, containing the 'Reserved Cases'
of the Holy See, issued by Urban V. in 1364, was
a mandamentum. No doubt there was at times
a very natural wish to impart some extraneous
solemnity to documents of dogmatic importance.
For example, the constitution of Benedict XII.,
beginning 'Benedictus Deus' (20th Jan. 1335)—
which was mainly intended to controvert the
controversy regarding the Beatific Vision, and contains the notable formula, 'Haec in
perpetuum valuitua constitutione anctoritata apos-
tolica delinimus'—was issued as a titulus with
imperatorial clauses. The dispensation for the
marriage of Henry VIII., with his brother's widow,
was drawn up first in great haste, and secretly
transmitted to Spain as a brief, while it was after-
wards more publicly expedited as a bull; but the
brief, its authenticity once admitted, was of just
the same force as the bull. So again, the Bull of
Benedict XIV., when compiling the first volumes of his own pontifi-
cal acts, and sending it officially to the University
of Bologna, declares that it contains 'noustras
Constitutiones, videlicet Bullas, et aliquas Brevia,
Litteras Ecyclicas et alia huiusmodi,' making no
distinction between the authority attaching to
these ministrations. So, in more modern times,
the Society of Jesus, by Benedict XIV., with a
brief, was restored by Pius VII. in a bull; while Leo XIII., used a bull to re-establish
the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland, though Pius IX.,
twenty-eight years before, had issued only a brief
to effect the same thing in England. The seal
with the 'Fisherman's ring,' which is the distinctive
mark of the brief, was formerly always impressed
upon red wax within a loop formed by a twisted
strip of parchment, and arranged in such a way
that the entire stamp could then be closely
and securely the folded sheet of vellum to which it was
affixed. The 'Fisherman's ring' is mentioned in
1295 as used by the Pope to authenticate his
private correspondence, and is probably much
older. The earliest existing impression is said to
have been discovered in the treasury of the Santa
Sanctorum at the Lateran. It belongs to the time
of Nicholas III. (1277-1280), and represents St. Peter
fishing with a rod and line; but the identification
seems somewhat doubtful. In the later examples
St. Peter is represented in a boat drawing in the
net.
In quite modern times some notable modifications
have taken place in the rules of the Papal chancery
regarding the issue of bulls and briefs. Since 1842
the issue of bulls is known as the 'Fisherman's ring' upon red
wax attached to briefs has given way to a stamp in red ink
bearing the same device. In the case of bulls, the scrivitura
dealita is engrossed upon great sheets of parchment has for ordinary purposes been
abandoned—this took place at the beginning of the
pontificate of Pius IX. In 1878—and the document is
now written in the same legible Roman hand
which is used for briefs, while the leaden bulla has
given way in most cases to a stamp in red ink that can
more conveniently be sent by post. It is likely
also that the complicated formalities, which till
quite lately attended the ordinary expedition of
bulls by the via di cancelleria, will be much
simplified in consequence of the recent re-organiza-
tion of the Roman Curia.
Other Apostolic Letters. As a further conse-
quence of the delays and complications attending the
issue of bulls, another new kind of instrument
came into use at the end of the 15th century. It
was a species of brief known as a motu proprio, and it was without any authenti-
cation by the pontiff, an instrument which could be a document issued by the Pontiff of his own
initiative, without any instance being made to
him by interested parties. The documents of
done class, which continued to be very common during
the 16th century, closely resembled briefs in their
general features, but there are differences in the
manner of dating, and, of course, there is no
mention of the 'Fisherman's ring.' On the other
hand, the words 'motu proprio' are always intro-
duced, and occur not uncommonly as the initial
words of the document. The words 'motu proprio'
were concerned with the administration,
ecclesiastical or civil, of the city of Rome and
the government of the Papal States, and, in contrast
to the more formal bulls and briefs, were frequently
couched in Italian. From the insistence which their
form seemed to lay upon the Pontifal initiative,
they were regarded by foreign governments, notably
by that of France, with disfavor, and treated as
an encroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican
Church.
In more modern times, the Roman Pontiffs, when
wishing to impart instruction to the clergy and
laity of the Church over which they rule, especially
in matters which require somewhat elaborate
treatment, have most commonly had recourse to an
encyclical.’ As the term imports, this is in form a circular letter intended to be passed on from one to another of a group of persons, but in practice it is a letter addressed to all the bishops in communion with the Holy See, or at least to all the bishops of a single district or province. The term ‘encyclical letter’ was not in use before the 4th century, but it was not commonly adopted for Papal documents before the 18th century. Since then it has come increasingly in favour, and Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X. have issued numerous and very lengthy encyclicals, dealing not only with dogmatic questions, but with civil, moral, social and ethical in their scope. One of the most famous of these encyclicals was that of Pius IX., Quanta cura (28th Dec. 1864), of which the main purport was to condemn the principles of Naturalism (i.e. the exclusion of religion from the government of human society), to denounce Socialism and Communism, and to vindicate the sacred rights of family life; but it is perhaps principally remembered on account of the ‘Syntaxus’ of condemned errors which was published along with it. Leo XIII. has given to encyclicals a more manageable form by issuing a series of encyclicals, dealing with a number of modern questions, e.g. the encyclical Immunitatis (21st Apr. 1878), on the evils of the times; Aeternam divinae sapientiae (10th Feb. 1880), on Christian marriage and family life; Divini illius (21st June 1881), on the origin of civil authority; Immortale Dei (1st Nov. 1885), on the Christian constitution of States; Libertas proconsuetudinem (29th June 1881), on religious unity.

Most of these utterances have been collected and translated, e.g. by J. Wynne in The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII. (New York, 1903), and by W. Eyre, The Pope and the People (London, 1897).

The present Pope, Pius X., has also shown special favour for this form of manifesto, and many of his instructions have taken this shape: e.g. his first letter to the clergy and faithful of France, Vehementer nos (11th Feb. 1906); and the condemnation of Modernism, Pascendi dominici gregis (20th Dec. 1907), has been very much enlarged. In former times an encyclical was simply a letter, which in its inscriptio mentions the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other local Ordinaries, and concludes with the Apostolic blessing and a simple summary of the duty of the pontificate. The Pope’s name ‘Pius I.’ signifies the fact of the pontificate. It is generally held by Catholic theologians that the mere fact of an encyclical being addressed to the church of Christendom do not constitute it as ex cathedra pronouncement, even if it deals with dogmatic matters. The degree in which the infallible magisterium of the Papacy is involved must be judged from the terms used in the document itself, and from attendant circumstances. This question is discussed with some fullness in Chabás’ Gallia Christiana, Tome IV, p. 375 et seq. and disciplinaire du Saint-Siège (Paris, 1908).

Another form of Papal utterance which calls for notice is the ‘allocution,’ which is an address delivered by the Pontiff to the Cardinals assembled in secret consistory. This address is sometimes printed and published by order of the Pope, who chooses this way of making known his judgment or wishes with regard to questions, often semi-political, which are of pressing importance. But, of course, this pronouncement is not a Papal letter, and cannot be regarded as such.

The remaining words, which are used to describe documents emanating from the Papal chancery, are of a general character, and for the most part rather loosely used. For example, almost any kind of instrument may be described as a ‘rescript,’ but strictly the term should be limited to some form of answer to an application addressed to the Holy See. Such answers in early times often began with the words, ‘Significavit nobis dilectus filius,’ and ended with the formula, ‘Deus te inomnium servet.’ Another very general word ‘constitution,’ and this may be correctly applied to any writing in which certain propositions or decisions submitted, or lays down a rule to be followed.

With reference to the collection of Papal bulls and letters, it is to be noted that all the extant editions of the Bullarium Romanum, so far as regards medieval documents, are of a very unsatisfactory character. The Annals of Urban II., and of John XXII., contain the Papal letters which have been issued since the formation of the Corpus Juris Canonici, and which, though of great importance to students of law, were not, as such, collected in any form. Naturally such a work did not concern itself much with the Papal letters of early ages, but the recent publications which were important for the compiler’s purpose. The various editions which followed greatly enlarged the collection and brought it up to date; but it is the scholarly work of Coquillette, who edited the great Bullarium Romanum (printed in Rome in 32 volumes, between 1759 and 1762), nothing but the most meagre gleanings of the huge mass of documents which have been presented in the form of letters, and in the form of other legible documents, which brought the collection down to 555, but, most conveniently, to the year 1281. The edition of J. Roncifere, issued in 8 volumes, began its publication in 1864, and ended with the reign of Boniface VIII. (1237-1264), containing the papal letters which brought the whole period from the beginning to the 14th century. Special attention has, of course, been paid to the short isolated papal bull. For example, the letters of St. Gregory the Great have been edited with great care in the quarto series of MGH, by F. Ewald and J. Reuther, while the papal letters to Charlemagne and Louis the Pious have been studied by Carl Hampe, and those of Pius IX. under the title Pontificia, a most thorough piece of work has been undertaken by P. F. Rehr in calendaring the ‘privileges’ and other Papal documents connected with the church of Gaul. The Pope must note that the pontificate of Innocent III., from which time onward, as stated above, the Papal Regesta are preserved, marks a period in the Papal history, the later known as the ‘Innocentian’ period, and of Innocent III. and of Honorius III., in part, have been published in the Patrologia Latina, while that of Honorius III. has subsequently been re-edited. None, however, of these Papal Regesta seems to contain copies of all the bulls issued during any pontificate, and it is certain that no fact that any document is lacking in the official register is no sufficient proof of its spuriousness. It is probable that for such registration, as it did, an additional safeguard of authenticity in case of dispute, a fee was demanded, and that registration was denied to those who were unwilling to pay the fee. During the present century a great number of the pontificates have been brought within reach of the students of the Popes of the 13th and following centuries. The chief work has been done by the École Française de Rome with results which are no longer in doubt. A fine collection of Regesta completes the edition.


As regards England, in particular, an important undertaking has been for some years in progress under the title A Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. This work, begun for the late Lord Bligh and continued by J. A. Tevenow, has now extended to nine volumes, bringing the record down to the middle of the 17th century, and it prints short seal copies in English which had documents in the Roman Regesta which have any reference to the British Isles.
Amongst other isolated efforts may be mentioned the collection edition of the Regesta of Clement (1865-1873), and Cardinal Hergenrother’s incomplete calendar of the bulls and other documents ofLeo, from the year 1004. In an earlier period A. Theiner, librarian of the Vatican, published, chiefly from the Regesta, large numbers of Papal bulls, etc., dealing with various problems, e.g., the British isles, Foederal domination, Lithuania, etc., among the number. Special Bulliarum, chiefly collections of ‘privileges’, to which formerly the name Mare Magna was given, were also published by the most of the Great Religious Orders and for some of the Roman Congregations.

LITERATURE.—Regarded as a branch of the science of ‘Diplomatics,’ the subject of Papal bulls and briefs possesses a place of no ordinary importance. A very large number of such documents of this kind have always been in existence, and the detection of these has exercised the acumen of scholars from quite remote periods. The records hereinafter given have been taken from various notices, published or issued, and the collection of the papers by the Penitentiary of the Holy See, Chaptarum Pontificum Romanorum (3 vols., Stuttgart, 1881), and to books and papers by P. Kehr, Tamer, Dickau, Maller, and others. Many of these publications have appeared in the Mittheil. des Instituts f. Österreichische Geschichtswissenschaft, and the rejoicing of many (2000, 1887). The newly founded Archiv für Urkundenforschung, edited by Brand, also contains some most valuable work of this kind. For the later period, the Practicorum Cancellariae Apostolicae, edited by Schmitz-Kallenberg (Munich, 1904); the work of Baumgart, Aus Kaiser und Kanzler (Frankfort, 1876); and the ottenhauser, Regesta Cancellariae Apostolicae (Innsbruck, 1888), are of great importance. Good work of the same kind has also been done by Leander de_SELIG, notably M. de_Selig, de_Selig, and de_Medici and the Comte de_Medici Latrie.

From the first point of view, all the larger treatises which touch on the sources of the Canon Law devote a certain amount of space to the question of Papal bulls and letters. It will be sufficient to mention here (besides the great works of F. Scholz, von Scherer, and Wernz) Maassen, Gesch. der Quellen und Lit. d. can. Rechts, l. (1870); F. von Schulte, Gesch. der Quellen d. lit. d. can. Rechts, 3 vols. (1875-1879); A. Tardif, Histoire des sources d. droit canonique (1857); C. Hergenrother, Gesch. des Pontificium Romanum des vatikanischen Katholizismus (1901). Much useful information about the building up of Roman Canon Law will be found in F. W. Maitland’s history of the Church and the law in the thirteenth century. The Catholic standpoint regarding the pronouncements of such medieval Popes as Gregory VIII, Innocent III, is well shown in the case of the bull Papamur (1216). The virtues of the Church and the Christian State (Eng. tr., London, 1870)—a work which grew out of the ‘Janus’ controversy; or, better, from various articles in St. Loom's Magazine, edited by Hervey, Frederick, edited by Bruder and Backen, the 3rd ed. of which is now in course of publication.

HENRIET THERSTON.

BUNYAN.—1. Life.—John Bunyan, the greatest of all the allegorists, and also the greatest exponent of the Puritan doctrine in popular form, was born at Elstow near Bedford in 1625, and died in London in 1688. His life thus covered the troubled period of the Commonwealth and the Restoration, and ended on the eve of the Revolution. His origin was humble,—‘low and inconsiderable,’ he calls it,—his father being a tinker or itinerant brazier. He himself adopted the same trade. But little is said to read anything or to correspond with the rate of other poor men’s children, but his small stock of education was quickly lost. He seems to have had a somewhat nervous and morbid childhood, disturbed by dreams and fears. About 1646, when he was still but a lad, he served as a soldier. This service does not say much for side but was enrolled, and his biographers have either followed their own fancy in the matter or have been content to regard the point as undecided. But probably Dr. Brown’s carefully considered verdict would now be disputed, based as it is upon a survey of the local circumstances and the ‘strong set of the stream in the Parliamentary direction’;—"It seems clear to me that he think his way to independent conclusions so wide apart from those of his neighbours, break through all the carefully kept lines of the Parliamentary forces... and join the Royalist army with the King." (1)ILT. He was not even engaged to his first wife. She restored to him the slight sum he had lost by divorce; and she brought him his first impressions of practical religion. They were very poor,—not having so much household stuff as a dish or a spoon betwixt us both,—but she brought with great patience and books after another of the titles of these are noteworthy. They are seeds of a harvest. One was The Plain Man’s Path-way to Heaven, Wher’en every man may clearly see, whether he shall be saved or damned, by Arthur Dent. The other was Lewis Haly’s well-known book, The Practice of Pictie, directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God. These little books must have left a deep mark upon the young man’s mind. The former is written entirely in dialogue form. The latter, though somewhat heavy and common-place in style, is a thoroughgoing statesman’s dialogue between Christ and the soul, so simple, tender, and beautiful that Bunyan himself might almost have written it.* We have possibly here the germ of his love for dialogue, both in allegory and in preaching.

After his marriage there came a period of spiritual upheaval lasting about four years, and recorded with wonderful power and skill in his Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners (1666). This book is the key to all his other writings; it is his experience compressed; the other books are his experience writ large, for in his case, as in that of St. Paul, doctrine and experience are in continual contact. No summary can do justice to the width of this great little autobiography; and this period of his life, when his soul was in the throes of birth, can suitably described only in his own words. It was a period of many difficulties about such matters as election, the day of grace, the sin against the Holy Ghost; of many sacrifices—leaves of the tree of life, lost in the wilderness, being brought up in the hope of finding peace; of many unsatisfied longings and aspirations.—Oh! I now loved those words that spake of a Christian’s calling! as when the Lord said to one, Follow me. I knew not what to say, another said: oh, thought I, that he would say so to me too: how gladly would I run after him!" It was a period of swift alternations of feeling, ranging from moments of an ecstatic joy—which lasted all too short a time, and was quickly caught again, like Peter’s sheet, to heaven—to moods of mental self-torture, as when voices seemed to tempt him to sell Christ, and he persuaded himself that he had sold his Savior; * He himself admits that there was something distressing and unbalanced in his condition at the time, and premises that there was another one in his dwelling among the tombs with the dead; that *Soule: Lord, wherefore wouldst thou lift up upon a Crown! Christ: That I might lift thee up with me to heaven. S.: That I would be lifted up. Would thee be lifted thither? How can I be lifted abroad? C.: That I might embrace thee more lovingly. my sweet soule. S.: Lord, wherefore was thy side opened with a Spear? C.: That thou mightest have a way to come nearer my heart. S.: Lord, wherefore thou be hurled! C.: That thy sinners might never rise up in judgment against thee."

2. The Meditation upon Day by Day from A Book for Boys and Girls:—‘I left, though it be peep of day, don’t know. Whether to Night, whether to Day or no. I stand myself a little light. But cannot yet distinguish day from night. I hope I may not be put out of my way yet. I am not at a point, the Sim I see not. Them’th with such, who Grace but now possess. They know not yet, if they are cured or blest."
is always crying out and cutting himself with thorns. But the essence of his case did not lie in its moral absurdities, but in a genuine conviction of sin which was the Divine preparation for the comfort of the Cross. Gradually he found his way to peace, the two chief influences being Luther's exposition for his woundings and, for his grief, the doubtless prototype of 'Evangelist'; he helped Bunyan the pilgrim towards the wicket gate and the shining light, and received him into the fellowship of the congregation in 1633. From that year until 1660 the congregation met in St. John's Church at Bedford, for the experiment of a comprehensive national Church was being tried under Cromwell, and Gifford had been presented to the living of St. John's.

In 1653, Bunyan removed from Elstow to Bedford. One year he lost his first wife, and was also called by his brethren to open his lips as a preacher: 'They desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing at sometimes to take in hand, in one of the meetings, to speak. I humbly accepted, and the Lord gave a message proved immediately acceptable: people came by hundreds to hear him; during the period of tolerance he preached more than once even in parish churches. But the Restoration brought the Act of Uniformity. Even as early as March 1658 there had been trouble. The minutes of the Bedford church mention a meeting 'for consouling what to do with respect to the indictment against bro. Bunyan at ye Assizes for preaching at Eaton.' Nothing seems to have come of that, but 1660 brought his arrest and the beginning of his imprisonment. There has been much uncertainty as to the number and places of his incarcerations, but once more Dr. Brown's careful weighing of evidence must decide the matter, reinforced as it has been by the discovery of the actual warrant of arrest. The first and shortest imprisonment in the end of 1675. The first imprisonment was in the County Gaol at Bedford, and lasted for twelve years, with a break in the middle, and with a considerable amount of liberty at times, varied with periods of constant prison play for his own support; wrote Grace Abounding and several other books; and preached in the gaol, and occasionally outside it. The second was in the Town Gaol on Bedford Bridge: it lasted six months, and produced the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress. When the first imprisonment drew to a close, the prisoner found new and enlarged service waiting for him. The following appears in the records of the Bedford church for 21st Jan. 1672:

'After much seeking God by prayer and sober conference found us a meeting place in the town of Bedford with several consent (signified by solemn lifting up of their hands) call forth and appoint our brother John Bunyan to the pastoral office of elder, and charge him, accepting the call, to set up himself to serve Christ and his Church in that charge; and received of the Elders the right hand of fellowship.'

An orchard was purchased, and a barn that stood upon it was converted into a meeting-place, which was the home of the congregation until long after Bunyan's death.

From this point onwards his fame as a preacher, aided by his growing popularity as a writer, spread far and wide. He was known as Bishop Bunyan, and travelled in many directions through England. He was often in London, where crowds would gather to hear him even at 7 o'clock in the morning. Some of the secrets of his success as a preacher may be guessed from his printed sermons, even though those in their revised and enlarged form may differ somewhat from the spoken word. He used strong and simple language, —his whole mind being saturated with the English Bible. He spoke with intense conviction, especially at first, upon the guilt and power of sin: 'I preached what I felt, and what I felt I felt for my wounded conscience,—and the ministry of John Gifford. This man had formerly been a loose liver and an officer in the Royalist army, then a physician in Bedford; finally from 1650, being now a changed man, he became the pastor of the newly formed Nonconformist congregation. He 'felt, as he did, the doubtless prototype of 'Evangelist'; he helped Bunyan the pilgrim towards the wicket gate and the shining light, and received him into the fellowship of the congregation in 1633. From that year until 1660 the congregation met in St. John's Church at Bedford, for the experiment of a comprehensive national Church was being tried under Cromwell, and Gifford had been presented to the living of St. John's.

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in a phrase in *The Heavenly Footman*, when, after bidding his readers beware of Quakers, Ranters, Freewillers, he adds, 'Also do not have too much company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself.' It is a little surprising to find that in the name "Anabaptist" should have two of his children christened after his own immersion—one at Elstow in 1654 and one at St. Cuthbert's, Bedford, in 1672. Can it mean that neither Bunyan's first wife, nor his second, whom he married in 1690 and who proved herself during her lifetime to be a woman of some courage and character, shared his personal view, and that he did not care enough about the matter to insist upon his own preference?

2. Works. — According to the list given by Dr. Brown, based upon that of Bunyan's friend, Charles Doe, Bunyan produced in all 60 works, one for each year of his life. But this includes such items as *A Map of Salvation*, and various tracts and poetical pieces of small bulk, as well as the longer controversial, evangelistic, and allegorical works. *Grace Abounding* is referred to above. Of the others, apart from the three greatest, the most noteworthy are: *Some Gospel-Truths opened*, interesting now chiefly as Bunyan's first book, published in 1656, a fiery protest against Quaker Meetinghouses. Other are, in his style and orderly in their arrangement, but giving a hint only in an occasional phrase of the greater riches that were to come; the various books, such as *Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ, The Jerusalem Schoolmaster*, and *The Heavenly Pilgrim*, which preserve for us the style and substance of Bunyan's actual preaching; his Catechism, *Instructions for the Ignorant*; and *A Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children*. This last is quaint and valuable in itself, and is perhaps the only one of Bunyan's works that has been suspended by later generations, and has not yet spent itself—witness *The Child's Garden of Verses*. Probably the modern child, accustomed to the skillful and dainty entertaining of R. L. Stevenson and others, would count Bunyan's verses, except in one or two cases, somewhat heavy and didactic. Yet to the boys and girls of the 17th century, these 'rhymes' may have been almost as much of a relief and joy as R. L. S. and Edward Lear to the happier children of the later century.

Bunyan's poetry has been severely criticized. It may be admitted that in verse he seldom found his liberty, and that his metre is often neglected. Yet the region Bunyan is better worth knowing than the critics would have us believe. Many of his verses are at least melodious, pithy, and memorable. And something is to be said for the poetic quality of the man who wrote the song of the Shepherd Boy, and these lines Upon the Snow:  

"This pretty Bird, Oh! how she flies and sings!  
But could she do so if she had not Wings?  
Her Wings bespeak my Faith, her Songs my Peace:  
When I believe and sing, my Doubtings cease."

The first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1678, the second part about seven years later. The book was an immediate and amazing success. Three editions of the first part were sold in a year, and in the second and third of these the original scheme was widely added to. Worldly Wiseman, Mr. By-end's relations, and Giant Despair's wife being among these happy afterthoughts. In Bunyan's lifetime 100,000 copies were sold, in the greatest of four editions. It was the fine flower of Paritan theology and experience. It may be called the first great English novel. 'John Bunyan may pass for the father of our novelists,' says Hallam. Into it, with a pen that had been sharpened and made to cut, he put all his marvellous powers of observation: the man who has given us Mr. Talkative and Mr. Fearing went about the world with his eyes and ears open. Into it he also put all his own experience, so rich in sorrows and in joys. The temptation is strong to suggest originals for the allegorical scenes and personages. Was Elstow Abbey the House Beautiful, and was the Slough of Despond suggested by the miry fields near Bunyan's birthplace? Was Judge Hadgeweed? Was Bunyan himself Judge Hadgeweed? Could he imagine a man so wise and strong and kind and gentle as the figure of Mr. Micawber? But Mr. Froude's severe disparagement is entirely misleading, if only because of the extraordinary richness of the second part as a book of character. Mr. Brisk, Mr. Honest, Greatheart, Mercy, Mr. Pearing, Mrs. Pearing, the Much-Abused Mother, the Doughty Captain, are all vital, real, and immortal. But, indeed, criticism of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, if it be based on sympathy, soon loses itself in affectation. Sir Walter Scott speaks for the multitude of Bunyan's readers when he says:  

'John Bunyan's parable must be dear to many, as to us, from the recollection that in youth they were engaged with permission to peruse it at times when all studies of a nature more noble or entertaining were prohibited (Quart. Rev. 1853, p. 326).'

No other book except the Bible unites the hearts of young and old, learned and simple, the lover of beauty and the lover of sanctity. In *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, published in 1680, Bunyan made an attempt to tell the opposite story, and describe a pilgrimage from bad to worse. The attempt is not very successful. It is retarded by being cast in dialogue form throughout; it is weighted with amusing anecdotcs, which, however interesting from their mere incredibility, distract from the direct effect of the book itself in tedious discussions, e.g., on the difference between cursing and swearing. But the pen that created the Pilgrim had not lost all its cunning. There are many passages acute in observation and happy in their application. Mr. Badman's 'mournful, sugared letters' to his creditors; and the book is full of Bunyan's keen observation and knowledge of life: 'I think I may truly say that, to the best of my remembrance, all the things that I here discourse of, I mean as to matters of fact, have been acted upon the stage of this world, even many times before mine eyes.' And the book has value still as a picture of the rougher and uglier side of English life in Bunyan's time. Bunyan's own love of his author's art is clearly exhibited never more clearly than in giving Mr. Badman a quiet and peaceful deathbed.

In *The Holy War* (1682) Bunyan rose again to his own loftiest level, and created another allegory second only to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The task of this case was more difficult. Though there is more Biblical foundation for the figure of a war than for that of a pilgrimage, the former is less easy to draw out into a connected story. Defects and inconsistencies are easily observable, e.g., Mansfield Bunyan is now the soul of mankind, the soul of humanity. It is dangerous also to bring

"*Cf. Macaulay in his Essay on 'John Bunyan': 'That wonderful book, while it obtains admiration from the most astonished critics, is loved by those who are too simple to admire it.'"
the Persons of the Trinity into action and dialogue. But if there be defects in construction, there is not a point in the actual writing that the style throughout seems mysteriously to take on a quality kindred to its theme—something of the strength of a rampart, something of the sound of a trumpet. Once more observation and experience are manifest controls upon Bunyan's authorship. The whole serves him well in his battle scenes. His heart remembers how this sort of thing is done: the evolutions of Emmanuel's army, 'the handling of their arms and managing of their weapons of war, were marvelously taking to Mansoul and me. The new moulding of the town, the changes that were compulsorily brought about in the civic arrangements of towns like Bedford as Common-wealth or Monarchy got the upper hand. The setting up of a ministry in Mansoul is also full of echoes of times when the ecclesiastical foundations were unsettled, and contending ideals enjoyed alternate periods of supremacy. Bunyan handles all this with exhaustless skill and ingenuity: e.g., there is a whole analysis of persecution, clear and complete, packed into one corner of the plot. Where the Pilgrim's Progress were taken, they were had before the Prince, and

he found them to be of several counties, though they all came out of one land. One sort of them came out of Blindman-shire and they were called as did ignorantly they did. Another sort of them came out of Blindzealashire, and they did superstitiously what they did. The third sort of them came out of the town of Blacce, in the county of Envy, and they did what they did out of spite and implacableness.

In the scheme of this allegory, there is naturally less room for character-drawing than in the other; yet who can forget that deaf and angry man, old Mr. Prejudice, or the darling of Diabolus, Captain Anything? Moreover, in the dealings between Emmanuel and Mansoul there appears, as in all Bunyan ever wrote, his passionate love for his Lord, and the Lord's love and pity for his sinful but aspiring servants.

3. Place and influence.—Bunyan's influence was immediate and enormous, not in his own denomination only, not in his own country only. The Pilgrim's Progress was translated into Welsh in 1688, into Dutch in 1692, into German in 1698, into French in 1685. Bunyan's empire has grown steadily with the passing generations, mainly through this his best known book: perhaps the best criterion of its extent to-day is the fact that in the summer of 1914 the Pilgrim's Progress was reprinted in 122 different languages and dialects. Even such an edition as that produced by J. M. Neale in 1853, with insertions and alterations in the worst possible taste, designed to make the book teach a different scheme of doctrine from that of its author, is a proof of Bunyan's wide sovereignty and of the appeal he makes to minds of many different types. In addition to the qualities alluded to incidentally above—his pictorial style, uniting the young and the old; his strong, simple, Biblical English, uniting the educated and the unlearned; his knowledge of life; his faithfulness to his own deep experience; his historical position as our great exponent of Puritanism at its best—the following may be mentioned as among the causes of an influence so wide and enduring:

(c) Bunyan's real originality. The quality

'Hallam, 'that saggard of apparel,' has this: 'His success in a line of composition like the spiritual romance or allegory, which is not to be copied, but to be written, in the instances where it had been attempted, is doubtless enhanced by his want of all learning and his low station in life. He was thoroughly in earnest at first, but the more he endeavored to imitate the rules. Bunyan possessed in a remarkable degree the power of representation; his inventive faculty was considerable, but the other qualities of excellence. He, therefore, in some measure to see, what he describes; he is circumstantial without prolixity, and, in the various frequent change of his incidents, never loses sight of the unity of his allegorical tale' (Lit. Hist., iv. 351).

may be claimed for him even apart from the question of borrowed materials. Shakespeare can be original even when he is working over the story of some old chronicler: resurrection can be so managed as to be equivalent to creation. Much ingenuity, however, has been expended on the attempt to find a source for the Pilgrim-story. Guillaume de Guivelle's Le Peintre Romans de l'Homme in Lydgate's version; Bernard's The Late of Man, or the Legal Proceedings in Manshires against Sin; and other existing allegories or romances have been suggested as the source of Bunyan's inspiration; or it is alleged that he found his seed-thought, say, in Another Betrayal of the Plaine and Desolate Country of the Holy Ghost, an Italian martyr in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, which says, 'I will travel up to the New Jerusalem. . . . Behold, I have entered already on my journey.' Probably Bunyan gathered seed-thoughts everywhere, and plagiarized prodigiously from the open book of life. But the question of his literary originality is very carefully examined in the preface to Furnivall's edition of Lydgate's de Guivelle, and the wise conclusion reached is this: 'In one Book alone, the Bible, supplemented by Bunyan's own experience, may truthfully be said to have been necessary for the construction of The Pilgrim's Progress.'

(b) His practical sagacity and ethical force. Bunyan the evangelist does not altogether hide Bunyan the moralist: the writer who was securely weighted with unwavering ballast, the ballast of common sense. The story of Mr. Badman's fraudulent bankruptcy shows how Bunyan had an eye for the insignicences and corruptions of the commercial world. Some of his counsels are startlingly close to modern problems of commercial morality: 'Art thou a seller and do things grow cheap? Set not thy hand to help or hold them up higher. Art thou a buyer and do things grow dear? Use no cunning or deceitful language to pull them down.' There is no thought more characteristic of Bunyan, in spite of his lurid pictures of the agonies of the lost, than this—that sin is hell; sin is the worm; sin is the fire; it would be better to be sinless in hell than to be a sinner in heaven.

(c) His broad, popular, and universal humanity. This shows itself in many ways,—not least in his kindly and hearty humour,—his portraits, such as those of Mr. Brisk, Talkative, Sir Having Greedy, Christiana and her comrades dancing over the fate of Giant Despair, infallible in invention and delight in the delightful names, and his way of poking fun at those whom he would gently rebuke. Still more strikingly does his breadth of humanity come out in his whole management of the Pilgrim's story. There are so few ecclesiastical waymarks that one would never guess the author's own position, and when Giant Pope is omitted the book can be used with profit and pleasure by Catholic readers. He avoids the temptation to which religious teachers of strongly marked experience often yield—the temptation of being infallible in their steps that all may walk in their footsteps in order to be safe. This is finely brought out in the contrast between the experiences of Christian and Faithful in the first part, and in the room that is found in the second part for a rich variety of character and experience.

(d) The note of the Evangel. The most intimate and enduring secret of the hold that Bunyan has over multitudes of men is this, that he was so great a lover of men, and so passionately loyal to the supreme Lebanese ideal, that all men—those who call him a 'great convert'; and, because he was so great and so thorough a convert, he is a great exponent of the motives that have supreme converting power. Hence The Pilgrim's Progress is, as Coleridge calls
it, 'Summa Theologicae Evangelicae.' And, in spite of the many changes of standpoint and vocabulary since Bunyan's day, he will still be for many generations come the teacher and the friend of those who have no other explanation of their own deliverance than this: 'He hath given me rest by his sorrow and life by his death.'

LITERATURE.—The literature of this subject is now enormous. Among the biographies, that by John Brown (London, 1885; new ed. 1902) stands alone in its completeness, and in its wealth of extracts from historical sources such as the minutes of Bunyan's church. Among smaller biographies and critical studies there may be mentioned: Macaulay, Essay, 'John Bunyan' (1881); J. A. Froude in the 'English Men of Letters' series (1887); 'Mark Rutherford' in the 'Literary Lives' series (1895); Lives by Southey (1831) and Canon Venables (1838); lectures by Dean Howson in 'Companions of the Devout Life' (1857), and by W. Robertson Nicoll in the 'Evangelical Successions' series (1884). There is also a large literature of exposition, devoted mainly to The Pilgrim's Progress. In addition to the older books, such as Cheever (1844), there are Kerr Bain's two volumes on The People of the Pilgrimage (1887) unique in their thoroughness and in the almost too great weight of learning they bring to their task. The lecture-sermons of A. Whyte (two volumes on The Pilgrim (1893, 1894), one on The Holy War (1895), one on Grace Abounding (1900)), are also the product of deep knowledge, sympathy, and enthusiasm, and have done much to create a new public for Bunyan. A series of papers on The Pilgrim has recently been contributed by J. Kelman to The Repository Times (1905). Among earlier fugitive pieces, Sir Walter Scott's review of Southey's Life in the Quarterly Review, Oct. 1830, is interesting, especially for its comparison and contrast between Bunyan and Spenser. The best vindication of Bunyan's originality is that alluded to above, in 10 pp. of the introduction to Fournival de Guiseville. Bunyan's Complete Works have been edited by G. O. Orme and R. Phillips, 8 vols., London, 1853 (new ed. 1865); and there are critical texts with notes and glossaries issued by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and (the text alone) by the Cambridge University Press.

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THE END OF VOL. II.